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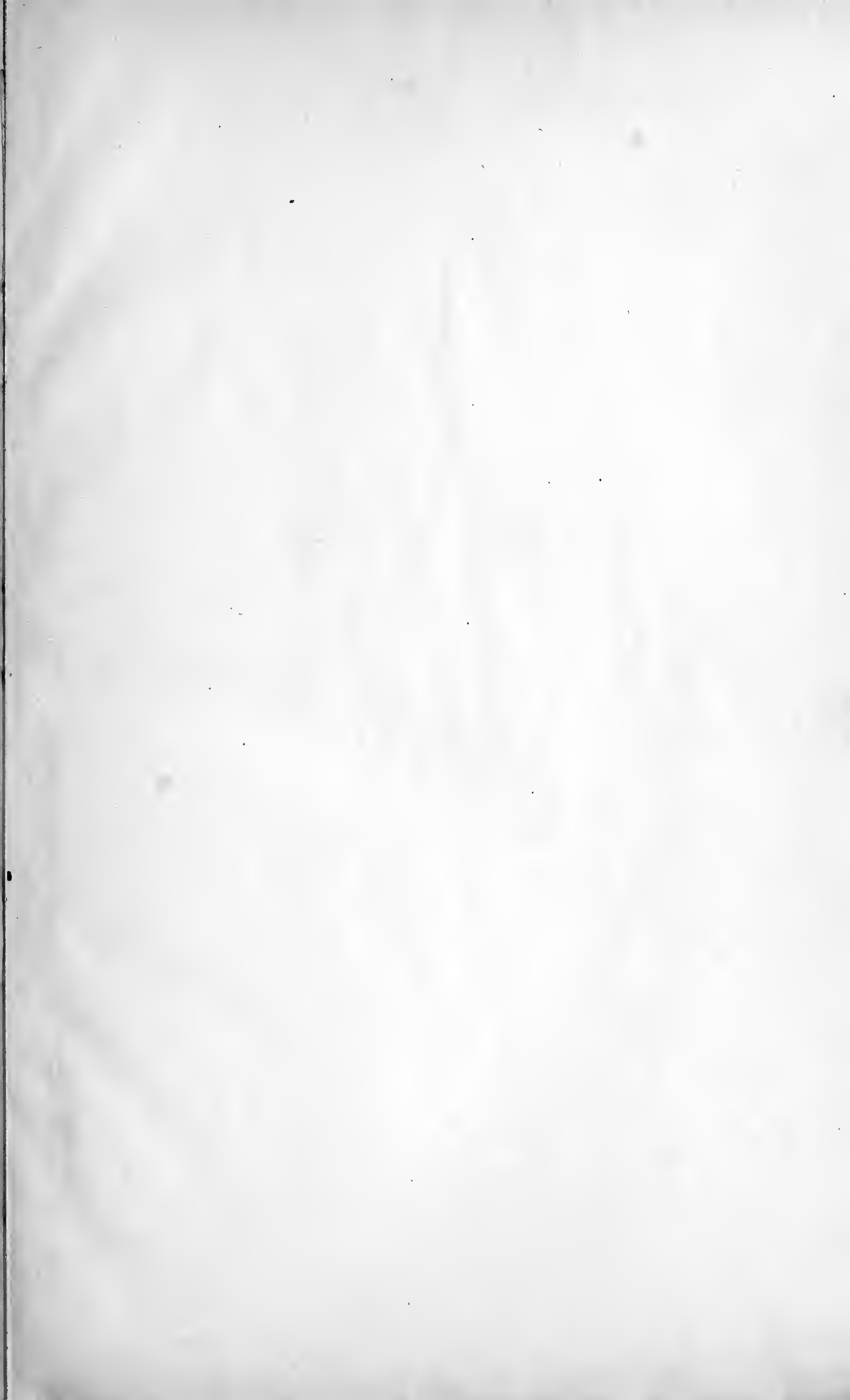

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SEMINARY NOTES.

VOL. I. No. 1.

STATE UNIVERSITY. MAY, 1891. LAWRENCE, KANSAS.

SEMINARY OF HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCE.

All students connected with the department of American History and Civics (JAMES H. CANFIELD), and that of History and Sociology (FRANK W. BLACKMAR), are, by virtue of such connection, members of the Seminary. All students having two or more studies in either or both of these departments are required to take the work of the Seminary as part of their work in course.

The meetings of the Seminary are held every Friday, in Room 15, University Building. Public meetings will be held from time to time, after due announcement.

The work of the Seminary consists of special papers and discussions, on topics connected with the two Departments mentioned; prepared as far as possible from consultation of original sources and from practical investigation of existing conditions, under the personal direction of the officers of the Seminary.

Special assistance in choice of themes, authorities, etc., is given members of the Seminary who have written work due in the two departments forming the Seminary, or in the Department of English, or in any of the literary societies or other similar organizations in the University; on condition that the results of such work shall be presented to the Seminary if so required.

In connection with the work of the Seminary, a Newspaper bureau is maintained. In this the leading cities of the United States are represented by some twenty daily and weekly newspapers. The principal object of the Bureau is to enable students to form habits of systematic reading, to keep informed on the current topics of the day, to study the best types of modern Journalism, to learn to discriminate between articles of temporary value only and those of more permanent worth, to make a comparative study of editorial work, to master for the time being the current thought on any particular subject, and to preserve by clippings properly filed and indexed, important materials for the study of current history and public life—to *make* history by the arrangement and classification of present historical matter.

Special investigation and study will be undertaken during each year, bearing on some one or more phases of the administration of public affairs in this State; the purpose being to combine service to the State with the regular work of professional and student life. In this special work the advice and cooperation of State and local officials and of prominent men of affairs is constantly sought, thus bringing to students the experience and judgment of the world about them.

Graduates of our own University, or other persons of known scholarly habits, who have more than a passing interest in such work as the Seminary undertakes, and who are willing to contribute some time and thought to its success, are invited to become corresponding members of the Seminary. The only condition attached to such membership is, that each corresponding member shall prepare during each University year one paper, of not *less* than two thousand five hundred words, on some subject within the scope of the Seminary; and present the same in person at such time as may be mutually agreed upon by the writer and the officers of the Seminary, or in writing if it be found impossible to attend a meeting of the Seminary.

The library of the University and the time of the officers of the Seminary are at the service of corresponding members, in connection with Seminary work—within reasonable limits.

More than twenty gentlemen, prominent in official and professional circles, have already connected themselves with the Seminary, and have rendered very acceptable service during past years.

The officers and members of the Seminary will gladly render all possible assistance to any public officials who may desire to collect special statistics or secure definite information on such lines of public work as are properly within the sphere of the Seminary.

Any citizen of Kansas interested in this work is invited to correspond with the Seminary, and to be present at its meetings when possible.

JAMES H. CANFIELD,
DIRECTOR.
FRANK W. BLACKMAR,
VICE-DIRECTOR.

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THE WORK OF CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

During the University year 1890-91, the following papers have been presented by corresponding members of the Seminary: The Shelby Expedition in Mexico, by Mr. Scott; Wages and Wage-Earners, by Mr. Betton; The Limitations of Legislation, by Mr. Ayres; Puritainsm in old England and in New England, by Mr. Peck; The Inter-State Commerce Commission, two papers by Mr. Humphrey; The Possibilities of Further State Legislation Respecting Marriage, by Mr. Howland; Irrigation, by Mr. Emery; James H. Lane, by Mr. Green; The Proposed Constitutional Convention, by Mr. Alford; and The Romance Literature of the Social Movement, by Mr. Berkowitz. In addition, Hon. W. H. Rossington of Topeka presented a paper on The Ethics of Party Allegiance; and Professor G. N. Grisham of Kansas City, Mo., answered the question, What does the Afro-American think of his present and of his future? It has been thought best to preserve abstracts of these papers, as far as abstracts could be obtained; though keenly realizing that justice is done neither the themes nor writers.

The Shelby Expedition to Mexico.

SOME fifty thousand men composed the fighting force of what was known as the Trans-Mississippi Department, C. S. A., in the April days of 1865. They were scattered from Louisiana to Arkansas when the news of the great surrender came from Appomattox, but they concentrated as if by intuition, meeting at Marshall, Texas. Gen. E. Kirby Smith, Gen. Joe Shelby, Hawthorne, Buckner, Preston and Walker were among the most prominent officers who gathered in council to determine what course should be pursued. Gen. Shelby was the first to speak and the plan he urged was this: Displace Gen. Smith with some other man in whom the troops have greater confidence, concentrate everything on the Brazas river, march to Mexico and there espouse the cause of Maximilian or that of Juarez. "Surrender is a word neither myself nor my division understand." The plan was approved and it was decided that Gen. Buckner should be put in Gen. Smith's place. But after twelve hours of deliberation Gen. Buckner weakened, Gen. Smith resumed command, and in a short time the order came that the troops should be marched to Shreveport and there surrendered to the Federal commander. Instead of obeying, Shelby rode to the front of his division aud called for volunteers for Mexico. One thousand men responded,—the most reckless men of a most reckless army. Shelby was chosen Colonel, and, after suitable preparation in the way of arms and commissary, the march to the Rio Grande began.

There were no Federal troops in the way. But there were guerillas and freebooters, the plundering offscourings of both armies, so there was fighting enough, mostly by night, sudden, desperate and ending always one way.

The Rio Grande was reached at last. The troops of Juarez were on the farther shore and their commander made the American general tempting offers to enlist in his service. Shelby urged his men to accept the offer, but they were Imperialists and preferred to fight for Maximilian,—a decision influenced, doubtless, by the thought that in helping to establish the Empire they were continuing their war on the United States. Shelby acquiesced; and, selling his artillery to the Mexicans, resumed his march.

It was his intention to reach Guaymas, there recruit his command up to twenty thousand men, and with these at his back advance to the city of Mexico and sustain the Emperor on his throne. Marshal Bazaine was distrustful of him however, and sent orders that he must either march direct to the city, or withdraw from the country. Shelby chose the former alternative and after three months of toilsome marching, giving almost daily battle to the guerillas who lay in wait for him at every

turn in the road, reached his destination and reported to Maximilian. His proposition was to recruit his division up to forty thousand Americans, and with these he promised the Emperor to make his throne secure, warning him that without such assistance his reign would be brief. The Emperor declined his offer—and went to his death at Queretaro.

Shelby's expedition ended with this reply of Maximilian. With no chance for any more fighting the cohesive force that had held it together was gone, and each man went the way that suited him best. The leader became a freight contractor until that ceased to be remunerative. Then he obtained a grant of land in the southern part of the Empire and attempted to colonize it with Americans. But that project also failed and at last he returned to his old home and is living to-day near Adrian, Mo., a wealthy and contented farmer. Of his followers, some settled on land set apart for them near the capital city and cultivated fruit and coffee. Others enlisted in French regiments and fought after all for the Empire. Others marched away to Guaymas and there took shipping for California, for China, for Japan, for the Sandwich Islands. Eventually many of them found their way back, as their leader had done to ways of pleasantness and paths of peace in the country which was great enough to forgive, if not to forget, the wrongs they had done her.

G. F. Scott.

Wages and Wage-Earners.

PROBABLY no subject admits of a wider range of discussion than does that of "Wages and Wage-Earners."

In a sense we are all wage-earners, whether the income at our command is the result of direct personal service or not. But popular interpretation applies the term "wage-earners" mainly to that portion of our people engaged in occupations requiring manual labor, and in that light we must consider it.

Wages have been paid, in some form, whenever man has engaged the services of his fellow-men. The slave had to be clothed, sheltered and fed, or he could not work; and for ages this was about all the laborer received. For centuries the laborer was a slave. The fruits of his toil and his life even were at the mercy of some local despot.

About the time of Francis I, of France, Trade Guilds were granted certain privileges. It is claimed that these guilds were the fore-runners of modern Trades-unions, and with some show of reason. Master and journeyman were of the same class. Socially they were equals. The barons regarded them as of less importance than the retainers who followed them in their plundering forays.

With the introduction of steam as a motive power, the development of machinery and the establishment of the factory system, labor experienced a radical change. The master, represented by his machines, ceased to be a workman; the journeyman was transformed into a machine tender; and the question of an equitable division of the joint product became paramount.

The wealth of the world has ever been distributed through competition—the right of every factor to take all it can of the products.

Wages is the largest single factor in the cost of production. The wage-earners, at present, are receiving about three-fifths of the total production. Wages range from six per cent. to seventy-seven per cent. of the total cost of production. The wage system has been accepted as the natural way of determining the value of labor. The labor is bought as the raw material is bought —at the lowest market price. The machine is carefully watched and cared for, as replacing it costs money; but if the laborer breaks, another takes his place.

An hour's labor will to-day buy more and better clothing and food than it would fifty years ago. Comparing the wages of 1760 with those of 1883, we find that the

average daily earnings of laborers in Massachusetts advanced from 29 cents to $1.31. In 1883 wages were 62 per cent. higher in Massachusetts than in England, while the cost of living was 17.29 per cent. higher. Of this 11.49 per cent. was due to higher rent. Excluding rent it was only 5.80 per cent. higher. In other words it cost the English workman 17 per cent. less to live, and he got 62 per cent. less wages than the workman of Massachusetts, a difference in favor of the Massachusetts workman of 45 per cent.

As a rule wages show an upward tendency from the earliest time to the present. The average increase of wages of the decade ending with 1860 as compared with the decade ending with 1830, was 52.3 per cent., while the cost of living increased only 12.7 per cent. But, although wages have been constantly increasing, they have not kept pace with the increased productiveness of labor.

Trades-unions have been bitterly denounced, but they have taught employer and employees many valuable lessons. They have shortened the hours of labor, maintained a stability in wages, and elevated the laboring classes. The American Unions, being younger, have not accomplished so much as those of England. There are about two hundred Unions in Kansas. Frank Betton.

The Limitations of Legislation.

THE bad effects of too much legislation and too many laws are beginning to be seriously felt in this nation. It is, therefore, necessary to consider how the evils may be checked or abated. Experience has proved that unwise, oppressive and excessive legislation cannot be sufficiently prevented by the organic law, as found in Federal and State constitutions. The organic law cannot assume to prevent unwise laws; and those which are excessive or oppressive may not come within its scope. There are certain well known restrictions in the Constitution which limit the law-making power of the Congress; but within the limits perscribed there is a wide field for discretion. In the States, severally, we find the governments practically supreme, excepting in those few matters which have been peremptorily withdrawn from the legislatures by the Federal Constitution. To indicate the vast sweep of this power it may be sufficient to point to the fact that in most of the states the legislature can, if it will, alter the whole system of municipal law and change its mode of administration.

The statute books are largely invaded by laws which fall under the following classification:

1. Sentimental laws.
2. Partisan laws.
3. Useless laws.
4. Laws of which the primary and ultimate effects cannot be foreseen.
5. Laws on simple matters, so constructed as to be difficult of interpretation.
6. Laws which from some inherent defect or want of charity cannot be enforced.
7. Laws which directly interfere with the operation of the common law.

The analysis is given, not as being exhaustive, but suggestive of certain kinds of laws which ought not to be made at all; or if made, then passed only after the most searching scrutiny and under pressing and obvious necessity.

The examples quoted and the argument against excessive legislation cannot be reproduced within the limit of this abstract. Assuming, that the evil is acknowledged generally, in greater or less degree, the writer points out that we cannot look to the organic law for any substantial help in the matter. Unfortunately all free peoples are too fond of law making; and if they can find no others to enslave them, and discover no arbitrary laws to touch all imaginable cases, they will proceed to enslave themselves, each person wishing his own new law, and perhaps trading with others that his may somehow prevail.

The remedy, if there be one, must be found in so educating or selecting legislators.

that they will be wise enough to make only such laws as shall be known in advance to be necessary, beneficial, conservative, and imposing the lightest possible burden upon individuals for whose best interests all laws should exist. Human society in its progression in enlightenment and morality, *lives;* the law that seeks to guide it must *live* too. Therefore no statutes should be made (unless under strongest present necessity) which shall interfere with the common law, which lives with and in the people, moves and breathes and feels with them. If, as most lawyers will admit, it would be an evil day when the law of judicial decision should be superceded by a code, it is only a modified evil when legislative enactment encroaches too far in attempting to interfere unnecessarily with the living and flexible law which is sufficient to deal with the common rights of men.

There are many who firmly believe that if the congress and state legislatures would for a while be determined to restrict themselves to routine, business legislation, the nation would move rapidly, with free step, to unexampled prosperity, peace and happiness. If we continue in the course we are taking with accelerated speed, we shall forge heavy chains for ourselves and for our children.

Rev. W. W. Ayres

State Legislation and Marriage.

JOHN Ruskin is always entertaining and often wise. He is both in one of those fascinating letters in which he maintains that marriage is not a privilege to which every one is born, but a distinction to be sought; and when attained, it is to be considered a proof not only of good character, but of good sense, and industrious habits. While the privilege should be put within the reach of all, it should be rigidly withheld from those who are incapable or unwilling to make the necessary effort to deserve it.

I believe this position is sound. If there is any thing in the law of heredity it shows that many marriages are entered into unadvisedly and lightly and that much of the poverty and helplessness of mankind may be traced directly to this source. The thoughtless multiplication of human beings perpetuates the struggle for existence, and no device for the abolition of honesty can possibly succeed until the human race is taught self restraint. "Social phenomena have their roots in organic phenomena." Doubtless the environment has much to do with the question of poverty; but the character, the habits, the natural endowments of the individual have far more to do with it. The energetic and competent take the foremost rank. The quick-sighted have an advantage over the dull, the industrious over the lazy, the frugal over the improvident, the ambitious over the spiritless, the self-restrained over the intemperate and sensual. The proportion of the active, the vigorous, the determined and clear sighted, to the careless, the wasteful, the stupid and irresolute, is not very great. A certain number of men in every hundred the world over, cannot take care of themselves, and there will be a considerable proportion of the rest who can do it only indifferently. They have not the qualities which make men independent and self supporting. Even as young men they are without spirit, contented to live from hand to mouth, earn but little and spend it the day they receive it. And yet such shiftless young men find young women like themselves, and our unwise laws permit them to commit the wicked folly of marrying with no sense whatever of their personal responsibility to feed and clothe and educate their children. Men are permitted to marry who are barely able to earn their own wretched livelihood and who cannot possibly support a family. I have seen it stated that sometimes persons are married while inmates of county houses.

Until marriage is forbidden to imbeciles and semi-imbeciles, to those who are barely able to escape being a public charge, to those who have neither visible or prospective means of support, no con-

ception of the responsibilities of parentage and whose children are ever to have no energy of character but grow up like their parents and bring into existence a half dozen more helpless families and continue this generation after generation in a terrifying mathematical progression,—until the State, I say, or the prudent part of mankind puts a stop to this, the principal source of poverty and wretchedness will remain.

The State must require of the man who asks for a marriage license a good character, and he must prove before a competent board of inquiry that he can take care of a family. Marriage is the most important social concern of mankind, and if the State is to regulate any thing whatever it is such a momentous thing as this.

Rev. C. G. Howland.

Irrigation.

THE present practical exhaustion of all that portion of our public domain which will make good farms, emphasizes the popular demand for the reclamation, by irrigation of the arid lands of this country. The estimate is, that the agricultural lands of the arid regions of the United States, those which admit of reclamation by artificial irrigation, most easily amount to the round sum of 100,000,000 acres. And of the total area of our country fully two-fifths if we exclude Alaska will need to be artificially irrigated in order to reclaim its soil. Nor will this estimate seem large when the fact that two-thirds of the agriculture of the globe at the present day is dependent for success wholly or in part upon artificial irrigation. The total arid region of our own country lies mostly west of the one hundreth meridian of west longitude, and is chiefly pasturage land in character and is put by the statisticians at the enormous figure of 1,000,000,000 acres. Of this, 100,000,000 acres can be more or less well irrigated and be brought under cultivation in part, and in part rendered desirable for pasture. It is to this tenth part of our arid region that public attention is now being drawn for the purpose of opening it up to that growing army of home-seekers which is to-day pressing up against the very foot hills of the everlasting mountains.

The irrigation idea is an old one in history, but a new one to us in America. The schools of our land teach nothing as to hydrology or the science of water in motion. If we would study river hydraulics, we must go back to Italy where students of the subject have written the books we are obliged to consult. The Mississippi river problem and something that has been done in California with a little in Colorado and Utah constitute and sum up about all we know of water in motion. And our civil engineers widely disagree as to the methods the Washington government is pursuing in the outlay it is making, in trying to manage the waters of that great river as well as deepening the sand bars in Galveston harbor.

The government is now engaged in ascertaining, through a system of surveys, where and how large the artesian basins are located by nature throughout the arid tract. It is not everywhere that an artesian well will bring flowing water to the surface. Indeed good flowing wells are scarce, the world over. The French have reclaimed vast tracts in Algeria by sinking artesian wells. The high mountain ranges afford the presure needed to throw the water to the surface. But Western Kansas can never be watered in this way. The presure is wanting. Yet up in the Dakotas is perhaps one of the best artesian wells to be found in America. The catchment is sufficient and the presure ample to produce flowing wells of great capacity.

The government will also locate reservoir sites, determine their capacity, and indicate by proper surveys, the lands that may be irrigated from water stored in such reservoirs. When such surveys are completed, it is probable that all these arid lands will be turned back to the

States and Territories where they may be located for such States and territories to provide for irrigation districts and the construction of irrigation works. When this is accomplished the home-seeker will be allowed to buy his home—not a large one, of his state under legal regulations as to getting the water upon his lands for his crops. Then will come the time of little farms well watered; but the price per acre will be high, made so by the cost of artificial irrigation.

James H. Lane.

IT is not time to do justice to the achievements of this stormy life. Himself a brand, kindling wherever he fell, he was the centre of a conflagration during all his career. His past as a direct participant in warlike actions was inconsequental, and almost ridiculous in the disproportion between its boastful prologues and its scant performances. In the Senate he was far below in debate at least the reputation which preceded him. The impassioned harrangues which drove the men of the border almost to fury, awoke only in that august body the smiles of supreme contempt. Yet his influence with his party and the President was so undoubted that even his rhapsodies were tolerated, and his acute mastery of men found full play in caucuses and committees. Upon the whole he accomplished as much in the Senate for Kansas as a more correct and polished orator could have done, even his most extravagant speeches having the merit of earnestness and intense conviction which prevails over faulty expression in winning a verdict from considerate minds.

Yet a belief in the consistent devotion of his character to any cause he ardently championed was the most difficult task to those who undertook its closest study. Fertile in expedients and facile in manuevre, he was seldom beaten, being all the more successful because he was seldom withheld by conscientious considerations from any line of policy which promised success. He was sincere and unremitting in his homage to one divinity —himself. He believed in his star and followed its eratic course as implicitly as did the great Corsican. It is perhaps too much to say that had Lane discovered hopeful prospects of establishing the Democratic party in Kansas, founded upon slavery as its corner stone; he would have constituted himself its champion, and fought as persistently for the life as he did for the death of the system. His want of consistency and continuity almost suggested a want of courage. He abandoned the political field in Indiana without the slightest effort to overcome the opposition of its people to himself, up to that time the most popular man in the State. At several periods of his career, he had almost decided to abandon the field to his enemies. When his political rival, Carney, achieved the barren honor of election to Lane's place in the Senate, the latter hesitated to engage his successful antagonist until the patience and almost the devotion of his adherents was well nigh exhausted; and then undertook the advocacy of his own cause under the cover of a canvass in favor of the re-election of Lincoln, a proceding as needless in Kansas as in Vermont. He was not the leader who would have gone to martyrdom for his faith. He could fight bravely when victory impended, but the bitterness of defeat when encountered almost broke his heart. His last days, tragic with the awful end, began when the murmurs of reproach rising from every hamlet in Kansas because of his defence of the course of President Johnson fell upon his ears. He started homeward. Benton would have met the clamor and fought it down. Douglas would have opposed his leonine nature to the fury of the mob, and changed its execrations to new and lavish hurrahs,—Lane sank upon the soil of the State he had saved, and which he loved unto death, as forlornly and helplessly as Caesar fell at the foot of Pomp-

ey's figure. Yet it was no coward who lay that beautiful June afternoon on the lovely sward of the ground of Fort Leavenworth, —self slain. Neither was he insane, unless his whole life shall be accepted as an insane existence. He had found the insurmountable, and he dashed his life away upon it. He feared not the contest so much as the endless disgrace of his failure therein. His death was the logical termination of his life.

H. M. Greene.

The Constitutional Convention.

IT will be readily conceded that a greater degree of permanence, of fixity, should attach to the organic acts of a State, than to the ordinances of a municipal council, or the resolutions and laws of a legislative body.

Man is naturally conservative and looks with small favor upon changes in the primal obligations that control in the affairs of State.

In its leading features, the constitution of the Anglo Saxon commonwealth is but the expression in words of those principles that have been fought for, and won, through blood and strife of the centuries, and are written as with a pen of iron, on every liberty loving heart.

The larger half of our laws are unwritten, and have remained unchanged in their essential features for two hundred years.

It has been a custom in framing the constitutions of most of the States of our Union, to incorporate much of detail that should have been left entirely to legislative action: and the question with us is, whether the changes in these minor matters of detail are so numerous as to warrant the holding of a convention for the general revision of our constitution.

Every change in a constitution creates a doubt, which continues until the courts have defined the boundaries of the amendment.

But few sections of our constitution have been seriously criticised as in special need of amendment; they are the ones on legislative apportionment, the Supreme Court, prohibition, and possibly including, also, the section on the State University. A general revision would doubtless result in increasing the number of these minor details of government that should be left entirely to legislative action, rather than decreasing them; so that any plea that the constitution needs revision on that account, can have but little force, as it is now quite as concise and devoid of such supplanting of legislation as the constitution of any of our States. Revision by convention means a general remodeling. But there has at no time been a demand for such wholesale amendment. The sections regulating apportionment require changing without doubt, and they have in fact been twice amended in the past by submission directly to the people, and there is no good reason for doubting but that any proper amendment could be again carried through in the same manner.

The section providing for the composition of the Supreme Court and the selection of its members, has been twice sought to be amended and each time failed; and it may be assumed from this that the desire of the people is that some other means be provided for advancing the work of that Court, rather than by increasing the number of its judges. This can readily be done by the legislature increasing the amount necessary to confer jurisdiction from $100 to, say, $500; which would reduce the work of the Court nearly, or quite, one-half. Nearly the same result could be brought about by the Court itself, by its ceasing to write opinions in every case, but content itself with a mere decision of the case, with reference to the authority upon which the decision is based.

Of suffrage, whether the privilege should be extended to women, or still further restricted, and taken from the ignorant, the vicious, and the newly arrived immigrant, are questions better determined by the direct vote of the people than by general conventions. To discuss prohibition in this connetion would be useless. It is safe

to say that the people will not consent to a general revision if there are no other reasons therefor than the desire some may have for the repeal of the prohibitory amendment. Many are desirous that Sec. 7 of Art. 6, concerning the State University, be amended so as to provide for a fixed and definite support for that institution; but it may safely be said that the time is near at hand if it has not already arrived, when the people of Kansas will so appreciate the excellent work of the University, and its great advantages to the State, as to be ready to adopt such an amendment without the intervention of a general convention.

From this it appears that no such general revision of our constitution is demanded at this time, as will warrant either the expense, or the danger, of holding a convention into whose hands that compact shall be committed for unlimited change. Let the constitution of our State be interpreted as we interpret the constitution of our country, not by the letter which killeth, but in the spirit which giveth life; and new harmonies will be discovered therein, and like the constitution of our country, it will become an object of adoration and pride rather than one for criticism and contempt.

D. S. Alford.

The Romantic Literature of the Social Question.

"LIFE is a comedy to those who think; a tragedy to those who feel." This striking epigram of Horace Walpole has more of pithy sententiousness than of intrinsic truth. Life is a comedy only to those who think superficially; a tragedy to those who failing in the sturdy strength of true manliness or womanliness, are overwhelmed by its trials. The judgment and the example of the wisest philosophers and truest men proclaim that, while we may laugh at the follies and bewail the sorrows of mankind, we should neither rise to frivolity nor sink to despair but eagerly study out and profer such earnest counsel and help as we may be able to find in order to make the life in the midst of which we live, nobler and happier. It was this motive which prompted all social reformers. For this, men have indulged fond dreams of a social elysium in which all human relations should be so equitably and beautifully adjusted that folly would fade and sorrow die away. Thus originated the Romantic Literature of the Social Question.

Plato in his "Critics" recalled the fabled era of the early Athenian Commonwealth in its contest with the people of the isle Atlantis. Plutarch told of the Spartan Commonwealth which Lycurgus was supposed to have founded. Cicero in his "De Republica" pictured the Roman Empire, not as it was but as it should have been. St. Augustine turning from the sad contemplation of the "City of the World" depicted "The City of God" as it should arise on the crumbling ruins of the Roman Empire. Dante rising out of the Middle Ages to the rare stature of genius, painted in glowing colors on the skies of fancy his perfect governmeut in the "De Monarchia." After the art of printing was discovered and learning began to spread, when to the startling advance in knowledge was added the strong stimulus to the imagination of men which came when the modest Genoese unveiled the new continent, then Sir Thomas More wrote the most famous romance of the social question, "Utopia." Francis Bacon in the "New Atlantis" presented society under the regime of science and the new inductive philosophy, as did Thomas Campanella in "The City of the Sun." After the world emerged from the deluge of blood we call the French Revolution Etienne Cabet set forth many of the dreams and enthusiasms of the men of the time in his romance, "The voyage to Icaria." The ideas of the French social reformers Babouf, St. Simon, Louis Blanc and others passing over into Germany resulted in the State Socialism of Marx and Lasalle, which has found a chronicler of the romantic school in Edward Bellamy.

A host of other writers have since "Looking Backward" appeared essayed the same theme and the bibliography of these romances is growing daily. Read aright each one of these fictions is a satire and a lament on the social status of the age in which it was created. Tears of sincere sorrow have traced the lines of sombre truth in their pages and the laughter of ridicule lurks behind every period. But they stop not with laughter nor with tears; each profers some genuine help towards improvement and betterment. What if their schemes be impracticable or foolish, they serve a great purpose in driving out that fatalism which says the world is not to be improved, and all men are depraved—for they point ever to the perfectibility of the human race, demonstrating that the dream of one age is the reality of the next, the paradox of to-day becomes the common place of to-morrow, and the millennium of the true prophets, as human ideals widen, lies ever beyond and nearer the divine.

Rabbi Henry Berkowitz.

The Afro-American's Outlook.

THE future of the negro in America is conditioned on the negro himself and the American people. The sentiment of this nation might be highly favorable to the negro, indifferently tolerant, or intensely hostile. The negro might fail to comprehend or meet the demands of civilization, his development might be homogeneous, and it might be out of harmony with the national ideals. Two nations can not dwell on the same soil. Should the negro display disloyalty to democratic institutions or strong leanings towards orientalism in morals, he would transform the most friendly feeling into hostility and invite banishment or destruction. The same result would follow should he prove incompetent to act his part as a member of civilized society. No one understands this better than does he. Therefore he seeks, not from fear but from taste and and natural aspiration, to be in all senses a man.

In spite of criticism and ridicule and thousand-fold wrong unrighted, he believes thoroughly in himself, in his future, and in the ultimate out-workings of right and justice. He has made some progress in wealth, in intelligence and in comprehending the responsibilities of freedom. He is anxious that this progress be taken as a guarantee not only of his willingness to advance but also of his ability to advance. He wants no laws passed to entitle him to cross any man's threshold unbidden, nor has he any thirst for empire to be satisfied by conquest, grant or domination. He simply asks for patient judgment and begs the American nation for a fair chance to develope his powers and to display his capacity. He wants legislation that will not discriminate against him, courts that will grant him justice, and a public sentiment that will sustain a manly assertion of his rights.

If the negro must face a hostile opinion based upon either an unconquerable antipathy or antagonism of policy, it will matter little whether he demonstrate capacity or prove the lack of it. However, the prejudice that restricts the negro in the industries, nullifies his ballot, denies legal redress for every form of injury and gives legal sanction to various forms of humiliating discriminations, is based on no enduring principle and will die out with the spread of intelligence in the South and the rapid progress of the negro. The political difficulty will be greatly reduced by the imperative demands of business interests. When the negro achieves industrial independence, becomes to a significant extent a capitalist, a master in industry, neither white nor black will longer overlook the fact that their interests are identical. For a quarter of a century the southern negro's vote will be more aggravating than valuable. It will take that time to clarify the vision of both races and force them to see the necessity of uniting their best heads irrespective of color, in maintaining social order and developing the resources of their fertile section. The negro will make his next alliances with his neighbors and seek community of protection through clearly proved community of interests. There are bitter experiences awaiting him, but "the old prejudices will gradually fade away, and at no distant day he will figure not only in politics and literature, but in the fine arts and in everything that unites to harmonize and elevate mankind, just as the men of other races."

G. N. Grisham.

- SEMINARY - NOTES. -

PUBLISHED ON THE FIRST DAY OF OCTOBER, NOVEMBER, DECEMBER, FEBRUARY, MARCH, APRIL AND MAY, BY THE SEMINARY OF HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCE. State University, Lawrence, Kansas.

James H. Canfield, }
Frank W. Blackmar. } - - - *Editors.*

Terms, Ten Cents a Number, - Fifty Cents a Year

THE purpose of this publication is to secure due recognition for the work of the Seminary and of the Departments represented therein, to afford means of regular communication with corresponding members and with the general public—especially with the Alumni of the University, and to preserve at least the outlines of carefully prepared papers and addresses. The number of pages in each issue will be increased as rapidly as the subscription list will warrant. The entire revenue of the publication will be applied to its maintenance.

Address all subscriptions and communications to

JAMES H. CANFIELD,
Lawrence, Kansas.

The announcement of the Seminary of Historical and Political Science, to be found on the first page of this issue, tells its own story and needs brief comment here. The Seminary is a natural result of the growth of the "Lawrence High School," (as the institution was formerly called by its detractors) into a University; with all the larger methods and broader outlook which characterize such advanced education. Springing directly out of the old Political Science Club, organized several years ago for freer conference than was possible in the lecture room, the Seminary has become the clearing house for the best work of the departments joined in this organization; and a point of contact with the outer world through the valuable services of its Corresponding Members. Its work has both culture-value and practical value. Its projectors believe that it can be made a potent factor in University life and in that "post-graduate course" which must be carried by every intelligent and loyal citizen. They hope that its members will learn how to get life while getting a living.

The gentlemen who thus far have shown their interest in the University and in the special work undertaken by the Seminary, by becoming Corresponding Members, are Hon. Geo. R. Peck, General Solicitor for the Santa Fe system; Hon. James Humphrey, ex-Railway Commissioner; Hon. Frank Betton, State Labor Commissioner; Hon. Charles Robinson, Hon. James S. Emery, Hon. T. Dwight Thacher and Mr. Noble Prentis—four names that are household words in Kansas; Major J. K. Hudson, who *is* the Topeka *Daily Capital*; Col. O. E. Learnard, of the Lawrence *Journal*; Col. H. M. Greene, of the Lawrence *Record*; Hon. William A. Phillips, of Salina—a prominent figure in Kansas History; Hon. B. W. Woodward and Col. H. L. Moore, of Lawrence; Hon. C. S. Gleed and Hon. Charles F. Scott, Regents of the University; Mr. Scott Hopkins and Mr. D. S. Alford, well known at the Kansas Bar; Hon. Fred A. Stocks, of Blue Rapids; Rev. W. W. Ayres and Rev. C. G. Howland, of Lawrence; Rabbi Henry Berkowitz, D. D., of Kansas City, Missouri; and Principal W. E. Higgins, of Topeka. The list is steadily increasing, and the interest and participation of these gentlemen have been appreciated and enjoyed by all connected with this work.

The officers of the Seminary greatly regret that they have not the necessary funds for the publication of the addresses and papers presented by Corresponding Members and by the stronger student-members. The mere outlines which appear in this issue are helpful but very imperfect. Some of the papers are not thus noticed, simply because it was impossible to reduce them without destroying their entire force. This is especially true of the two unusually strong and thoughtful papers on the *Inter-State Commerce Commission*, presented by Judge Humphrey; and of the keen and bright

address on *Puritanism in Old England and in New England*, delivered by Mr. Peck. It seemed quite impossible to reduce them to the required limit. All suffered by such attempted condensation; and the thanks of the editors are due those who were willing to make the sacrifice.

This leads naturally to the thought that there could hardly be found a more worthy object of large-hearted and open-handed generosity than provision for placing in permanent and available form the best results of the work in the various departments of the University. Such provision has already been made for the Department of Natural History, by the large bequest of Mr. Springer, of Boston—amounting, it is now estimated, to more than the entire productive University endowment. Here was a man, quickened by his confidence in Professor Snow and in his valuable work, and feeling that such a bequest would be more safely guarded by a State than by any private corporation, who provided liberally for the growth and usefulness of this department. Other departments ought to meet with similar appreciation. Even a hundred dollars a year would be helpful and encouraging, and could be used efficiently.

It has always seemed strange that men who have resources which they desire to use in the way of advancing educational work cannot see that the safest investment is with the State and in a State institution. Hundreds of thousands of dollars have been given to upstart "Colleges" and ephemeral "Universities," only to be worse than wasted and eventually lost. But back of every endowment or gift to a State institution stands the entire Commonwealth, pledged to make the gift secure and the revenue perpetual. The repudiation by Mississippi of the State bonds in which the royal gift of Geo. Peabody was invested, is believed to be the only case on record where a State has mismanaged or lost such trust funds. Every man in Kansas interested in broad and sound education ought to turn to the University every year, and ask the proper authorities in what way this or that amount—be it ten dollars or ten thousand—can be made useful. Some one ought boldly to set a contageous example!

The experiment of a Seminary Lecture Course, maintained almost wholly by student-members, has proved a great success. The young men were greatly profited by their preparation for this work, and enjoyed their contact with the outer world. The themes were grave, and were treated thoughtfully—but the audiences were large and attentive. From both Vinland and Edwardsville have come words of praise, and not a single adverse criticism has been heard. At Vinland, each lecture was followed by a discussion in which the audience participated with the greatest freedom and zest. The readiness of the students in debate, and their large fund of information, was a source of surprise to a few people who still fancy that boys and girls are *sent* to the University, rather than that young men and young women *come*. Abridgments of these lectures are given in this issue.

These lectures form the beginning of what may prove a strong University Extension movement—an endeavor to carry the best results of all University work out to the world at large. That the world is waiting anxiously for this goes without saying. When men and women come four and five miles, over muddy country roads and on stormy nights, in order to hear and talk about such social and civil problems as are before the American people to-day—there is manifested an earnestness and a determination that if rightly met and organized and guided, if wisely ministered to, will be a power for good. Never before have our people been as intellectually active in all civil matters as to-day; and and now is the time for the University to give a most satisfactory reason for its being, in large and generous service.

In the April number of that excellent publication, the Illinois *Public School Journal,* the editor writes so clearly about the mutual relations of education and political activity, that we gladly give him space in this issue. He says:

"A democratic form of government must ever be a government administered, for the most part, by the average man. It cannot, in the nature of things, be a government by the best men. There is a mean streak in our common human nature, which cannot brook superiority except as a catspaw for our own chestnuts. There can be found illustrations of the prevalence of this spirit in every class of people. One might think the day laborer would be more free from it than the ambitious politician, but the experience of every man who has risen from the condition and environment of the wage-worker in unskilled labor has shown that the greatest foes to his advancment to knowledge, temperance, and a commanding station, have been those of his own household. Such a man is a standing rebuke to those who are left behind. He destroys their peace of mind."

"Education, in so far as it depends upon politics and legislation, cannot advance more rapidly than the average man advances. The only hope of its advancement, therefore, is a constantly advancing public opinion. In politics, public opinion is not the opinion of the best men; it is the opinion of the majority. One man may determine the voice of the people. The most ignorant clown in the land may declare what is *vox Dei.* Politicians are ever appealing to the people;—the majority. The "saving remnant" is not considered. The vacillating few determine who shall determine the educational affairs of every community or institution.

The average man must be educated therefore, if public opinion is to be educated so that politics may be relied upon to advance education. How to educate public opinion is the important question. More people ought to be trying to answer it."

More people are trying to answer it. every day, and with constantly increasing success. The "saving remnant" is constantly advancing to the position of a majority. There is more hard thinking and independent thinking and successful thinking among the people to-day than ever before in our history—and in this better and more thoughtful life lies our salvation. In securing this the University will play a conspicuous part. If it does not do this it is false to its trust and to its opportunities, and deserves to fail. But it will not fail.

The recent action of the Faculty and Regents in enlarging the list of optional studies and in granting greater freedom of choice; and the very gratifying recognition by the Regents of the growth of the Departments represented by the *Notes,* in providing a full assistant for History and Sociology, and some assistance in American History and Civics; make it possible, at last, for students to do some work in these Departments which can properly be called "special." A student may carry two-thirds of the work of the last two University years in these Departments or either of them. Special courses will be suggested on request.

It may not be generally known, and if known, certainly seems not generally appreciated, that the University Library is open, as a reference library, to all citizens of Kansas; and that the Faculty offers its assistance, within reasonable time-limits. in connection with any investigation or special study sought to be carried by any Kansan. The University should be the Mecca of all thoughtful men and women in this state. Many are already availing themselves of the opportunities presented here; and the number of those who "run up" to Lawrence for a day or more, while preparing a paper or undertaking some special research, is constantly increasing. But the presence of these earnest and mature students ought to be far more common than now. That they will receive a hearty welcome and will have every possible facility afforded them in their special work, goes without saying.

One of the best Seminary meetings of this year, of which lack of space forbids extended mention, was that of April 3d. Vice-Director Blackmar presided. H. C. Fellow read a paper on "The Alaskans," exhibiting several specimens of their handiwork. W. S. Hayden spoke on "Recent Phases of Labor in America," exciting sharp discussion. The Vice-Director then gave a short sketch of the history of Silver Circulation in America—a subject carried further by a paper by O. H. Holmes on "Bimetalism in Europe." L. K. Fesler spoke on "The Free Coinage of Silver," and was answered by Mr. Haliowell—after which came general and very animated discussion by the Seminary.

THE SEMINARY LECTURE COURSE.

Following are brief abstracts of the lectures delivered in the Seminary Lecture Course, during the past winter, at Vinland and Edwardsville. Great credit is due the young men who gave so much time to this work in addition to all other University demands. The Seminary offers a similar course, during the coming winter; for which arrangements should be made prior to October.

TAXATION.

THE prime object of government is to secure to all who labor the fruits of their labor. To accomplish this, it may take such part of the fruits of labor as may be necessary for its own support. This is taxation.

While there is no exact science of taxation, there are certain fundamental principles which are generally recognized as controlling all wise and equitable taxation. Some of these are:

The purpose of taxation is to create a product of greater value than the amount collected.

The fund from which taxes are drawn is the combined earnings of all citizens.

Citizens should contribute to the support of the government in proportion to their respective abilities.

The tax should be fixed and not arbitrary, and every feature of the system clear and plain to the contributor.

The time and place for the payment of taxes should be as convenient as possible for the great mass of the contributors.

There should be the greatest possible economy in collection, and the least possible surplus in the treasury.

For all general purposes taxation may be, and therefore ought to be, such as to demand no special sacrifice.

The taxing power can be lawfully used for public purposes only.

Public enterprises are to be undertaken only when the service can be more advantageously rendered than by private hands.

The taxing power should never be used for the purpose of diverting either capital or labor from the modes of employment to which they would resort if left to themselves.

There are two general methods of taxation, the direct and the indirect. The first is the local, the second the national method. The reasons for the choice of the national method were, and are, precedent, and a want of confidence in the people.

Direct taxation is in accord with each of the principles laid down, while indirect taxation contravenes nearly all of them.

Our effort in local affairs is to tax the entire resources of each citizen, in which we have notoriously failed.

Taxes on production are, theoretically, the most equitable; but thus far, practically, the most unfair and demoralizing.

A tax on accumulation is a tax on savings—on frugality, and is a recurring tax—a tax repeated on the same property.

The objections to a tax on personal property are:

It is a very expensive system; it involves a catechetical and inquisitorial process; it duplicates taxes; it encourages perjury and fraud; it is full of inequalities, throwing the burden on those least able to bear it or to defend themselves; it adds greatly to the cost of nearly all commodities and services; it repels from some communities very desirable forces of production; and it seems impossible to make such a system a success.

In considering a land-tax, we should go upon the basis of unimproved land, because nearly all the objections last mentioned can be urged against any attempt to assess improvements on land.

A tax on the basis of unimproved land discourages land speculation, and encourages land improvements.

Some of the favorable characteristics of land in this connection are:

It cannot be hidden; it is easily and accurately assessed; its assessment and the collection of the tax are the most economical known; such a tax quickens rather than hampers production; a land-tax cannot affect the amount of land, its capabilities, or its usefulness; it tends to distribute itself, that is, more than any other tax is it *not* borne by the men upon whose land it is levied but by those purchasing the products of land; and it is not unduly augmented in the hands of the middlemen.

We can easily experiment with such a land tax in any township or county.

J. H. CANFIELD.

COMMERCIALISM IN AMERICA.

IN his History of Civilization, Guizot says: "The complete sway of a single dominant element in a nation's civilization, may give an extraordinary impulse to, and produce a rapid and brilliant development of civilization, but it will also bring on afterward a rapid decline and final sterility." He then shows, by way of illustration, that in the ancient civilization of Tyre and Sidon, the commercial element dominated over all; and although Phœnician civilization was developed with astonishing rapidity and brilliancy, it also declined and decayed just as rapidly.

Now the question arises, how stands our own republic with reference to this truth? As to the fact of our rapid and brilliant development, we need no evidence. But what has made this rapid and brilliant development? Is it the working together of various elements and opinions, each strong and each warring against the other, curbing and modifying one another, no one element commanding the whole? Or is our national greatness produced in obedience to some one dominant element, which is gradually obtaining complete control? If so, what then is this force? Unquestionably it is this spirit of money getting—it is "mercantilism." It is this feverish desire for wealth. This is the all absorbing passion of the American people to-day. As Matthew Arnold said of Chicago, we are "too beastly prosperous." This spirit permeates all classes of society.

As a nation, we are permitting this spirit of money-getting or "mercantilism" to have dominion over us. There is danger that this idea will become the single controlling element which moves the great masses of our people. And this rush and crush for money seems to be eating out, not only the disposition, but the power for great thinking and great and right action. This is true in politics. There are scores of statesmen, in all parties, whom men would not dare approach with a bribe; but what would people have said, in the days of Webster, Clay and Calhoun, if they and been told that in great commonwealths like California and Ohio, United States Senatorships would virtually be put up to the highest bidder. Yet in many states, term after term, this happens until such a mode of securing the position is looked upon as natural and right. Already twenty United States senators represent more than $1,000,000 per head. Men occupy that position who would never have been thought of as senators, had it not been for their money.

In the church we think we have a counter-element which modifies this mercantile spirit and holds it in check. But, is the church keeping pace with this onward advance? Is it drawing its share of our strongest young men into its pulpit and theological seminaries?

Granted that there is more talent and more learning and more religion in this country at present, than ever before; it goes almost without contradiction that mercantilism, this money-getting fever, has to a great extent driven it out of our churches. This mercantile spirit is sweeping our ablest young men into the whirlpool of business life, simply for the money there is in it. This greed for gold is rapidly becoming the single dominant element and; indeed, the God of the American people; and our young men fall at its feet and worship with a pagan's devotion.

To prevent this, we must build up an aristocracy of thought, which shall be able to hold its own against the aristocracy of mercantilism. To make our civilization enduring, we must place such incentives before young men, as will draw them into the fields of philosophic thought, of literary thought, and of political thought. We must press this idea: that every young man who feels within himself the power to write, the power to paint, or the power to proclaim great truth, is false to himself, false to his country, and false to his God, if he leaves behind him nothing better than an accumulation of dollars and cents.

O. H. HOLMES.

THE MACHINE IN POLITICS.

THROUGHOUT nature we see the natural and inevitable existence of leadership. In politics this leadership is present and clearly defined.

When an organization for carrying out the plans of the leader is added, then we have a machine. Hence the organization, or the machine, as well as the leader, is a natural institution. In this machine, as in mechanical contrivances, we find efficiency increased by discarding all superfluous elements. All political bodies such as Congress, etc., have only enough members to accomplish their work with fairness to all sections and interests alike.

This machine originated with our government, and has developed with it. Each step in its growth as a factor in party management has led up to the national convention of to-day.

The existence of political parties of some sort is admitted to be a necessity in a government such as that of the United States. As the convention or some equivalent is a necessary part of the party, and the party of the government, then the convention, our machine, is a necessity in this government.

The theory of our government assumes that all citizens have the *will* and the *ability* to select the wisest and best men for the administration of the affairs of their government; but in a large percentage of the voting population these two necessary elements are not present. With these absent, yet these people with a ruling voice in the affairs of the government, great evil must result. Abuses of our political freedom exist to such an extent that the whole theory of representative government is constantly violated and often practically destroyed. These evils are due rather to the lack of the machine than to its existence: for the machine will control and guide this unstable element.

The phase of the machine coming most closely under general observation is the one whose power is felt in those matters touching the every-day life of the citizen. In local affairs then we may look for a proof of the good accomplished by the machine. In almost every township there is a small body of men who, through a natural taste for politics or skill in noting and controlling the current of popular feeling, have become essential to party success. It is claimed that these men will not do this work without reward. It is true that the reward for political service is sometimes money or money's worth, particularly in large cities; but more often it is purely honorary, consisting in the natural satisfaction of leadership among one's fellows. Each locality usually knows this to be true of its own leaders, but accuses all others of bribery, etc. But the desire of the machine is to *control* appointments not to *obtain* them. In large cities, we find evil types of the machine, but the field in which such types may be found covers but 25 per cent of the country and in the remaining 75 per cent. of agricultural territory they are not found at all.

The condition of affairs, then, is just this: There is a great deal of corruption in our political system; this corruption, to some extent, exercises its influence through the machine; the machine is enabled, and to a certain extent always will be enabled, to wield great power because of that proportion of our voting classes which can be manipulated according to the desires of any one willing to undertake the task; this class is sufficiently large to furnish the desired power. Every one desires that the corruption be removed as completely as possible. Therefore this question immediately occurs to our minds: By what means may this be accomplished?

By the formation of machines such as will only work for the good purposes desired, and in this way furnish the means to overwhelm the boodler's machine and guide all governmental conduct along the line of a true representative government.

F. H. KELLOGG.

FARM MORTGAGES.

IN theory a mortgage is given on the condition that if paid on or before a certain date it shall be cancelled; but if otherwise, the land shall be sold to pay the mortgage with costs. In practice a mortgage is allowed to run as long as the interest is paid and other circumstances are favorable to its continuance.

With the settlement of America the history of the mortgage in this country begins. The development of a new country requires money. The pioneer, who is generally poor, borrows money on his land in the hope that future cultivation will enable him to pay.

Fifty years ago the West was unknown and developed; to-day it rivals the East. This wonderful transformation has required money. Western push and energy united with eastern capital have developed the West.

But with this wonderful transformation have come the evils which sudden growth necessitates. This aid of money in the development of the West is one of the causes that have produced the excessive mortgaging of the western country. Another cause is speculation. "Buying by mortgage," is common during "booms" and results in property becoming encumbered. Another cause that produces mortgages is "hard times." These three causes have produced an immense amount of mortgage indebtedness.

As far as can be gathered from information at hand, in the following states it is as follows:

Ohio, $330,999,000; Indiana, $26,000,000; Illinois, $147,000,000; Michigan, $37,456,000; Kansas, $146,563,000. The sum of $683,418,000 is the amount of money on which the West pays interest to the East. On account of the present depression in agriculture, the people have begun to investigate their condition. The mortgage has been assigned as the cause, but it is the effect of the causes named above.

The history of American farming for the last twenty years is, in brief, that as the area in cultivation has increased, so has the product per capita, to be followed by ever declining prices and diminished returns per acre. The area of staple crops under cultivation has increased from 90,000,000 to 215,000,000 acres. Nearly one-half of this increase has been in the northern trans-Mississippi region, and has been entirely in excess of the increase in population. The increase in farm produce has kept pace with the increase in the cultivated area. During the last forty years, population, farms, and farm produce have increased in the following ratio:

Population, 175 per cent.; number of Farms, 260 per cent.; Cattle, 183 per cent.; Hogs, 63 per cent.; Cotton, 201 per cent.; Bus. of Corn, 257 per cent.; Bus. of wheat, 389 per cent.; Bus. of Oats, 411 per. cent. These figures are significent. As a result of this increase in farms and farm produce, out of proportion to the increase in population, the remuneration received by the farmer for his labor has been correspondingly decreased.

There are too many farms, and there is too much farm produce for the population. When, during hard times, we consider that the mortgage indebtedness of five states is nearly $900,000,000 it is not surprising that the natural inclination is to urge special legislation against capital. But the idea that capital is the enemy of the farmer is a mistaken one. Usury laws hurt the borrower more than the lender. Capital is subject to "the law of supply and demand." A mortgage is but so much capital invested. The present depression is due to natural causes and natural causes will remove it. Several legislative measurers might give temporary relief, but no permanent ameloration can be effected 'till time restores that equilibrium between population and production. Population will continue to increase. Farming lands can not continue to increase. Hence the farmer will soon enter upon an era of prosperity the unlimited continuance of which is assured by the exhaustion of the arable area.

H. S. HADLEY.

THE DEEP HARBOR MOVEMENT.

DURING the month of October two conventions were held in the United States; one known as the Deep Harbor Convention, meeting at Topeka, Kansas: the other, the Pan-American Congress, assembling at Washington. These conventions may be said to be compliments of each other, since the former discussed the best methods of shipping the surplus products to the sea coast, while the latter by means of establishing closer commercial relations, opened a way for a larger foreign market. Both considered a Deep Harbor on the Texas coast necessary to accomplish this end.

The Deep Harbor question may be summarized in three propositions. First, the country west of the Mississippi river produces more in the line of agricultural and live stock than can be consumed here. It is evident that this surplus must be sent out of this country to a foreign market. Second, the cost of transportation is six times cheaper on the ocean than on the land. It follows, therefore, that the shortest route to the sea is the cheapest one, all other things being equal. Third, the country west of the Mississippi is on an average six hundred and fifty miles nearer to the Texas coast than to the Atlantic. The Texas coast is the nearest sea port for the West, and therefore the natural outlet for the surplus of the West.

During the past five years there has been a general depression in business throughout the country. Large establishments have failed and prices have fallen. No one class of men has suffered; bankers, merchants and farmers all having reasons to complain of hard times.

There is a wide divergency of opinion as to the causes bringing about this condition of affairs. Free silver, free trade, and strict legislation against eastern mortgage companies, combines and monopolies, are held by different classes of men to be the remedies for all present financial ills. But if these could be put into successful operation there would still remain the problem of over-production and a limited foreign market. Now the question is, will the opening of a deep harbor on the southern coast tend to relieve the present stringency in the money markets.

Suppose a farmer ships one thousand bushels of wheat by way of Chicago and New York. The grain is handled twice and a profit made at both places. On account of the long distance and expensive rate on freight, the profits to the shipper are reduced to a minimum. If on the contrary the wheat is shipped to the South there would be a saving in three different ways: in a saving of six hundred and fifty miles freightage; in the expense of handling but once; in having only one middle man.

As a result the farmer would doubtless get a better price for his wheat in the foreign market; and by taking the surplus out of the country the remaining crop would bring a higher price.

According to population, the West furnishes a greater per cent. of exports than the East. All this surplus must be carried across the continent to the Atlantic coast. If we can find the total surplus raised in the West we can determine the amount that would be saved by shipping South instead of East.

Take as an example the corn crop. About one-half of the total production is surplus. This amounts to the immense sum of three hundred and fifty million bushels. It has been estimated that four dollars and eight-eight cents would be saved on freight by shipping South, or seventy-eight million dollars. These figures do not take into consideration the imports which come by way of the South and would add nearly one-half more to this profit. About three-fourths of the wheat crop is surplus and over twenty million would be saved on this.

If the surplus of corn, wheat, cattle, hogs and sheep raised in the West were shipped by the Texas coast it is reasonable to estimate that one hundred and twenty million dollars would be saved annually to the West.

The need of a Deep Harbor in the Southern coast is becoming greater each year. Now only one-half of the land of the West is occupied, and there is room for four time its present population. It is only a question of time when the trade of the great West will cease to follow the unnatural channel toward the East, and breaking down every obstacle will flow down the Mississippi valley to the ocean, thence to be borne to the nations of the world.

I. H. MORSE.

THE GROWTH OF NATIONALITY.

NATIONS are not made in a single day. A political or commercial union may result from peculiar necessities of peoples whose ordinary interests are the most diverse; but before such a union can become a nation, military force must be replaced by common interests. A nation must be founded on the likeness, the affections of the people; and these depend upon natural conditions.

The most important of these are: Geographical position, unity of race, language, social institutions and commercial interests. Wide diversity of climate produces great differences in the character, pursuits and interests of the people. Hence arise obstacles to national unity.

In no way is this Republic an exception to the laws of national growth. Declarations and battles and constitutions do not overcome natural conditions and antagonistic social institutions growing from them; nor do they create national feeling. The national idea had to grow—had to grow from the most intense sectional feeling.

In unity of race, language, religion, and in isolation from England lay the most favorable tendencies to union. These were strengthened by common dangers from the Indians and the French. England had always been the object of patriotism. When the separation came Virginia became that for Virginians, Pennsylvania that for Pennsylvanians. Commercial interests compelled the states to give some power to a central government. The union was not the result of national feeling, State rights' sentiment was the naturally prevalent and stronger one. Hamilton's financial policy; the organization of the Supreme Court on a federal basis; the show of power in suppressing the whiskey rebellion; all these did much toward creating national feeling. Yet for years the union was universally regarded as only a doubtful experiment and its downfall predicted. Disunion was a common threat both North and South. Colonial spirit showed itself in parties based on European politics. To such division can be traced the war of 1812. At its close the national idea went a great way ahead as is shown by the new tariff laws, the system of internal improvements, the more national character of Supreme Court decisions, and the disappearance of party rancor.

But on the admission of Missouri the slavery question became prominent. The existence of slavery in one section and not in another was due primarily to climate. The tariff troubles of 1832 rested on slavery. From 1825 national feeling declined, and more than ever political parties assumed a sectional character. The nullification troubles showed it plainly; the slaveholder's war for territory in 1848 was a further indication; and the conflict over the division of the territory showed the division of the two sections complete. During the fifties two nations existed under one flag. In 1861 the Southern one adopted new colors and started out alone. Out of the conflict that ensued the national idea gained much strength. Slavery disappeared, and with it many minor distracting questions. As nationalizing influences since the war may be mentioned; (1) The greater diffusion of population North and South, tending to break down sectional feeling and to overcome effects of climate; (2) Growth of a national literature; (3) The spread of popular education; (4) The habit of living together; (5) Respect that comes of a show of power.

But national unity is by no means perfect. Denationalizing influences still exist. Our hope for the future lies in a fair and honest policy toward all sections and all interests—similar privileges to all, special favors to none—thus making possible that sympathy upon which national unity must be based.

GEO. O. VIRTUE.

THE SILVER QUESTION.

THE adjustment of our monetary circulation has always been difficult. The difficulty arises from, (1) a lack of of knowledge on the part of voters and legislators; (2) on account of the essential disturbances of financial legislation; (3) from the failure to make artifical rules coincide with the laws of supply and demand; (4) from the interference of speculation and, (5) from the over-estimation of the power of legislaiton to remove evils.

Gold and silver have been determined by the nations of the world to be the best materials for money. At present the world needs both gold and silver to complete its exchanges. It would be a great loss to dispense with either. They give steadiness to value, and faciliate exchanges. As they are both natural products of the United States they should both be used as far as is consistent with sound currency.

It is difficult to obtain a perfect standard of value. Even gold varies in its purchasing power. There is greater difficulty in maintaining a parity of value between gold and silver. Cheap money drives dear money out of the market; provided (1) that there is not a great need of both in the exchanges of a country; (2) that there is a demand for the dearer metal abroad, and, (3) that the people do not positively refuse to use the cheap money. This is not a theory of political economists but a fact; as the laws of 1792, 1834, 1853 and 1878 will testify.

There are European countries that want gold in the place of silver. Free coinage in the United States means that we would lose our gold, or else that we will have a cheap money; probably both results would follow. The first effect would be to adadvance the price of silver on account of the increased demand. The second effect would be to cheapen silver on account of increased supply. We need more money but we wish to use silver and retain our our gold. An international agreement if carried out might give stability to both gold and silver on account of universal and simultaneous demand of both metals by all nations.

The present per capita circulation in the United States is $25.17. From March 1st, 1889 to March 1st, 1891 the increase of currency per capita was $2.54. In the mean time about $50,000,000 of bank notes was withdrawn. This makes the normal rate of increase about $1.50 per annum. The present law allows an increase of silver money to the extent of $32,000,000 per annum. It enables the government to issue $67,000,000 in silver coin and silver certificates. The total product of silver in the United States in 1889 was $64,000,000. The government therefore uses more than the normal product of silver for money.

Money is a comodity in the market as well as a medium of exchange. Its purchasing power depends upon the laws of supply and demand. When the demand ceases its purchasing power ceases. If there is just money enough to easily complete exchanges, any increase of the volume of currency above this point will not increase its purchasing power. To create more money than is needed is like creating more plows than may be be used; those not in use are a waste of capital.

What would be the effects of cheap money? If the money circulation were doubled, no one would get any of it unless he had labor or goods to exchange for it. If money became cheapened one-half, then prices would be doubled. The farmer who has goods to sell gets twice as much for them but pays in turn twice as much for supplies. The farmer who has a mortgage may pay it with half what it cost him, if he would; but times seem so good that he borrows more. The millionaire wants to start a factory, and instead of calling in his securities he borrows money. After money becomes cheap he has sense enough to pay all he owes with half what it cost him.

Who are the borrowers of this world? Usually the men who have wealth. The millionaires are the greatest debtors of the country. The ultimate result of this cheap money is a reaction, after gold has become dearer, and periodical hard times follow. We want a money that tends toward cheapness rather than money that tends toward dearness. A very dear money and a very cheap money should both be avoided. A moderately cheap money stimulates industries and thus benefits the entire community. It is the most productive capital there is. We want a stable currency and yet a flexible circlation. It ought to be better distributed than it is at present. A good system should be established and then it should be let alone.

F. W. BLACKMAR.

THE MANAGEMENT OF PUBLIC DEBTS.

AMONG financial questions, none is of more importance than that of public debts. Enormous in extent, they have come into existance almost entirely within fifty years. This increase is accounted for by two causes; Nationalism and Socialism. Nationalism refers to all the expenses brought about by international relations. Socialism means everything which the government does aside from protection to life and property.

The effects of public debts are of three kinds; political, social, and industrial. Under political tendencies, we have first the effects of international borrowing. It may lead to the loss of independence in the case of weak powers. The United States has to fear the clashing of this with the Monroe Doctrine, and it may lead to serious diplomatic difficulties.

Public borrowing is also opposed to constitutionol government. It serves to veil the acts of public officials, and gives the government a means to carry out a policy without the knowledge of the people. The great municipal corruption of the country is due largely to the illegal use of public credit.

A social tendency is a force that either works some change in existing classes, or renders classes already established more permanent. The only social tendency of public debts is of the latter kind. They divide the citizens into two classes: those who pay taxes to support the debt, and those who receive interest from the proceeds of the taxes. Thus labor is paying interest to capital every year. Viewed sectionally, we find that the South and West are paying to the East.

As to the industrial effects, so many conditions enter that it is difficult to come to conclucions. The first question which arises, is whether capital is affected by the placement of the loan, or only credit. It affects capital only when it obtains control of a part of the business fund of the country. When it does not affect this, it is a transaction in credit. This occurrs when one debt is paid with the proceeds of another, or when foreign bonds are sold and the proceeds loaned to the government. If other conditions did not enter, a foreign loan would on this account be best.

When capital is affected, however, other conditions enter. Here the effects fall into three classes, according as the rate of interest is normal, high, or excessive. When a loan is placed at normal rates, the only effect is to stop industrial expansion. It is not probable that it raises the current rate of interest. But as a rule, the demands of the government require the offering of greater inducements. When a high rate is offered, the industries which are on the verge of paying no profit are given up. The money invested in them is loaned to the government. Labor is thrown out of employment. The same thing happens when businesses are given up until the return of better times. The reasoning is similar for the effect of abnormally high rates. The government soon comes into the position of a man who uses his capital to pay his running expenses and as for the laboring classes, they feel the effect most, for they suffer from the rising prices.

Yet these tendencies are not such as to prevent the use of public credit. It may properly be used to cover a temporary deficit. The impossibility of making the income equal exactly the expenditures, is apparent. A deficit is attended by fewer evils than is a surplus. The evils of the latter have a notable example in the finances of the United States during the past thirty years. The deficit should be as small as possible, but on the whole it is better than a surplus.

In spite of the classic arguments against the payment of public debts we are forced to the conclusion that they should be paid. For this there are two reasons: First, the maintenance of a debt cripples industrial development; secondly, if rightly done, the payment does not retard this growth. It should be done by the appropriation each year of a sum which should exceed the demands of interest and of which the surplus should go toward paying the principal.

JUS. D. BOWERSOCK.

AMERICAN HISTORY AND CIVICS.

JAMES H. CANFIELD.

The following statement covers the work of this department during the last two years of the University course, and is made in answer to many inquiries received by the instructor in charge of these topics. *

Instruction in American History and Civics is given by means of lectures, recitations, discussions, conferences, and personal direction in study and research. Special pains are taken to faciliate the use of the University library by students carrying these topics; authorities closely connected with the work in hand being withheld from general circulation, and rendered more available by carefully prepared card indexes.

American History.—Instruction is given daily for two years in American History. The course has been prepared with especial care, with the thought that a thorough knowledge of the origin and development of the Nation is one of the most essential conditions of good citizenship. Marked attention is given to social life and institutional and industrial development; to the financial experiments of the general government, and to diplomatic relations; to the failure of the confederation, the struggle for the constitution, and to the text of the constitution itself; and to the constitutional and political history of the Union from 1789 to the present.

Local Administration and Law.—Three conferences each week during the first term,† covering the management of public affairs in districts, townships, counties, cities, and States. This course is intended to increase the sense of the importance of home government, as well as to give instruction in its practical details.

Public Finance and Banking.—Two conferences each week during the first term, on National, State, and municipal financiering; and on theoretical and practical banking, with the details of bank management.

Constitutional Law.—Three conferences each week during the second term, on the constitution of the United States; with brief sketches of the institutions and events that preceded its adoption, and with special attention to the sources and methods of its interpretation.

International Law and Diplomacy.—Class work twice each week during the second term; using *Davis* on the rise and growth of international law, and *Schuyler* on the history of American diplomacy.

The Status of Woman in the United States.—Three conferences each week during the second term, on the status of woman in all countries and times; with special investigation of the present legal, political, industrial, and professional position of women in the different States of the American Union.

The History and Methods of Legislative Assemblies.—Two conferences each week during the second term on the rise and growth of legislative assemblies, their rules of order and methods of business.

Seminary.—Two hours each week throughout each year.

In all this work constant effort is made to determine the historic facts (as opposed to mere theorizing,) to secure a fair presentation of opposing views, to promote free discussion and inquiry, and to encourage as complete personal investigation of all authorities as the University library permits. This method is thought to furnish the best conditions for sound opinion and individual judgment, while controlling neither.

All general correspondence should be addressed to the Chancellor of the University; special correspondence, to the instructor named above.

HISTORY AND SOCIOLOGY.

FRANK W. BLACKMAR.

MR. ————————

The following studies are announced for 1891—'92, and are open to Juniors and Seniors of all courses in the University. The Political History of Modern Europe is required of all second-year students in English and General Language courses.

In the following courses, the aim is to give a comprehensive knowledge of the great topics of European history, and to investigate social, political, and economic theories and phenomena. Facts are essential to all historic study, yet the aim is to take the student beyond the mere details of events, and to inquire into the causes of the development of society and the philosophy of institutions, that historic truth may form a basis for an intelligent interest in modern social and political life. To this end the study of Sociology and Political Economy embraces the modern economic and social problems of to-day. A well regulated newspaper Bureau makes it possible to carry investigation to

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*During the first two years of the University course, students have the subjects usually required in college courses—though with choice between six lines of work. (See University Catalogue.)

† The University year is divided into two terms, of equal length.

the latest date. To accomplish this, instruction is given by means of lectures, text-books, class drill, reports, discussions, and personal direction in study and research. As the library is the chief aid in this work, students are expected to become acquainted with the best methods of collecting and classifying materials, and of writing and presenting papers on special topics. All lectures are supplemented by required reading and class-work,

FIRST TERM.

English History.—Daily. Descriptive history. A careful study of the English people, including race elements, social and political institutions, and national growth.

The History of Civilization.—Lectures daily, embracing ancient society, and the intellectual development of Europe to the twelfth century. Special attention is given to the influence of Greek philosophy, the Christian church, the relation of learning to liberal government, and to the rise of modern nationalities.

Political Economy.—Daily. The fundamental principles are discussed and elaborated by descriptive and historical methods. All principles and theories are illustrated by examples from present economic society. A brief history of Political Economy may be given at the close of the course.

French and German History.—Daily. Descriptive history; including race elements, social and political institutions, and national growth.

Historical Method and Criticism. One hour each week. Examination and classification of sources and authorities; analysis of the works of the best historians; collection and use of materials, and notes and bibliography.

Statistics.—Two hours each week. Supplementary to all studies in economics and sociology. The method of using statistics is taught by actual investigation of political and social problems. The history and theory of statistics receives due attention.

Journalism.—Lectures three hours each week. Laboratory and library work.

Legal and Historical.—Prof. J. H. Canfield.

English.—Profs. Dunlap and Hopkins.

Ethics of Journalism.—Prof. Templin.

Newspaper Bureau, Magazines, and Special Phases of Journalism.—Prof. Blackmar.

SECOND TERM.

Institutional History.—Lectures three hours each week on comparative Politics and Administration. Greek, Roman and Germanic institutions are compared. The historical significance of Roman law is traced in mediæval institutions.

The Rise of Democracy.—Lectures two hours each week on the rise of popular power, and the growth of political liberty in Europe. A comparison of ancient and modern democracy, a study of Switzerland, the Italian Republics, the Dutch Republic, and the French Revolution, constitute the principal part of the work. Students will read May's Democracy in Europe.

Elements of Sociology.—Lectures three hours each week on the evolution of social institutions from the primitive unit, the family; including a discussion of the laws and conditions which tend to organize society. The later part of the course is devoted to modern social problems and socialistic Utopias.

Land and Land Tenures.—Lectures two hours each week. This course treats of primitive property, the Village Community, feudal tenures of France and England, and modern land-holding in Great Britain and Ireland and the United States. Reports are made on other countries, and on recent agrarian theories and legislation.

Advanced Political Economy.—Three hours each week, consisting of (*a*) lectures on applied economics, (*b*) practical observation and investigation, and (*c*) methods of research, with papers by the students on special topics.

The Political History of Modern Europe.—Two hours each week, including the Napoleonic wars, German Federation, the Rise of Prussia, the Unification of Italy, the Revolution of 1848, the Third Republic, the Russian problem, etc.

English Constitutional History.—Two hours each week. A special study in the principles and growth of the English constitution.

Charities and Correction.—Two hours each week. Various methods of treatment of the poor. Scientific charity. Treatment of the helpless. Prison reform. State reformatories.

Seminary.—Two hours each week throughout the year.

STUDENTS' LIBRARIES.

Every student in the University should lay the foundation of a good working library. Such libraries are not "made to order" at some given time, under specially favorable financial conditions—but are the result of considerable sacrifice, and are of slow growth. The wise expenditure of even ten dollars in each term will bring together books which if thoroughly mastered will be of great assistance in all later life. Room-mates, or members of the same fraternity, by combining their libraries and avoiding the purchase of duplicates, can soon be in possession of a most valuable collection of authors. Assistance in selecting and in purchasing will be given upon application.

Most of the prices named below are subject to discount.

Students are required to purchase books marked with an asterisk.

American Book Company, Chicago.

*Manual of the Constitution, Andrews	$ 1.00
Analysis of Civil Government, Townsend	1.00
Civil Government, Young	1.00
History of England, Thalheimer	1.00
Medieval and Modern History, Thalheimer	1.60
Outlines of History, Fisher	2.40
Political Economy, Champlin	1.00
Political Economy, Gregory	1.20
Politics for Young Americans, Nordhoff	.75

Ginn & Co., Boston.

General History, Myers	$ 1.50
History of the Roman People, Allen	1.00
Leading facts in English History, Montgomery	1.12
Modern Distributive Process, Clark	.75
Philosophy of Wealth, Clark	1.00
Political Science Quarterly, Yearly	3.00
Railway Tariffs and Inter-State Law, Seligman	.75
Readers' Guide to English History, Allen	.25
Washington and His Country, Fiske	1.00

Harpers, New York.

*Constitution Law, Cooley, (students series)	$ 1.25
*History of Germany, Lewis	1.50
*International Law, Davis	2.50
*Political History of Modern Times, Muller	2.00
*Short English History, Green	1.75
Civil Policy of America, Draper	2.50
History of English People, Green, 4 vols	10.00
History of United States, Hildreth, 6 vols	12.00
The Constitution, Story	1.00

Holt & Co., New York.

*American Politics, Johnston	$ 1.00
American Colonies, Doyle, 3 vols	9.00
American Currency, Sumner	2.50
Civil Service in United States, Comstock	2.00
Democracy and Monarchy in France, Adams	2.50
History of Modern Europe, Fyffe, 3 vols	7.50
History of the United States, Johnston	1.25
Political Economy, Roscher, 2 vols	7.00
Political Economy, Walker	2.25

Houghton & Co., Boston.

*Civil Government in United States, Fiske	$ 1.00
American Commonwealths, each volume	1.25
American Statesmen, each volume	1.25
Emancipation of Massachusetts, Adams	1.50
Epitome of History, Ploetz	3.00
Garrison and his Time, Johnson	2.00
Quaker invasion of Massachusetts, Hollowell	1.25
The Pilgrim Republic, Goodwin	4.00
War of Secession, Johnson	2.50

Appleton, New York.

Dynamic Sociology, Ward, 2 vols	$ 5.00
History of Civilization, Guizot	1.25
History of Germany, Taylor	1.50
Political Economy, Mill, 2 vols	6.00

Putman's Sons, New York.

*American Citizen's Manual, Ford	$ 1.00
*Distribution of Products, Atkinson	1.00
*Theory and History of Banking, Dunbar	1.25
American Farms, Elliott	1.25
Great Cities of the Republic, each volume	1.75
Industrial Progress, Atkinson	2.50
Monopolies and the People, Baker	1.25
Railway Secrecy and Trusts, Bonham	1.00
Stories of the Nations, each volume	1.50

Callaghan & Co., Chicago.

Constitutional History of U. S., Von Holst, 6 vol	$20.00
Constitutional Law of U. S., Von Holst	2.00
Law of Taxation, Cooley	6.00
Struggle for Law, Von Ihering	1.50

Crowell, New York.

*History of France, Duruy	$ 2.00
Labor Movement in America, Ely	1.50
Life of Washington, pop. ed., Irving, 2 vols	2.50
Problems of To-day, Ely	1.50

Little, Brown & Co., Boston.

History of Greece, Grote, 10 vols	$17.50
History of the United States, Bancroft, 6 vols	13.50
Parkman's Works, each vol	2.50
Rise of the Republic, Frothingham	1.75

Longmans, Green & Co., New York.

Epochs of Ancient History, each vol.	$ 1.00
Epochs of Modern History, each vol.	1.00
Political Economy, pop. ed., Mill	1.75
The Crusades, Cox	1.00

Scribners, New York.

*American Diplomacy, Schuyler	$ 2.00
History of Rome, Mommsen, 4 vols	8.00
Lombard Street, Bagehot	1.25
Silent South, Cable	1.00

Silver Burdett & Co., Boston.

*Historical Atlas, Labberton	$1.50 or $ 2.00
*Historical Geography of U. S., MacCoun	1.00
Institutes of Economics, Andrews	1.50
Institues of General History, Andrews	2.00

Armstrong, New York.

*Democracy in Europe, May, 2 vols	$ 2.50

Cranston & Stowe, Chicago.

*Political Economy, Ely	$ 1.00

MacMillan, New York.

Constitutional History, England, Stubbs, 2 vols	$10.00
Principles of Economics, Marshall, vol. I	4.00

Morrison, Washington.

History of United States, Schouler, 4 vols	$ 9.00

SEMINARY NOTES.

STATE UNIVERSITY—LAWRENCE, KANSAS.

VOL. I. OCTOBER, 1891. NO. 2.

SEMINARY OF HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCE.

All students connected with the department of History and Sociology are, by virtue of such connection, members of the Seminary. All students having two or more studies under the instructors of the department are required to take the work of the Seminary as part of their work in course.

The meetings of the Seminary are held every Friday, in Room 15, University Building. Public meetings will be held from time to time, after due announcement.

The work of the Seminary consists of special papers and discussions, on topics connected with the Department mentioned; prepared as far as possible from consultation of original sources and from practical investigation of existing conditions, under the personal direction of the officers of the Seminary.

Special assistance in choice of themes, authorities, etc., is given members of the Seminary who have written work due in the department of History and Sociology, or in the Department of English, or in any of the literary societies or other similar organizations in the University; on condition that the results of such work shall be presented to the Seminary if so required.

In connection with the work of the Seminary, a Newspaper bureau is maintained. In this the leading cities of the United States are represented by some twenty daily and weekly newspapers. The principal object of the Bureau is to enable students to form habits of systematic reading, to keep informed on the current topics of the day, to study the best types of modern Journalism, to learn to discriminate between articles of temporary value only and those of more permanent worth, to make a comparative study of editorial work, to master for the time being the current thought on any particular subject, and to preserve by clippings properly filed and indexed, important materials for the study of current history and public life—to *make* history by the arrangement and classification of present historical matter.

Special investigation and study will be undertaken during each year, bearing on some one or more phases of the administration of public affairs in this State; the purpose being to combine service to the State with the regular work of professional and student life. In this special work the advice and cooperation of State and local officials and of prominent men of affairs is constantly sought, thus bringing to students the experience and judgment of the world about them.

Graduates of our own University, or other persons of known scholarly habits, who have more than a passing interest in such work as the Seminary undertakes, and who are willing to contribute some time and thought to its success, are invited to become corresponding members of the Seminary. The only condition attached to such membership is, that each corresponding member shall prepare during each University year one paper, of not *less* than two thousand five hundred words, on some subject within the scope of the Seminary; and present the same in person at such time as may be mutually agreed upon by the writer and the officers of the Seminary, or in writing if it be found impossible to attend a meeting of the Seminary.

The library of the University and the time of the officers of the Seminary are at the service of corresponding members, in connection with Seminary work—within reasonable limits.

More than twenty gentlemen, prominent in official and professional circles, have already connected themselves with the Seminary, and have rendered very acceptable service during past years.

The officers and members of the Seminary will gladly render all possible assistance to any public officials who may desire to collect special statistics or secure definite information on such lines of public work as are properly within the sphere of the Seminary.

Any citizen of Kansas interested in this work is invited to correspond with the Seminary, and to be present at its meetings when possible.

FRANK W. BLACKMAR,
DIRECTOR.
FRANK H. HODDER,
VICE-DIRECTOR.
EPHRAIM D. ADAMS,
SECRETARY.

HISTORICAL STUDY.

HISTORICAL study in the universities of the United States tends each year to associate with it either directly or indirectly the study of humanity in its especial phases. The history of institutions, both social and political, is an important branch of historical investigation, and necessarily considers the problems of present society or present politics. Political economy deals not less with the philosophical principles, but more with the practical affairs of human society. In dealing with the problems of modern society it takes a decidedly sociological tendency. American history deals not alone with the political life, nor alone with the constitution; it seeks to portray the entire life of the people. In history, the civilization of the people is sought and with a faith in present civilization as the most important for us. History is being made every day, through us and about us. It is not an antiquarian study even though it deals much with the past, for the best life of the past is represented in our present. The past, of which we speak, is only the childhood of our own life of whose progress we boast. To know life more fully is the object of historical research. It is, therefore, the province of the student of history to observe the best and latest products of social development as well as the early and immature. It is his duty to inquire into present social and political life, study present problems, and to note how history is being made in the laboratory of the active world. It is the truth, the living truth that he seeks and not the "dead past." An inquiry into present society awakens a study in living humanity. All forms of modern institutions are before the student of history. In this investigation he can not escape observing all phases of human society. The study of history tends towards the study of humanity. Its best branch is the social life. To pour over musty volumes in the search of knowledge; to compare information from different sources, and to attempt to settle disputed points relative to the life or institutions of the past; all of these must be attended to by the student. But for what is all of this done if not for a better knowledge of humanity?

The problems that lie in and about narrative and descriptive history yield the best fruits to the investigator. The problems of national finance, of labor and wages, of education, of prohibition and sumptuory laws, of prison reform and reform schools, of charities, of marriage and divorce, and all of those problems that tend to the elevation and reorganization of human society are the ones that concern us most. And instructors and educators are everywhere looking to the elevation of general humanity as the best and final outcome of university education. The "democracy of education" is a phrase to suit the times. The universities are in touch with the people, and become more and more living institutions as they render especial services to humanity.

As the study of history points more and more toward man in society the university man, following its course, becomes less a recluse and more a living part of political and industrial society, with a heart warmed toward his fellow men. In the study of the great social problems of the day he is optimistic for he sees in the slow evolutions of time their final solution. The optimist is a builder. His structures may not always last, but he builds. The pessimist is destructive. He tears down structures already reared. The former works in the light, the latter in shadows. Both may be essential to well-ordered society, but the former full of hope and full of promise will raise humanity up. Historical study leads to a better understanding of humanity and develops confidence. It leads to an interest in human society; it helps to practice the gospel of humanity.

THE CHARACTER AND OBJECT OF RAILROAD LEGISLATION IN KANSAS.

THE above heading indicates the subject of a very interesting paper read before the Seminary by Judge James Humphrey, ex-Railroad Commissioner, the particular class of legislation being that which deals with the operation rather than the creation of railroads.

The following is a brief abstract of the paper:

Railroad corporations are in a sense public bodies inasmuch as they have invariably received aid at the hands of the government, by the assertion in their favor of the right of eminent domain, and also because they perform a distinct public function as common carriers. They are, therefore, very properly subject, in a peculiar sense, to legislative control, and the law may impose upon them new and additional burdens, or it may restrict and limit the powers originally granted, unless the charter granted contains specific conditions to the contrary.

The essential point in which railroads are limited is usually said to be the lack of what is known as freedom of contract. A railroad has not this privilege belonging to the individual, but is bound to perform services asked, at rates which are reasonable and uniform for all. It is but just that this should be so, for the necessary magnitude of the business and its intimate relation to the growth and prosperity of trade, make it possible for railroads, unless wisely restricted and controlled, to practically determine either the particular section of country which shall develope rapidly, or the particular trade, or even member of a trade, that shall prosper. In order that this unjust influence shall not be exercised, it is provided that rates are to be reasonable. But who is to decide what a reasonable rate is? Certainly the railroad is not the proper party to render such a decision, nor, on the other hand, ought the individual shipper so have the privilege of doing so, and if the case be submitted to a court, it only becomes all the more perplexing.

It is no easy matter to decide as to the reasonableness of rates, although the best theoretical definition is that the rate charged should be sufficient to pay the cost of the service and a fair return upon the investment made. In the very outset the difficulty is encountered of arranging consistent schedules for classes of freight which vary widely in bulk or in weight. If all freights were to pay a rate in accordance with a schedule, based upon either bulk or weight, the country would soon be deprived of many commodities now almost regarded as necessities of life.

Again it is found that the rates charged by a railroad in one section of the country, can not furnish a criterion by which to judge of rates for another railroad in another section. It may be true that the cost of construction of railroads will not vary greatly no matter where they are built, but it certainly is also true, that the stage of development of the section through which a railroad is built, will determine the income per mile operated, and consequently the rate which must be charged in order that the road shall be a paying investment. Thus what a reasonable rate is must depend in some degree upon location, and it is possible for this principle to apply even within a state.

Still another cause of doubt, in applying the principle of just returns, to the determining of a reasonable rate, arises from the utter impossibility in many cases of ascertaining how much of the apparent value represented in the form of stock and bonds represents expenditure, and how much is fictitious. It would be wrong to arrange rates with a view to earning returns upon apparent values, which repre-

sent no labor and no expenditure, for the issue of stock for no other purpose than the absorption of surplus earning, is a violation of charter privileges and an invasion of public right.

Briefly then the peculiar character of railroads, the functions which they perform, and the difficulties met in determining the restrictions which should govern them, led to the Kansas law of 1883, providing for the appointment of a board of railroad commissioners of three members. It is impossible to enumerate here the duties and privileges of that board, but it will be sufficient to state that its main objects are to constitute a board of inquiry into the honest management of railroads, to have referred to it, primarily, all questions of reasonable and uniform rates and of sufficient appointment and equipment, and to have direction of the publication, from year to year, of reports, showing the condition of each road within the state.

THE STUDY OF STATISTICS.

THE Department of History and Sociology has begun in an humble way one of the most important of modern studies, that of Statistics. The instructors are prepared to greatly enlarge this study as the demand for the subject increases. The course of study this term consists in lectures on the theory, history and use of statistics, with practical work in collecting, compiling and using them. The course is instituted for the present purpose of strengthening the studies of sociology and political economy. It is hoped that the course will develop until well-trained statisticians shall be a product of the University. That we are deficient in the United States in the proper collection and compilation of statistics, and especially deficient in drawing the proper conclusions of statistics will be evident to any one who attempts to use the statistical tables compiled in the majority of the states of the nation. And yet each passing year reveals a more careful collection and compilation of statistics. The field of research is greatly extended each year, and the statistical method is of wider application. But in saying this it must be maintained that the statistics gathered in many of the states of the nation are nearly worthless on account of inaccuracy or inefficiency. Of all states Massachusetts is most complete in statistical information and most accurate in method.

This fact is due largely to the efforts of Hon. Carroll D. Wright, who was for seventeen years chief of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor. But other states are growing more particular about the collection of statistics, especially those relating to labor. At present there are twenty-eight states that have bureaus of labor or industrial statistics. These bureaus are created for the purpose of collecting facts relating to the "sanitary, social and educational condition of laborers." Their duties should be enlarged and extended from time to time. The statistics furnished are incomplete and insufficient for the general welfare of the state.

The National Labor Bureau, at Washington, in charge of Commissioner Wright, is in excellent condition and doing efficient work in certain lines. Although the bureau has published five reports on important topics, the greatest work is now in hand, that of the investigation of the condition of labor in Europe. The five reports already published consist of Industrial Depression, Convict Labor, Strikes and Lock-outs, Working Women in Large Cities, and Railroad Labor. In addition

to these a special report was made on Marriage and Divorce. These statistics are reliable and complete. The statistics of the condition of labor in Europe will be of great assistance in tariff legislation, as they will show the real wages, cost of living of laborers, the condition of laborers and the relation of wages to the cost of production. These and many other kinds of information will show the relative advantages of the manufacture of goods in America and Europe.

With the growing interest in statistics in the United States there has sprung up a class of special statisticians. Among these are Hon. Carroll D. Wright, Edward Atkinson, E. R. Gould, Davis R. Dewey, and others. Yet with the increase of efficiency in this line, there is still great lack of trained statisticians in the United States as compared to the states of the old world. The European universities have done much to produce an efficient school of statisticians in the old world, and the American universities may do more for the same purpose in the new world.

The statistical method is much needed at present in determining the social and economical condition of the country. It is through statistics that we measure tendencies. Before rightly compiled statistics glaring generalities vanish. Progress can be measured, and so can tendencies toward depression or prosperity.

It is frequently said that "figures do not lie," but reflection shows them to be the greatest of prevarications if they are not well used. Frequently newspapers and magazines handle statistics with such carelessness as to entirely mislead readers, and statistics are the chief instrument of the public speaker who wishes to mislead the people. Anthony Froude once compared statistics to the letter blocks of the child, by which any word in the language could be spelled by the right combination. So statistics could be made to spell out almost anything.

This is true of inefficient or inaccurate statistics, or even of complete statistics in the hands of the inexperienced. An improper use of statistics is well illustrated by the attempt of Zach. Montgomery to prove that the public schools were especial breeders of crime. He compared the states of Virginia and Massachusetts and convinced thousands of people that crime was more prolific in Massachusetts than in Virginia, and all because of public education. But Mr. Montgomery failed to observe that Massachusetts had large cities, while Virginia had none; that the former was the receptacle of a large foreign immigration, while the latter had none; that the former was a manufacturing center and the latter an agricultural district; through rigid laws crime was more readily apprehended in Massachusetts than in Virginia, and that the colored population in the latter changed the entire aspect of affairs. Failing to note these items the statistics of Mr. Montgomery were worthless and his conclusions false.

The need of the study of the methods of collecting, compiling and manipulating statistics is observed on every hand. The present complicated social condition of the country demands accurate knowledge of the affairs of the nation and of the several classes of society. It is one of the modern ways of investigating history. The statistical method may be compared to steam and electricity. On a single page, in a condition to be compared and used, are the results of wide research, the vital conclusion of volumes of history and perhaps centuries of progress.

Statistics is not a dry study, as some seem to suppose; it is exceedingly interesting to those who delight in measuring exact conclusions. In the form of statistics history is written in the most concise and durable manner. "The statistician chooses a quiet and may be an unlovely setting, but he knows it will endure through all time." "The art of the statistician is the art of the tactician, and is the undeveloped art of the day as it is the important art of the day."

LAWS FOR COMPULSORY INSURANCE OF WORKINGMEN IN GERMANY.*

I. INSURANCE OF THE LABORER AGAINST SICKNESS. ACT OF 1883.

THE fundamental principle of the law is that all laborers in factories, mines, etc., are compelled, through the payment of certain contributions, to provide for themselves sufficient support in case of sickness. Accordingly all workingmen must belong to an association organized for this purpose in one of the following ways:

1. *Local Association.* Must have at least one hundred members. May be organized by the local authorities, and must be in some cases. The assistance due from a local association is, first, medical attendance and medicine from the beginning of the sickness, and second, in case of inability to work, as payment, from the third day of illness, equal to half the average wages of those insured in the association. This assistance comes to an end after thirteen weeks of sickness, but may be continued by action of the association. In the same manner the account paid may be increased. In case of death of a member a payment is made to the relatives of the deceased equal to twenty times the usual daily wages in that place. Two-thirds of the expenses of this insurance are borne by the laborer and one-third by their employers. Their respective shares are paid to the official in charge of the association.

2. *The Trade Association.* An employer who has in his employ as many as fifty persons coming under the act, may organize a trade or factory association. He is required to do so in case request is made by the local authorities or by the local association of which his laborers have before been members. The assistance given is the same as in case of the local association, except that payments made may be in proportion to the actual earnings of the individual instead of to the average wages of all the members.

3. *The Miner's Association.* This is essentially one form of trade association. The law requires that in mining, employers shall establish special associations.

4. *The Guild Association.* This may be organized by any guild for the benefit of its members. The conditions are essentially the same as in the local association.

5. Special form of miner's association, which must provide at least as much support as the regular association.

6. *The Free Association.* Differs from the other forms, in that the employer is not required to contribute. He has, in consequence, no voice in its administration, which rests entirely in the hands of the workingmen. It must provide at least as much assistance as the local association.

7. *The Communal Association.* Provides for all laborers not enrolled in any other. This form furnishes the least support, that is a payment equal to half the usual daily wages of the place. An extension of the period of payment beyond thirteen weeks, or an increase in the account of payment, is not permitted. As before, the expenses are borne, two-thirds by the laborers and one-third by their employers. Contributions of those concerned must not exceed 1½ per cent. of the usual daily wages. The fund is administered free of charge by the communal government.

II. INSURANCE OF THE LABORER AGAINST ACCIDENT. ACT OF 1884.

The object of this law is to insure all laborers engaged in dangerous occupations against accident. The insurance covers all

*This article gives the substance of a digest of recent German insurance legislation prepared by Professor George Adler, of the University of Freiburg. As the acts themselves are not easily accessible, it has been deemed desirable to present this outline of them in English.

accidents, excepting such injuries as the laborer may have intentionally brought about. The assistance provided by this law consists, first, of cost of medical attendance from the fourteenth week after the accident, and second, in a regular payment beginning at the same time and lasting during the inability to work. (During the first fourteen weeks the association for insurance against sickness must care for the injured.) The payment is reckoned upon the basis of the wages received by the injured man during the year preceding the accident. In case of complete disability, it amounts to two-thirds of his wages; in case of partial disability, a corresponding portion. In case of death, as a result of the accident, the following payments are made, first, twenty times the daily wages for burial expenses, and second, an allowance of twenty per cent. of the daily wages to the widow until her death or remarriage, and fifteen per cent. for each child until its fifteenth year, provided the sum total dose not exceed sixty per cent. of the said wages.

The expenses of this accident insurance are borne by the employers, who are organized into an association for the purpose in each trade in which accident insurance is required. These associations divide each year the necessary expenses upon the basis of the total wages paid by each member. Each association may be divided into classes, according to danger involved, so that members whose portions are more dangerous pay a larger share of the expenses. The association may also prescribe contrivances for protection against accident.

In case of accident the directors of the association fix the amount of compensation. If the injured man is not satisfied he may appeal to a committee, consisting of two officers of the employer's association, two of his fellow workingmen and a public official. The court of last resort in matters arising under this law is the imperial insurance office, consisting of eleven members, three of whom are appointed for life by the Emperor upon nomination by the Bundesrath. The remaining eight are appointed for shorter terms, four by the Bundesrath from among their own number, and two each from among the directors of the employer's association and the representatives of the workingmen.

An act of 1885 extended accident insurance to the postal and railway and the marine and military services. Special act of 1886, with more or less important variations, provided accident and illness insurance to persons engaged in farming and in the forests, and an act of 1887 covers accident insurance in the building trades and among sailors.

III. INVALID AND AGE INSURANCE. ACT OF 1889. IN FORCE JAN. 1, 1891.

This act provides an invalid and old age annuity. The age allowance ceases whenever the invalid allowance is granted. Payment on account of age is made, without reference to disability, whenever the laborer reaches his seventieth year. Invalid allowance is granted, without reference to age, whenever the laborer becomes disabled. Not only those are counted disabled who are, by reason of their physical or mental condition entirely unable to earn anything, but also those whose earnings do not reach a certain minimum, determined by their former wages and the usual wages of the place.

All laborers, apprentices and servants, without distinction of sex, whose yearly wages do not exceed 2,000 marks (a mark equals 25 cents) are required to insure themselves from their sixteenth year. The same requirement may be extended by the Bundesrath to smaller employers. If not required, they may voluntarily insure.

For the purpose of grading the allowances and the payments made on their account, laborers are divided according to the amount of their yearly wages into four classes: (1) Those receiving less than 350 marks. (2) Those receiving from 350 to 550. (3) From 550 to 850. (4) Those receiving more than 850 marks.

The annuities are provided as follows:

The Empire appropriates 50 marks for each man insured. To this 60 marks must be added by the insured, and a weekly payment of 2, 6, 9 or 13 pfennigs, according to the class. For the age annuity, the weekly payment is 4, 6, 8 or 10 pfennigs, according to class. Whoever received an annuity must have made the weekly payments for a certain time. The time of payment required for the age annuity is 30 years (counting 47 weekly payments to the year), and for the invalid insurance is five years. A shorter time may be provided during the first years that the loss is in operation. For payments of the insurance, offices are provided throughout Germany, in whose administration both laborers and employers have a voice. Half of the contributions are made by the laborers and half by the employers.

HOW TO PREPARE A PAPER IN HISTORY OR SOCIOLOGY.

OBJECTS TO BE GAINED.

THE preparation of a paper in history or sociology is primarily an educational process. However valuable historical knowledge may be *education* is the highest object to be attained by means of historical research. So far as the student is patient, earnest and thorough, to that extent will he reap an adequate return for his labor. (2) The preparation of a paper may have for a secondary object, the increase of individual knowledge and the mastery of a special subject. Indeed, no one can write a respectable paper who is not interested in the acquirement of knowledge as an individual possession; and the full benefit will not be obtained until the writer is an earnest seeker after the truth for its own sake. (3) A third object to be gained is the imparting of instruction to others. To aim to present obscure material in a thoughtful and intelligent manner to others is a worthy object. To free a subject from a cloud of learning and place it in a clear light for the easy comprehension of others is a great saving of time, for it introduces the principle of co-operation into education. As a rule the educational process is strengthened in proportion as the person writing feels the responsibility of what he is doing; consequently, to know that the paper is to be read to others, that it is to be sifted, passed upon as weak or strong, dull or interesting, instructive or otherwise, will have a tendency to create thoroughness, and call out the strong qualities of the writer's mind. (4) As a fourth object may be mentioned the desire on the part of the writer to advance learning by adding something to the sum of human knowledge, or at least to assist in making history plainer, or to gather and classify the phenomena of society. A person of fair education may do great service in a limited field.

METHODS OF PREPARATION.

In order to secure one or all of the desired ends, it is necessary to have a well defined method of reading, preserving and classifying material, as well as skill in composing. It matters not how great the genius of thought, or how fine the flow of rhetoric, if a student lacks method in work the great educational lesson is lost. But the method chosen must depend somewhat upon the individual, and the only question is whether he has a good method. Some persons work best by one method and some by another; consequently the methods which I shall present are intended to be suggestive, although I may say that they are the ones approved by my own experience and by the scholars with whom I have had the pleasure of working.

THE CHOICE OF SUBJECT.

The first step in the choice of a subject. The subject should be selected with care, although it is not at all necessary that the

student should know much about it before he begins, provided that he is able to master it before the completion of the paper. There are about three classes of subjects from which to choose, viz: (1) A narrow subject, extending over a long period of time, such as "The Origin and Development of Jury Trial;" (2) a broad subject covering a limited period, such as "The Social Condition of England at the time of Chaucer," and (3) a limited subject covering a limited period, such as "The Silver Coinage Bill of 1890." The first kind will yield the best educational returns for a paper of some length. There is a tendency for persons to choose the second class, or even to take a broad subject extending over a long period, and attempt to cover the whole field from "Adam to Bismarck." Let the student choose instead, a subject in which he is interested, and upon which he is willing to do the necessary work. Let him narrow this question by a process of exclusion, until it reaches logical proportions, and state it so clearly that others, as well as he, may not mistake its true bearing.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

The next point to be observed by the student is to ascertain what material he has at command and where it is found. To accomplish this a bibliography should be commenced at once. The student should consult catalogues and indexes—Poole's Index—and such other material of like nature at hand, not omitting that which is of greatest importance, the library books themselves. All references to the subject should be kept on uniform slips of card-board prepared for the purpose, one reference being placed on each card. These should be arranged alphabetically, and should contain subject, sub-head, author, volume, page, date and place of publication, and note when necessary. The note should give the characteristic of the publication, indicating specifically for what the book stands. It may be placed on the back of the card if necessary. Thus:

> Village Community, The English,
> Seebohm, F.
> London,—1883.
> NOTE—Special treatment of the "manorial" system.

In the arrangement of the cards alphabetically, small rubber bands are very useful for separating the various divisions. The cards may be placed in a box of suitable dimensions, according to the method of the library card index. All material collected should be duly classified according to its true value. At least three classes must be clearly recognized, viz: original sources, standard authorities and secondary material. In the first class would fall such works as Thorpe's Ancient Laws and Institutes, Stubbs' Select Charters, etc.; in the second class will be found John Stuart Mill's Political Economy, Stubbs' Constitutional History of England, etc., while in the third class will be found the majority of magazine articles, books poorly written or written from consultation of class two. This classification may be carried to a great extent, but a limited classification will be of great service in general work and will help to dispel any inordinate reverence for print. The bibliography will continue to grow throughout the development of the subject.

READING MAGAZINES.

At this juncture it is an excellent plan to read a limited number of magazine articles, and a general essay or treatise of the subject, that the range of the work may be obtained. The magazine articles will give inspiration and stimulate thought on the principal topics under consideration. But the student will read standard authorities and consult original sources as far as possible before he essays to write much.

OUTLINE OF THE WORK.

As soon as the writer thinks that he knows the course of argument he wishes to pursue, and comprehends the scope of his subject, an outline of the subject should be made, composed of the various heads and sub-heads into which the essay will

naturally fall. Though systematic, this should be arranged with reference to the possibility of enlargement and of subsequent changes. Such an outline will enable the student to be specific in research, note-taking, logical development and continuity of thought.

READING, NOTE-TAKING AND CLASSIFYING.

Although the memory must be trusted for the larger portions of the student's reading, there are certain thoughts and principles that may not be entrusted to the memory alone if he would secure exact scholarship. Consequently it is necessary to have a systematic method of note-taking. There are two kinds of notes to be taken; one is an exact quotation and the other the substance of a thought of an author in which a paragraph or even a page or more may be summed up in one general authoritative statement. In each case reference should be made to the book, volume and page from which the quotation or thought is taken. In the paper this reference should be given in a foot-note. There is a double advantage in the use of such notes: first, there are many things stated so aptly that the writer cannot afford to dispense with the exact words, and secondly, a reference to standard authorities is frequently necessary to give credit to borrowed material as well as to substantiate arguments. Notes should be taken on cards or slips of paper of uniform size—heavy ledger paper cut in slips the size of a medium envelope is the best. But one note should be taken on a single card, and the cards should be carefully classified. Every new note falls into its place, and all of the notes on a single sub-head can be referred to in a minute's time. Great care should be exercised to record the exact reference of the quotation with the date, in case of historical writing.

The following example will illustrate a note in the simplest form:

> *Bimetallism*, Advantages of,
>
> "But a bimetallic money-unit will be less changeful than a monometallic, even if the whole money metal volume is the same in the two cases, as fluctuations in both metals at one and the same time are less probable than in one alone."—E. B. Andrews, Institutes of Economics, p. 125.

I have found it convenient to use rubber bands in classification, and an envelope box as a receptacle for the cards. Any person who has ever tried to unravel the mysteries of the ordinary note-book will at once see the advantage of the system; a note on any given subject can be found in an instant.

WRITING.

A person should know something about his subject before commencing to write, but if he wait to know all he will never begin to write. After a thorough reading of the subject in hand, the essay may be taken up under each separate division in order and written paragraph by paragraph. This method has an advantage over that of attempting to evolve spontaneously as it were a whole essay, for it relieves the mind from strain and concentrates it upon a single point. It will assist in settling the proportions of the paper, which is a very necessary thing to be done. There is a tendency in writing to make the introduction half of the whole production, and close with a meagre and weak ending. This may be avoided by proper care in previous analysis. Writing by the paragraph, or sub-head, has a tendency to thoroughness and exactness, for all the notes on the topic under consideration may be spread out for comparison. The writer should avoid going out of his course of reasoning, as many do, in order to bring in something which is interesting or sounds well. Better use it next time; it will keep. At the close of the paper a summary of the points presented should be made, and it is not a bad plan to append a list of authorities quoted. In making the first draft of the essay it is an excellent plan to draw a vertical line through the center of the paper, fill the right side of the sheet and leave the left side for corrections, comments and additional material. This will save copying at least once.

As to the rhetorical style, I must leave that to the instructors of English, suffice it to say that clear, forcible statements of facts, in simple language, amply illustrated and verified, are always essential in accomplishing the desired end.

THE STUDY OF HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN.

THE student of history probably knows that the scientific or German method of study, of which so much is said in these days, is of comparatively recent application in the United States. He may not, however, be aware of the fact that to the University of Michigan belongs the honor of having introduced a system of study, which has been gradually adopted by all of the more prominent of our institutions of learning.

In 1857 Prof. Andrew D. White, since president of Cornell University, began a new era in the study of history in the University of Michigan, by substituting for the study of the time when, and of the man, the study of the times and of the men, in an attempt to inculcate the spirit of investigation. The modern method pursued in the study of history is familiar to every reader, and it is not necessary to repeat it here, but it may be of some interest to note the manner in which this study is conducted in that American institution, which first adopted the new system.

According to the announcement of the University of Michigan, for the year 1889–90, the courses of study offered in history are six in number, for the first semester, and eight for the second semester, fourteen in all. But as the course in English history, in the second semester, is a repetition of that given in the first semester—a repetition occasioned by the large number of students desiring to pursue this particular branch of study—the number of courses offered is reduced to thirteen. Of these five are devoted exclusively to United States history, four to general European history, one to English history, one to French history, and two to a study of comparative constitutional law. Five courses are given by text-book instruction, six by means of lectures, and two as seminaries. All courses are either two or three hours per week—those in charge of the instruction being of the opinion that greater interest will be aroused in the study of history if the student is permitted to be a member of two or more non-conflicting classes, where the period of time covered by the studies pursued is nearly the same.

The theory upon which the work is planned seems to be that, given a certain well grounded knowledge in United States and English history, the student should be permitted to choose the particular branch of history which he is to follow, or in case he desires to do so, to so arrange his college course that before its close he can have taken all of the work offered in history. The two bulwarks of required work yet remaining are general United States history, coming under the head of an entrance requirement, and English history, required as a necessary study for nearly every degree offered, and always required before the student is permitted to take more advanced work in history. All other courses in history are optional; that is, they may be taken or not just as the student pleases, with the exception that in some few courses which naturally follow each other in point of time, the student is expected to follow the logical order, e. g. the course in eighteenth century history must be proceeded by the course in sixteenth and seventeenth century history.

The favorite method of giving instruction in the University of Michigan is by means of lectures, and it is no fault of the historical department that all of its courses are not offered in this way, in fact the attempt has been made for some time to give, through lectures, each study which is now offered as a text-book course. In such studies as general English history, however, it was soon evident that the great amount of detail necessary in so distinctively a foundation study could not be satisfactorily covered by means of lectures in the comparatively short time allotted to

it. Again the study of the constitutional history of the United States has at least twice been given as a lecture course, and has twice been replaced among the list of text-book studies, the text-book being Von Holst. It is very much to be doubted, however, whether the average under-graduate student obtains as much benefit from the study of Von Holst as he would be likely to receive from a simple yet comprehensive series of lectures covering the same period of American constitutional history.

The popular courses are, however, the lecture courses, and there can be no doubt that their popularity arises mainly from the fact that through them the student is introduced to a new line of study, differing from that mere routine lesson learning which is so apt to attach itself to the study of a text-book course, but which is by no means necessary to it.

The student is taught to expand points which can only be touched upon in the lecture room, and in order to do this he must, himself, search the authorities. If he is a bright student it will not be long before he will discover that authors whom he had previously regarded as infallible, may be a little, just a little, in the wrong, or at least that some one else proclaims them to be so, and to decide for himself what the truth in the matter is he will, if that is possible, consult original documents. In a word, the student is taught to investigate, and there can be no doubt that in so far as the lecture courses in the University of Michigan are concerned the scientific method in history is faithfully pursued.

The spirit of investigation is still further stimulated by means of the seminaries, composed usually of ten or a dozen seniors or post graduate students. In these seminaries each member selects some particular phase of the main subject for the study of which the seminary has been formed, and making that phase his special topic, offers, from time to time, a report to the other members of the seminary. There are usually two reports at each weekly meeting, and as the time of the meeting is two hours, this practically compels each member reporting to present an hour's lecture to his fellow members. The final report is frequently put into the form of a paper, to be presented before the Political Science Association, an organization composed of the students of the departments of History and of Political Econemy, although any student may become a member upon the payment of a small entrance fee.

This is in general the kind of historical work which the under-graduate student follows at the University of Michigan, and, as is readily seen, it differs very little in practical study, and not at all in the idea of study, from the work offered in our own University.

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION.

THE subject of university extension is at present attracting great attention on this side of the Atlantic. It is the last wave of popular education to pass over the country. University extension has been practiced with good success for many years in England, and in a casual way in America. At present it seems to be gaining in strength and efficiency. Although there is not so much need of university extension in America as in England, it is in strict accord with our principles of democratic education. We have so many colleges and institutions of learning throughout the nation, available to all classes, and each a center for the diffusion of knowledge, that we do not feel the need of special training in the democracy of

education to the extent that England does, where a student must put on a full dress suit before he can be admitted to the presence of the learned instructor. However something has already been done in this line in the United States, and much more will be done in the near future. In the July number of the *Review of Reviews* is an excellent article by Prof. H. B. Adams on "University Extension and its Leaders." Also in the May number of Book News is a series of articles on the subject of university extension, some of which are valuable and others crude in ideas. A careful perusal of these two sources will give a fair estimate of what is being done in university extension. Each year witnesses a stronger feeling that universities are for the people, and not alone for the educated few. There is a growing sentiment in favor of the "democracy of education," and in the utility of university education. The universities come nearer the people each year, and show a common interest in the cause of humanity. The training of men for actual service is the primary object of the university, especially of the State university.

There is talk now of organizing a central association for university extension at Kansas State University, with the suggestion that local associations be formed throughout the state. Something has already been done in an irregular way by the instructors of the University. Many of them have gone out, from time to time, when called to lecture to the people. Last year a lecture course on kindred subjects was given, by the students of the historical departments, at Vinland, and repeated at Edwardsville. These were the first regular courses of lectures given, and were, therefore, nearer the extension idea. University extension implies the delivery of a course of lectures on the same general topic, with a view to instruction and examination with credit for work done. It will be many years before Kansas University may give full university extension work; but it may readily do something in this line by sending its professors out on an occasional lecture course. This will help the people and the University. Already Mr. Beer, of the Topeka Free Library, has organized a local association, which has engaged Professor Blake to deliver twelve lectures on Electricity. Another professor has been invited to prepare a course on the History of Institutions. The work of lecturing to the people may, by this process, be rendered more instructive than by promiscuous single lectures.

HISTORY AND SOCIOLOGY IN CORNELL UNIVERSITY.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY has devoted so much of its energy to scientific and technical education that it may not be generally known how great advantages it offers for the study of history and sociology. This department now consists of six professors, who divide the work into five groups, as follows: (1) Modern European History, Professor Tuttle; (2) American History, Professor Tyler; (3) History of Political and Social Institutions, Professor Jinkes; (4) Ancient and Mediæval History, Associate Professor Burr, and (5) Political Economy, Professor Laughlin and Associate Professor Miller.

Each of these groups has its separate seminary and seminary room in the library building, and each room has its special library to which members of the seminary have free access. The general library contains 100,000 books and some 25,000 pamphlets, and is especially rich in history and sociology. This includes the President White historical library of some 30,000 volumes and 10,000 pamphlets, besides

many valuable manuscripts. This collection is especially rich in original sources for the study of the reformation, the French revolution and the history of superstition. The Jared Sparks' collection of American history, purchased by the University, supplies many rare volumes which it would now be impossible to secure.

The new library building, costing over half a million dollars, is almost palatial in its equipment. For the encouragement of advanced work, the department of history and political science has four fellowships, two in economics, each yielding $400 a year, one in modern history, and one in the history of institutions at $500 each. Instruction is given mainly by lectures and in the seminary. Courses are arranged for two and three hours a week, and run through the entire year. The announcement for the present year, briefly stated, is as follows:

1. History and Civilization of Greece and Rome.

2. Private and Political Antiquities of the Greeks.

3. Private Life of the Romans.

4. History of Europe during the Middle Ages.

5. History of England during the Middle Ages.

6. Seminary in Mediæval History.

7. European History since the Middle Ages.

8. Epochs in the History of Modern Europe.

9. History of England since the Middle Ages.

10. Seminary in Modern History.

11. American History from the Discovery to the Revolution.

12. American History from the Revolution to the Rebellion.

13. American Constitutional History.

14. Canadian Constitutional History and Law.

15. American Historical Seminary.

16. Nature and Development of Political Institutions.

17. Principles and History of Social Institutions.

18. Elements of International Law.

19. Seminary for study of Political and Social Questions.

20. Elementary Political Economy.

21. Advanced Political Economy.

22. Public Finance and Banking.

23. Economic History of Europe and the United States.

24. History of Tariff Legislation in the United States.

25. Railway Transportation and Legislation.

26. Seminary in Political Economy.

SEMINARY - NOTES.

PUBLISHED ON THE FIRST DAY OF OCTOBER, NOVEMBER, DECEMBER, FEBRUARY, MARCH, APRIL AND MAY,

BY

THE SEMINARY OF

HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCE.

State University, Lawrence, Kansas.

Frank W. Blackmar.
Frank H. Hodder, - - - - *Editors.*
Ephraim D. Adams,

Terms, Ten Cents a Number, - Fifty Cents a Year

THE purpose of this publication is to increase the interest in the study of historical science in the University and throughout the State, to afford means of regular communication with corresponding members of the Seminary and with the general public—especially with the Alumni of the University, and to preserve at least the outlines of carefully prepared papers and addresses. The number of pages in each issue will be increased as rapidly as the subscription list will warrant. The entire revenue of the publication will be applied to its maintenance.

Address all subscriptions and communications to

F. W. BLACKMAR,
Lawrence, Kansas.

SINCE the publication of the last number of SEMINARY NOTES, several important changes have taken place. First, Mr. E. D. Adams was elected Assistant in History and Sociology. Soon after this Professor Canfield resigned his professorship to go to Nebraska. Immediately after accepting his resignation, the Regents consolidated the two historical departments, under the title of History and Sociology, and elected Mr. F. H. Hodder Associate Professor. It necessarily follows that the editorial staff of SEMINARY NOTES has two new men in the place of Professor Canfield. The present editors will carry out the original plan of the publication with such improvements as may be made from time to time.

WE are glad to learn of the prosperity of the former director of the SEMINARY, Chancellor James A. Canfield. The number of students enrolled in the University of Nebraska is thirty per cent. greater than last year. A new Law course has been established in the university. Upon the whole the new Chancellor of Nebraska is doing just what his friends predicted—making a great success of his new work. The University of Nebraska is to be congratulated that it was able to secure such an efficient man as Chancellor Canfield.

MR. A. L. BURNEY, Miss Florence Reasoner, and Miss Inez Taggert, all of the class of '90, are doing graduate work in History and Sociology. Walter R. Armstrong of the same class wants to study in the same department, and John A. Rush will enter the Law department and take studies is History and Sociology.

THE senior professor in the department of History and Sociology is highly gratified that the Regents of the University have again displayed their wisdom in electing two able men to positions in the department. They are young men of scholarly habits and marked ability. Professor Hodder, Associate in American History and Civics, was born at Aurora, Ill., November 6, 1860. He graduated at Michigan University in 1883, having studied history under Prof. C. K. Adams, and political economy under Prof. H. C. Adams. He was principal of the High School at Aurora. Afterwards he went to Cornell University, where he was instructor and later Assistant Professor in Political Economy from 1885 to 1890. During the last year he has been studying at the universities of Gœttingen and Freiburg, under Von Holst, Conrad and others. He is an able instructor.

Mr. E. D. Adams, Assistant in History and Sociology, was born at Decorah, Iowa, in 1865. He was a student in Iowa College, 1833 to 1885; student in the University of Michigan 1885 to 1887, taking the degree of A. B. in 1887, was principal of the High School at McGregor, Iowa, 1887 to 1888, and student of the University of Michigan for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, 1888 to 1890. In 1890 he took the degree of Ph. D. Since 1890 he has been connected with the

census work on street railways, and since December has held the position of special agent in charge of street railways. He is doing good work in Kansas University.

We notice with pleasure the steady progress of historical study in Johns Hopkins, the pioneer graduate University of America. Starting in an unassuming way soon after the organization of the university, the historical department has shown an unusual amount of enthusiasm and vigor, and has kept pace with the other departments of the university in maintaining the foremost graduate school in America. The instruction steadily increases in scope, thoroughness, and efficiency. The quality of the publications has improved rather than declined. There is scarcely a scholar in American Institutions who fails to acknowledge the service rendered by the Johns Hopkins Studies. Instruction includes History, Politics, Institutions, Administration, Public Law, Political Economy and Finance, and special phases of Social and Political Institutions. Professor Herbert B. Adams is at the head of the department which includes some of the ablest instructors and lecturers in America. Among these are Professors Richard T. Ely, Woodrow Wilson, and J. Franklin Jameson; James Schouler, Drs. Albert Shaw and J. M. Vincent, Hon. Carroll D. Wright and John A. Kasson, LL. D. Last year the department numbered one hundred and eight students, fifty-five of whom were graduates. Instruction is carried on by the best modern university metheds. A full description of methods and courses of study will be given in our next number.

Last year two department lecture courses were given by the students, one at Vinland and one at Edwardsville. The young men who were in these courses did themselves great credit. Abstracts of these lectures were given in the last number of Seminary Notes. The young men spoke to appreciative audiences, and the success of the experiment warrants the management of the department of History and Sociology continuing the work during the coming year. Let the more advanced young men in the department select some topic of general interest, make a thorough study of it, and prepare a popular lecture for delivery some time during the winter. It will give the lecturers a great deal of experience in a short time; it will help the University and the people. The last year's course was a practical demonstration of university extension. The lecture courses were prepared in economics and American history.

The following is a list of the corresponding members of the Seminary:

Hon. Geo. R. Peck, Topeka.
Hon. Chas. Robinson, Lawrence.
Hon. James Humphry, Junction City.
Hon. T. Dwight Thacher, Topeka.
Hon. Frank Betton, Topeka.
Maj. J. K. Hudson, Topeka.
Chancellor J. H. Canfield, Lincoln.
Hon. J. S. Emery, Lawrence.
Hon. B. W. Woodward, Lawrence.
Col. O. E. Learnard, Lawrence.
Hon. C. S. Gleed, Topeka.
Hon. Charles F. Scott, Iola.
Mr. D. S. Alford, Lawrence.
Mr. Scott Hopkins, Horton.
Hon. Fred. A. Stocks, Blue Rapids.
Col. H. M. Greene, Lawrence.
Hon. Wm. A. Phillips, Salina.
Rev. W. W. Ayres, Lawrence.
Rev. C. G. Howland, Lawrence.
Rabbi Henry Berkowitz, D. D., Kansas City, Mo.
Principal W. E. Higgins, Topeka.
Mr. Noble Prentis, Newton.
Rev. Chas. M. Sheldon, Topeka.
Hon. S. O. Thacher, Lawrence.

The following periodicals are taken by the Department of History and Sociology:

The Public Opinion, Forum, The Nation, The Book Chat, The New England Magazine, The Chautauquan, The Quarterly Journal of Economics, The Review of Reviews, Harper's Weekly, Publications of the American Economic Association, Papers of the American Historical Association, The Johns Hopkins University Studies, Publications of the American Statistical Association, The Revue des deux Monde (French Dept. pays for one-half), The Political Science Quarterly, Free Russia.

THE program of the Seminary for the academic year is not yet completed, but the following gentlemen have consented to read papers: Noble L. Prentis, Scott Hopkins, Frank H. Betton, Geo. R. Peck, S. O. Thacher, D. S. Alford, Rabbi Berkowitz, Chas. M. Sheldon, W. W. Ayers, C. G. Howland, C. S. Finch, and O. E. Learnard. Probably B. W. Woodward, L. E. Sayre, and James H. Canfield will each favor us with a paper or an address.

ONE of the most interesting papers read before the Historical Seminary during the past year was "The Genesis of the Republican Party," by B. W. Woodward. The reader dwelt upon the philosophy of great movements, and spoke of the tendency to accredit too much to leadership. The Republican party was made up of the rank and file of large bodies of people. The people were the real heroes. In saying this he did not discredit such men as Lincoln, and Douglas, who were at the head of great movements. Reminiscences of these men were given in a pleasing manner. History is made much more real to students when told by men who were present when the history was made. Every one appreciated Mr. Woodward's paper. We regret that we cannot publish it in full; to write an abstract is to destroy its charm.

THE Leland Stanford University, of Palo Alto, California, has a grand opening. It opens with a large number of students. The new dormitory for boys has a capacity for three hundred, but the rooms are all taken. No one can look upon the fourteen buildings already completed without being greatly impressed with the possibilities of this magnificent endowment, said to be twenty millions. The University of California is less than fifty miles from the Stanford, and the University of the Pacific is about sixteen miles distant. These are the three leading universities in California. The opening of Stanford will draw heavily for a time on the other universities, but will ultimately do them both good. It will give an impulse to higher education which cannot fail to help all well-regulated institutions. There are three kinds of universities that are destined to prosper: the state university, the heavily endowed private university, and the denominational or Christian school. Each stands upon its own independent basis, without necessary antagonism to the others. Each, in its particular field, will support and strengthen the cause of education. Even though a rivalry exist they will each help the other in the common field of higher learning.

IN the July number of the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Mr. David Kinley, of Johns Hopkins University, in an interesting article on the recent progress of profit-sharing abroad, calls attention to the remarkable growth since 1888 of the number of prominent firms which have adopted the system of profit-sharing in the payment of employes. He states that in England four firms adopted the system in 1888, six in 1889, and twenty in 1890, the number of employes affected aggregating 7,694 for twenty-five of these firms.

A curious thing about it all is that contrary to the general expectation and to the previously expressed opinions of well-known leaders of working men, the laboring class in general do not seem to be in favor of the system. Individual workmen, who are to be benefited may favor it, but the organizations of working men are not advocates of profit-sharing, but are, on the contrary, unsympathetic, if not hostile. The reason for this is "that it would be difficult to consolidate organization in any body where a system of deferred pay, either in the form of pensions or perquisites, prevailed." In other words, it would be more difficult with profit-sharing to use strikes as a means of securing higher wages, than it is under the pure wage system.

Whatever justice there may be in this attitude, the whole question is just now in a very curious stage, and its solution by English working men will be looked forward to with interest in the United States.

NEW BOOKS.

Three recent publications from the Johns Hopkins press are before us. These are "Public Lands and Agrarian Laws of the Roman Republic," by Andrew Stephenson, Ph. D., Professor of History in Wesleyan University; "State and Federal Government in Switzerland," by J. M. Vincent, Ph. D., Instructor in Johns Hopkins University, and "Spanish Institutions of the Southwest," by Frank W. Blackmar, Ph. D., Professor of History and Sociology in the Kansas State University. The first volume is a clear presentation of the methods employed by Rome in the disposal of public lands, and an analysis of the agrarian laws. The volume is small, covering about one hundred pages of closely printed matter. It gives one of the best and most complete analyses of an important and troublesome subject. It is the best analysis of the subject published in English. The work is written from original sources, and reflects great credit on the author and the Hopkins press.

The second book is a scholarly work, written in a careful, painstaking way, upon one of the most interesting subjects of historical research. Students will find it a valuable aid in understanding the somewhat confusing relations of the prime sources of government in Switzerland. In the analysis of this minature commonwealth the author has brought into play a thorough appreciation of our own institutions. And it is, perhaps, this feature of the work, the comparison of American institutions with those of Switzerland, which will be of especial interest to the average reader. The work is only a part of the result of an extended research on this subject by the author. We hope to see the larger work in print at an early date.

The last book mentioned is a study of the social and political institutions of Spain, as represented by the Spanish colonist in America. It treats of the founding of the Spanish missions in California, Arizonia, New Mexico, and Texas. It portrays the civilization established by the *padres*, the social condition of the Indians, and the political and social life of the pioneers of the Southwest. The movement of the civil, religious and military powers in the "temporal and spiritual," and the consequent founding of civil pueblos, missions and military towns are fully discussed. The Spanish policy in trade and diplomacy, in government and religion, and in colonization and land tenure is clearly defined. The book contains 353 pages, with map, cuts and thirty-one historical illustrations.

We are in receipt of "Principles of Political Economy," by Charles Gide, Professor of Political Economy in the University of Montpellier, France. The book is translated by E. P. Jacobson, formerly of University College, London, and published by D. C. Heath & Co., of Boston, with an introduction and notes by Prof. James Bonar, and an American introduction by Prof. J. B. Clark. The arrangement of the book is excellent, the style clean and entertaining. The author belongs to the "classical," or "old school" of economists, who believe firmly in theory and philosophy. But while Professor Gide holds to this method, as the foundation of political economy, he does not ignore what has been accomplished by the "new school." Deduction and induction, he holds, are necessary in political economy. Accepting the best products of the older philosophy, he adds to it a progressive use of the new. With him there is but one political economy, and the "new school" is but an evolution of the "old." It is gratifying to American students to have in their hands a progressive French economy, especially as its brilliant style and clear exposition make it delightful reading.

KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY under the management of Chancellor Snow, is making rapid progress. The increased number in attendance, the systematic management of the central office, the wholesome administration of affairs relating to the classifi-

cation of students, and the growing interest felt throughout the state in the work of the University; all speak of unusual thrift and prosperity. Instructors are proud to teach in such an institution; the students are justly proud of it, and both classes are proud of the Chancellor, who guides so ably the affairs of the school. It is, indeed, a state institution for the people, in which they have a growing interest. It is rendering great service to the entire country. This paragraph ought not to be closed without saying something about the History and Sociology of the chinch-bug, but the writer refrains, only concluding with the thought that in the general improvement of the University the department of History and Sociology will endeaver to do its share of service.

THE instructors in the department of History and Sociology were highly gratified by the large attendance at the first meeting of the Seminary for the current year. The program was informal and introductory, being made up by short talks by the three instructors. The students seemed interested in the exercises, and asked questions as is the usual custom. More ladies are in the Seminary this year than heretofore. It is really gratifying to know that the young ladies of Kansas are taking greater interest in the study of history and politics. In a state where so much is said about the political rights and duties of women, and where co-education is the universal rule it is pleasing to note a more careful preparation made by the young ladies for the part which they must take in the management of public affairs. The following report of the Seminary, with one or two emendations, is taken from the Lawrence *Journal:*

"The initial meeting of the Historical Seminary was held at the University yesterday afternoon. Every seat in the large lecture room was occupied. Prof. Blackmar presided and made the opening address, during the course of which he detailed the work of the past and outlined the future policy. As the corresponding members occupied so much of the time last year, Prof. Blackmar said the Seminary would meet each week this year, every other meeting being a students' seminary. Among the corresponding members who have signified their willingness to read papers are Noble Prentis, C. M. Sheldon, Rev. Ayers, Rev. Howland, Judge Thacher, Rabbi Berkowitz, etc. The professor reported the possibility of holding small special seminaries, but hoped the one would serve as a clearing house for work done.

"Prof. Hodder followed on methods in German universities, with special reference to historical study. He said each university had its three faculties, that of law, of theology, and of philosophy. Under the philosophical faculty is done the work in history, except at one or two universities, which have special historical faculties. There are two sorts of students, those who are idle doing nothing at all and the working student who works very hard. A man may enroll for three courses of lectures and attend forever if desires, but only the hard working student comes up for examination or to defend a thesis as a candidate for a doctor's degree. The seminary in the German university is only used by the earnest student. Prof. Hodder thinks the superiority of German universities is due to the thorough preparation received in the gymnasia. He told us in a very interesting way, some of his own experience in German universities.

"Prof. Adams was the last speaker, and his subject was the Enumeration of the Population in the Census. He said that the superintendent appointed 175 supervisors, under whom were about 46,000 enumeraters. To these were sent 23,000,000 schedules—a large freight train load. There were five different forms of these to be filled out for each family. After the collection of these figures they had to be counted—almost an impossible job by hand, so a machine was used. One of these counted over 3,000,000 in one day.

Women were more rapid counters than men. The professor said he was saving the description of the work in his department—that of transportation—for his class in statistics.

"A students seminary was announced for next week, for which the program will be posted, and the meeting then adjourned."

THE attempt to establish courses in journalism, by means of which a student is educated especially for journalistic life, has not proved a great success in the universities where it has been made. The nature of journalism requires that a man shall be well informed in practical affairs of life; that he shall have a broad, general knowledge, extending into almost every field of learning rather than that he should be trained in any specific way to a routine profession. The training can, in no way, be so direct as the training for law or medicine, yet that editors need special training no one will deny. However it is generally conceded that this preparation should be obtained through experience and not under the direction of detailed instruction. Yet, in truth, there are many reasons why every editor should receive as a preparation for his work at least a full university course. With this broad preparation daily experience may educate him for his chosen profession. But there are many students who come to the University to spend a year or two in study, hoping, thereafter to become writers and journalists. For such students who are honest in purpose and firm in their determination, a course preparatory to journalism has been established in Kansas University. The course is only one term in length, and is intended to be supplementary to the regular studies of English, political economy, history, mathematics, etc. As now arranged this course cannot be otherwise than helpful to the students who are preparing for newspaper work. The course includes especial instruction in English, the history of journalism, a comparative study in current journals, the ethical phases of journalism and special studies in certain phases of modern types of journalism. In this course systematic reading is carried on by the students, as well as collecting and classifying material. For this purpose the leading cities of the United States are represented by about twenty weekly and daily papers, and, by the courtesy of the Kansas press, nearly every newspaper of any importance in the state is found on file in the University library. With no attempt on the part of the instructors to turn out fully equipped journalists, the course as arranged will prove highly beneficial to those who desire to take it in connection with other studies.

THE program for the next Seminary will be a discussion of the question of Jewish exiles from Russia. Reports will be read on the current literature of the subject, which will be considered in four phases, viz: (1) As a race problem; (2) in the light of public finance; (3) a question of immigration, and (4) as a historical question. In the discussion the causes and results of the banishment of the Jews from Spain. Italy and other countries will be considered. As this is one of the great questions of the day it is expected that unusual interest will be taken in the exercises by the students and visitors.

A NUMBER of inquiries have been made about the new optional introduced by Prof. Canfield, called the Status of Woman in the United States. (See program in this number.) To those interested in this subject it may be said that the optional will be given as advertised. The course is in the program for the second half year, and consequently nothing can yet be said as to the success of the study. An alcove has been set apart for the literature of this subject, and already over half a hundred volumes have been added to the collection.

COURSE OF STUDY

IN

HISTORY AND SOCIOLOGY.

FOR 1891-2.

F. W. BLACKMAR, PH. D.
F. H. HODDER, A. M.
E. A. ADAMS, PH. D.

Instruction in this department is given by means of lectures, recitations, reports, discussions, and personal direction in study and research. As the library is an indispensable aid in the pursuit of the following courses, students are expected to become acquainted with the best methods of collecting and classifying materials and of writing and presenting papers on special topics. All lectures are supplemented by required reading and class exercises.

Facts are essential to all historic study; yet the aim is to take the student beyond the mere details of events—to inquire into the origin and development of society and the philosophy of institutions. While the study of the past is carried on with interest and thoroughness, the most important part of history—that which lies about us—is kept constantly in view. The history of other nations, other political systems and other forms of administration, are studied, that we may better understand our own. To understand present social and political institutions, and to give an intelligent solution of present problems, is the chief aim of instruction in historical science.

THE WORK OF THE DEPARTMENT

Now embraces European History, American History and Civil Government, the History of Institutions, Sociology, and Political Economy. The work in American History will be continued with enthusiasm and thoroughness. Classes having begun this work will continue without a break. The importance of this work needs no comment. The preparation for good citizenship demands, among other things, a thorough knowledge of the growth of nationality, and the history of our industrial, social and political development. These, with financial experiments and national diplomacy, receive marked attention. The text of the Constitution and Constitutional Law occupy a prominent place in the study of this branch.

OUTLINE OF COURSES.

FIRST TERM.

1. English History. Daily. Descriptive history. A careful study of the English people, including race elements, social and political institutions, and national growth.

2. The History of Civilization. Lectures daily, embracing ancient society, and the intellectual development of Europe to the twelfth century. Special attention is given to the influence of Greek philosophy, the Christian church, the relation of learning to liberal government, and to the rise of modern nationalities.

3. Political Economy. Daily. The fundamental principles are discussed and elaborated by descriptive and historical methods. All principles and theories are illustrated by examples from present economic society. A brief history of Political Economy may be given at the close of the course.

4. French and German History. Daily. Descriptive history; including race elements, social and political institutions, and national growth. Especial attention given to French politics.

5. Historical Method and Criticism. One hour each week. Examination and classification of sources and authorities; analysis of the works of the best historians; collection and use of materials, and notes and bibliography.

6. Statistics. Two hours each week. Supplementary to all studies in economics and sociology. The method of using statistics is taught by actual investigation of political and social problems. The history and theory of statistics receives due attention.

7. Journalism. Lectures three hours each week. Laboratory and library work. *Legal and Historical.*—Ten lectures by Prof. E. D. Adams. *English.*—Twenty-five lectures by Profs. Dunlap and Hopkins. *Ethics of Journalism.*—Five lectures by Prof. Templin. *Newspaper Bureau, Magazines, and Special Phases of Journalism.*—Prof. Blackmar.

The course was prepared especially for those students who expect to enter journalism as a profession. Although the instructors have no desire to create a special School of Journalism for the purpose of turning out fully-equipped journalists, they believe that this course will be very helpful to those who in the future may enter the profession. The course will be found highly beneficial to stu-

dents who want a special study in magazines and newspapers as a means of general culture. The course is under the direction of this Department, but the professors named above have kindly and generously consented to assist in certain phases of the work, which occur more particularly in their respective departments.

8. American History. Instruction is given daily for two years in American History. The course embraces Colonial History and the Local Government of the Colonies, the Constitutional and Political History of the Union from 1789 to the present time, the formation of the Constitution, and an analysis of the text of the constitution itself.

9. Local Administration and Law. Three conferences each week during the first term, covering the Management of Public Affairs in districts, townships, counties, cities, and States. This course is intended to increase the sense of the importance of home government, as well as to give instruction in its practical details.

10. Public Finance and Banking. Two conferences each week during the first term, on National, State, andMunicipal Financiering; and on Theoretical and Practical Banking, with the details of bank management.

SECOND TERM.

11. English Constitutional History. Two hours each week. A special study in the principles and growth of the English Constitution. This course may be taken as a continuation of number one. As it is a special study of Constitutional History, students ought to have some preparation for it.

12. Renaissance and Reformation. Lectures two hours each week, with required reading and investigation. This course may be taken as a continuation of number two. It includes the Revival of Learning throughout Europe, with especial attention to the Italian Renaissance; a careful inquiry into the causes, course, and results of the Reformation. The course embraces the best phases of the intellectual development of Europe.

13. Advanced Political Economy. Three hours each week, consisting of (*a*) lectures on Applied Economics, (*b*) Practical Observation and Investigation, and (*c*) Methods of Research, with papers by the students on special topics. This is a continuation of number three.

14. Institutional History. Lectures three hours each week on Comparative Politics and Administration. Greek, Roman and Germanic institutions are compared. The historical significance of Roman law is traced in mediæval institutions. A short study in Prussian Administration is given at the close of the course.

15. The Rise of Democracy. Lectures two hours each week on the Rise of Popular Power, and the Growth of Political Liberty in Europe. A comparison of ancient and modern democracy, a study of Switzerland, the Italian Republics, the Dutch Republic, and the French Revolution, constitute the principal part of the work. Students will read May's Democracy in Europe.

16. Elements of Sociology. Lectures three hours each week on the Evolution of Social Institutions from the Primitive Unit, the Family; including a discussion of the laws and conditions which tend to organize society. The later part of the course is devoted to modern social problems and socialistic Utopias.

17. Charities and Corrections. Two hours each week. Various methods of treatment of the poor. Scientific charity. Treatment of the helpless. Prison reform. State reformatories. This course is supplementary to number sixteen. Special efforts will be made towards a practical study of Kansas institutions.

18. Land and Land Tenures. Lectures two hours each week. This course treats of Primitive Property, the Village Community, Feudal Tenures of France and England, and Modern Land-holding in Great Britain and Ireland and the United States. Reports are made on other countries, and on recent agrarian theories and legislation This is an excellent preparation for the study of the Law of Real Property,

19. The Political History of Modern Europe. Two hours each week, including the Napoleonic wars, German Federation, the Rise of Prussia, the Unification of Italy, the Revolution of 1848, the Third Republic, the Russian problem, etc.

20. Constitutional Law. Three conferences each week during the second term, on the Constitution of the United States; with brief sketches of the institutions and events that preceded its adoption, and with special attention to the sources and methods of its interpretation.

21. International Law and Diplomacy. Class work twice each week during the second term; using Davis on the Rise and Growth of

International Law, and Schuyler on the History of American Diplomacy.

22. The Status of Woman in the United States. Three conferences each week during the second term, on the Status of Woman in all countries and times; with special investigation of the present legal, political, industrial, and professional position of women in the different States of the American Union.

23. The Histories and Methods of Legislative Assemblies. Two conferences each week during the second term on the Rise and Growth of Legislative assemblies, their rules of order and methods of business.

24. Mediæval History. Two-fifths of the last term of the Freshman year. For all students whose admission papers show that they have had Elementary Physics, Hygiene, and Chemistry. The course includes a study of the fall of the Western Empire, the Teutonic Races, and the rise of new nationalities.

25. Seminary. Two hours each week throughout the year.

New Courses. Other courses may be given in Political Philosophy, Modern Municipal Government, Roman Law, the South American Republics, and Comparative administration.

Graduate Courses. To those desiring them, special courses for post-graduate students will be given in the following subjects: The History of Institutions, American History and Civil Government, Sociology, Political Economy.

Newspaper Bureau. In connection with the work of the Department a Newspaper Bureau is maintained. In this the leading cities of the United States are represented by some twenty daily and weekly newspapers. The principal object of the Bureau is to enable students to form habits of systematic reading, to keep informed on the current topics of the day, to study the best types of modern journalism, to learn to discriminate between articles of temporary value only and those of more permanent worth, to make a comparative study of editorial work, to master for the time being the current thought on any particular subject, and to preserve by clippings properly filed and indexed, important materials for the study of current history and public life—to *make* history, by the arrangement and classification of present historical matter.

STUDENTS' LIBRARIES.

Every student in the University should lay the foundation of a good working library. Such libraries are not "made to order" at some given time, under specially favorable financial conditions—but are the result of considerable sacrifice, and are of slow growth. The wise expenditure of even ten dollars in each term will bring together books which if thoroughly mastered will be of great assistance in all later life. Room-mates, or members of the same fraternity, by combining their libraries and avoiding the purchase of duplicates, can soon be in possession of a most valuable collection of authors. Assistance in selecting and in purchasing will be given upon application.

The prices named below are the list prices of the publishers.

Students are required to purchase books marked with an asterisk.

American Book Company, Chicago.

*Manual of the Constitution, Andrews....$ 1.00
Analysis of Civil Government, Townsend.... 1.00
Civil Government, Young.... 1.00
History of England, Thalheimer 1.00
Mediæval and Modern History, Thalheimer.... 1.60
Outlines of History, Fisher.... 2.40
Political Economy, Champlin.... 1.00
Political Economy. Gregory,.... 1.20
Politics for Young Americans, Nordhoff.... .75

Ginn & Co., Boston.

Ancient History, Myers & Allen.... $ 1.50
Mediæval and Modern History, Myers.... 1.50
Political Science and Comparative Law, Burgess, 5.00
Macy's Our Government.... .75
*General History, Myers.... 1.50
Leading facts in English History, Montgomery... 1.12
Philosophy of Wealth, Clark.... 1.00
Political Science Quarterly, Yearly.... 3.00
Washington and His Country, Fiske.... 1.00

Harpers, New York.

*Constitutional Law, Cooley, (students series)... $ 1.25
*History of Germany, Lewis.... 1.50
*International Law, Davis.... 2.50
*Political History of Modern Times, Muller.... 2.00
*Short English History, Green.... 1.75
Civil Policy of America, Draper.... 2.50
History of English People, Green, 4 vols.... 10.00
History of United States, Hildreth, 6 vols.... 12.00
The Constitution, Story.... 1.00

Holt & Co., New York.

*American Politics, Johnston....$ 1.00
American Colonies, Doyle, 3 vols.... 9.00
American Currency, Sumner.... 2.50
Civil Service in United States, Comstock.... 2.00
Democracy and Monarchy in France, Adams.... 2.50
History of Modern Europe, Fyffe, 3 vols.... 7.50
History of the United States, Johnston.... 1.25
Political Economy, Roscher, 2 vols.... 7.00
Political Economy, Walker.... 2.25

Houghton & Co., Boston.

*Civil Government in United States, Fiske....$ 1.00
American Commonwealths, each volume.... 1.25
American Statesmen, each volume.... 1.25
Emancipation of Massachusetts, Adams.... 1.50
Epitome of History, Ploetz.... 3.00
Garrison and his Time, Johnson.... 2.00
Quaker invasion of Massachusetts, Hollowell.... 1.25
The Pilgrim Republic, Goodwin.... 4.00
War of Secession, Johnson.... 2.50

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SEMINARY NOTES.

State University—Lawrence, Kansas.

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ARTICLE I., SECTION 7, IN THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION.

THE Revolution of 1688 had firmly established the principle that taxation in England must be controlled by Parliament. The rallying cry of the Americans in 1776, of "No taxation without representation," was but a claim, on the part of the colonists, of a right to the possession of political liberty equal in extent to that which had been enjoyed by the mother country for nearly a hundred years. The men of England, and the men of the Colonies, were one in blood and spirit. The establishment of constitutional liberty in England must necessarily result in the desire for an equal measure of liberty in America, and the effect of the arbitrary government of Charles I. upon the England of 1640 found its counterpart in the effect of the government of George III. upon the America of 1776. The war of the Revolution firmly established the principle of self-taxation in America, but it was a principle which had long been asserted in Colonial charters and constitutions. And in truth the history of the development of the budget* in England is also the history of the budget for America, for the United States is but the child of England and the citizen of the United States should be as deeply interested in the *Magna Charta* of King John as is the citizen of England.

As in England, when the principle of self-taxation was once firmly established, the history of the budget is concerned with the relations between the Crown, the Lords and the Commons, and is to be found rather in the standing orders of the two houses, than in the statutes of the realm, so in the United States, the history of the budget is confined to the various provisions pertaining to the origination of money bills, and to the powers of the two houses in regard to them. The clause in the constitution, which provides that all money bills shall originate in the House of Representatives, is preceded in point of time by various provisions in the state constitutions. In 1776 eight of the states adopted new constitutions, and of these eight, five contained provisions that all money bills must originate in the lower house. Many of these provisions are similar to that of Massachusetts, adopted in 1780, which reads: "All money bills shall originate in the House of Representatives, but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills;"(1) but some of the state constitutions also contain provisions which are intended to prevent the lower house from abusing this privilege by the tacking of riders to money bills.(2) The idea that the lower house is

*The term budget is very little used in the United States and some confusion has arisen as to its exact meaning. It is customary for writers on finance to speak of the budget of the year as being the sum of all laws which deal with the expenditure of public money or with the methods of raising that money, but to confine the meaning of the term budgetary legislation to the provisions of the constitution, and the rules of order of the two houses, which determine the manner in which such laws shall be passed. But to one who is merely writing the history of the budget, and its position in the constitution, this distinction is not satisfactory. If the statement is accepted that the budget includes all laws of the year dealing with taxation and expenditure, the better distinction seems to be, to use the term budgetary legislation as applying to these laws, and to call the provisions of the constitution and the rules of order, budgetary rules, for strictly speaking these latter are not legislation at all.

(1) Constitutions and Charters of the United States. —*Poore. Vol 1, p. 956.*

(2) Article X, of the constitution of Maryland, which was adopted in 1776, declares that "The House of Delegates may originate all money bills." Article XI, provides: "In order that the Senate ....may not be compelled by the House of Delegates, either to reject a money bill which the emergency of affairs may require, or to assent to some other act of legislation, in their conscience and judgment injurious to the public welfare, the House of Delegates shall not, on any occasion or under any pretence, annex to or blend with a money bill any matter, clause or thing not immediately relating to and necessary for the imposing, assessing, levying or applying the taxes or supplies to be raised for the support of the government or the current expenses of the state; and to prevent altercation about such bills it is declared that no bill, imposing duties or customs for the mere regulation of commerce, or inflicting fines for the reformation of morals, or to enforce the execution of the laws, by which any incidental revenue may arise, shall be ac-

more fit to discuss matters of taxation, because its members are more directly the representatives of the people than are the members of the upper house, was undoubtedly an outgrowth of the principle of the English constitution, that the Commons should make all grants to the Crown.(1) But its adoption by six states does not prove that it was an idea fully accepted by all the people, for other state constitutions previous to 1787 had no such provision. More than that, when the same question came up for discussion in the constitutional convention, many of the delegates coming from the states whose constitutions contained such provisions were opposed to the introduction of a similar provision into the constitution of the United States.

Article III.,(2) of Pinckney's plan for a federal union, submitted to the convention on May 29, 1787, provided that all money bills of every kind should originate in the House of Representatives, and should not be altered or amended by the Senate. In the first debate upon this question, the opinions expressed by the leading members of the convention were largely opposed to giving any such exclusive privilege to the House, and the article in question was defeated by a vote of the states of seven to three.(3) But on July 5th Franklin made a report(4) which contained three principal points. First, that the members of the House should be apportioned on the basis of population. Second, that all money bills should originate in the House. Third, that the states should have equal representation in the Senate. Thus the origination of money bills was made a part of the struggle between the large and small states over the question of representation, and it would be but natural to expect to find the large states in favor of, and the small states opposed to, this proposition of Franklin's. But many of the most influential members of the large states did not believe in the wisdom of such a provision. Madison,(5) of Virginia, opposed to it throughout, declared that the Senate was as much the representative of the people as was the House, and would undoubtedly be composed of a class of men more capable of dealing with financial questions than would the House. Of the same mind with Madison were Morris(6) and Wilson,(7) of Pennsylvania, and Williamson,(8) of North Carolina, while the members of the convention who were most earnest in their support of the provision were Gerry, of Massachusetts, Mason, of Virginia, and Franklin, of Pennsylvania. Gerry said "it would establish the constitutional principle that the second branch were not possessed of the confidence of the people in money matters."(9) Franklin thought that those who were nearest the people should distribute the people's money on the principle that "those who feel can best judge."(10) On the question whether the clause reading, "All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the first branch of the legislature, and shall not be amended or altered by the second branch," the vote stood: Connecticut, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, North Carolina—yes, 5. Pennsylvania, Virginia, South Carolina—no, 3. Massachusetts, New York, Georgia—divided, 3.(11)

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counted as money bills; but every bill assessing, levying or applying taxes or supplies for the support of the government or the current expenses of the state, or appropriating money in the treasury, shall be deemed a money bill."—*Bigelow, American Constitutions, p. 222.*

The constitution of Delaware also makes provision against the same danger. Article II., section 14, reads: "All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives, but the Senate may propose alterations as on other bills; and no bill, from the operation of which when passed into a law, revenue may incidentally arise shall be accounted a bill for raising revenue; nor shall any matter or clause whatever, not immediately relating to and necessary for raising revenue, be in any manner blended with or annexed to a bill for raising revenue."—*American's Guide for State Constitutions, p. 187.*

(1) Madison Papers, Vol. II, p. 855, Speech of Butler.
(2) Ibid., Vol. II., p. 737.
(3) Ibid., Vol. II., p. 858.
(4) Ibid, Vol. II., pp. 1,024, 1,036.
(5) Ibid., Vol. II., p. 858.
(6) Ibid., Vol. II., p. 1,041.
(7) Ibid., Vol. II., p. 1,041.
(8) Ibid., Vol, II., p. 1,043.
(9) Ibid., Vol II., p. 1,043.
(10) Ibid., Vol. II, p. 1,044.
(11) Ibid., Vol. II, p. 1,045.

It is evident from this vote that the small states were offering an inducement to the large states, which the large states were either unwilling to accept or did not regard as wise. By a majority of the members of the convention the matter was not looked upon as a question of much constitutional importance, but simply as a convenient subject upon which to base a compromise. Madison, in an explanatory note, says of the situation: "Col. Mason, Mr. Gerry and other members from large states set great value on the privilege of originating money bills. Of this the members from the small states, with some from the large states, who wished a high mounted government, endeavored to avail themselves by making that privilege the price of arrangements in the constitution favorable to the small states, and to the elevation of the government."(1)

The proof that the small states really cared nothing for the restriction as a constitutional principle is found in the vote taken on August 8. By that time it had been decided that the states were to have equal representation in the Senate, and this point once gained, the small states were by no means so eager to support the provision restricting the origination of money bills to the House. Madison had always been a consistent opponent of such a measure, and he now attempted to have the convention revoke its previous decision. On the question of striking out article IV., section 5,(2) of the report of the committee on detail, the vote stood:(3) New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia—yes, 7. New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, North Carolina—no, 4. This breach of faith on the part of the small states, aroused the indignation of those delegates from the large states who were earnest in their desire to see the origination of money bills confined to the House of Representatives. Randolph,(4) of Virginia, said that if article IV., section 5, was not reinstated, he would oppose equality of votes in the Senate, and in this he was followed by Gerry, Franklin, and others, who had voted for the section in question. The determined attitude of these men induced the convention, by a vote(5) of 9 to 1, to reconsider the matter, and a speech by Gerry in which he argued that the plan of the convention would inevitably fail of acceptance by the people if the Senate was not restricted from the origination of money bills,(6) finally led to the adoption of the proposition in the form in which it is found in Article I., Section 7, of the Constitution: "All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives, but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills."(7) The discussions of the convention indicate very plainly that the provision was not generally regarded as an essential constitutional principle. Many considered it to be the most convenient ground upon which to base a compromise, others thought that its insertion was necessary to the adoption of the constitution by the people, while there were a few who were either in favor of it, because of a firm belief in the principle that the lower house should control the purse, or were opposed to it because of an equally firm disbelief in the wisdom of such a provision. The spirit of compromise finally predominated and the provision was accepted with but two dissenting votes—Maryland and Delaware. (8)

It was, however, of very little importance that the majority of the framers of the constitution did not regard the restriction of the origination of money bills to the House of Representatives as a great constitutional principle, for the people did regard it as such, and Gerry was right

(1) Madison Papers, Vol. II., p. 1,501.

(2) The section providing for the origination of money bills by the House.

(3) Madison Papers, Vol. II., p. 1,267.

(4) Ibid., Vol. III., p. 1,270.

(5) Ibid., Vol. III., p. 1,298.

(6) Ipid., Vol. III., p. 1,309.

(7) Ibid., Vol. III., p. 1,609.

(8) This is the more remarkable as the two states voting against the provision are the very states whose constitutions previous to 1787 contain stringent provisions in regard to money bills. (See ante., p. 50, note.)

when he said that the presence or absence of such a provision would have much to do with the acceptance or rejection of the constitution by the people. That this provision has come to be regarded as a constitutional principle is clearly shown by the fact that nearly all the state constitutions, which have been either altered or adopted since 1787, contain sections, almost, and in many cases exactly, similar to Article I., Section 7, of the Constitution of the United States. It cannot be said that the principle of the English constitution, that the lower house should have entire control of money affairs, was accepted as self-evident by the constitutional convention and, therefore, placed in our frame of government. But once placed in the constitution it was accepted by the people as what they were pleased to call "a self-evident truth," and it has been believed by the American people, ever since the adoption of the constitution, that the people should, through their representatives, control the extent and purpose of taxation.

EPHRAIM D. ADAMS.

IS THE MANUFACTURE AND SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS A PAYING INDUSTRY FOR SOCIETY?

MUCH has been said of late with regard to the loss to industrial society occasioned by the passing of prohibitory liquor laws. The writer of this paper does not believe that there has been any such social loss. On the contrary, he is of the opinion that, considering the state as a unit in the maintenance of industries, there is a positive loss involved in the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors; in other words, that the maintenance of the liquor traffic is not a paying investment for society, even if considered from a purely business stand-point.

It is the purpose of this paper to attempt to prove the preceding statement, but no claim is made to have covered the entire question, for the reason that the writer has found it necessary to confine himself to a few points of especial interest.

The first question to arise is whether the liquor traffic creates a demand for farmer's commodities which would not be furnished otherwise?

In this connection Professor Ely, of Johns Hopkins University, says: "It is important to note that if the seven hundred million dollars now spent for grain, in the form of liquors, were expended for food and other farm products to satisfy the rational wants of the thousands of families who are rendered destitute by intemperance, it would purchase at least seven times as much grain in the form of flour as it does in that of liquor, because it is true with regard to liquor, as with all luxuries, that the amount of raw material used in their production is far less, compared with their cost to the consumers, than it is in any of the other products that satisfy human wants. Thus we can see that those farmers who think that the liquor industry creates a demand for their commodities, and those brewers and distillers who endeavor to instill this belief, are both deciever and deceived. How much better it would be if farmers could secure high prices for their grain and other products by ministering to those rational and higher wants which strengthen human nature and enable the consumers to produce in turn a greater abundance of wealth, rather than by satisfying the demands of base appetites that degrade men and lessen the community's wealth—producing power. It is, of course, obvious that if men spend less for liquors.... they will have so much more to spend for other things, and the

opportunities for employment will not be at all lessened. On the contrary, as other expenditures are more likely to be productive, opportunities for employment will inevitably be multiplied."

A few statistics will reveal more clearly the fallacy of the argument, that the liquor manufacture creates a market for farm products. From the United States Agricultural Report, 1889, the following tables are taken, showing the product of grain of the kind used in liquor manufacturies:

	Bushels.
Corn	1,987,790.000
Oats	701,735,000
Wheat	415,868,000
Barley	63,884,593
Rye	28,412,011
Total	3,197,689,604

The amount used in the manufacture of intoxicants for the year ending June 30, 1889, was:

	Bushels.
Barley	62,821,221
Corn	15,319,862
Wheat	48,279
Rye	3,259,917
Oats	23,632
Total	81,472,911

Rating barley at forty-five cents per bushel, corn at thirty-eight, wheat at eighty-eight, rye at forty-two, and oats at twenty-nine, the total value of the grain thus consumed is a little less than thirty-six million dollars. The estimated retail value of the entire liquor product, based on the United States Internal Revenue Statistics, pages 366-9, is:

Distilled liquors	$588,254,720
Fermented liquors	695,879,194
Total	$1,279,133,914

After allowing more than twenty-one per cent for the arts and sciences there still remains a thousand millions of dollars expended for drink. It is obvious that all this could not go to the purchase of farm products, even if the liquor traffic were wholly abolished; yet much of it would. Assuming that not more than ten per cent would be so expended—and this is a very mild estimate—there would be one hundred million dollars to be balanced against the thirty-six million which the manufacturer of liquors now pays to the farmer.

Such is the direct effect on the farmer's market. The cost to him in taxes, made almost double by the results of intemperance, is a point yet to be considered.

Crime is an expensive thing to any state. How much of crime is due to intoxicants? What is the cost of jails and state prisons?

An examination of the authorities on the relation between alcoholic drinks and crime reveals evidence of the following nature: J. B. Finley, chaplain of Ohio state prison, says that nine-tenths of crime is due to whiskey. Rev. L. Dwight, secretary of the American Prison Disciplinary Society, places the estimate at four-fifths. The Bureau of State Charities, Massachusetts, gives the same opinion. The Magistrate of Toronto, Canada, says that nine-tenths of the male and nineteen-twentieths of the female prisoners are addicted to strong drink. In answer to the question, "What is the relation of intoxicants to crime?" sent to the wardens of the state prisons, there was comparative unanimity in the reply. Mr. Pollard, of Vermont, echoed the general sentiment: "My opinion is, that if intoxicants were totally eradicated, the Vermont state prison would be large enough to hold all the criminals of the United States."

Such are the estimates regarding crime. On equally good authority it can be said that about the same per cent of pauperism, and, perhaps, sixty per cent of insanity, is due to the same cause.

It is difficult to secure accurate penal statistics for the United States, but the report of the National Prison Association gives the value of the state prisons in the following table:

Real estate	$14,000,000
Personal property	2,000,000
Cost of management	3,000,000
Total	$19,000,000
Income from labor	1,500,000

In addition to this there are two thousand county jails, the value of which is not given, but at a very moderate estimate it may be put at fifteen million dollars. The average annual cost of maintainence will be based on the average of the jails of Massachusetts. In the report of the Prison Commissioners of Massachusetts, 1890, page 261, the following table appears:

TABLE SHOWING NET COST OF STATE AND COUNTY PRISONS.

PRISONS.	Average number of Prisoners.	Expenditures.	Receipts.	Balances.
State Prison	586	$142.402.63	$33.624,59	$108,778,04
Reform Prison for Women	219	49,955.61	14,377.98	35,577.63
Massachusetts Reformatory.	681	171,601.87	52,629.61	118,972.26
County Prisons	2,953	437,041.90	101,649.21	335,392.69
Total	4.439	$801,002.01	$202,281.39	$598,720.62

From this it will be seen that $598,720.62 is the net annual cost of the several prisons of the state. At a low estimate three-fourths of this expense, or $449,040.45, represents the annual cost to Massachusetts of crime due to intoxicants. This does not include the police and court expenses, which are several times as great as the direct expense of caring for the criminals, nor does it take into account the interest on the capital invested in the prisons and grounds.

The following table covers the whole ground fairly well:

COST OF STATE INSTITUTIONS.

For paupers	$1,731,000
Lunacy and charity	761,000
Alms houses	400,000
Police expenses	2,956,000
Courts, not including Super. and Supreme	443,000
County and state pris. approx.	350,000
Total	$6,641,000

There is one item which this table does not include. The aggregate given as the cost of the county and state prisons is the net cost, that is, the value of the labor done by the prisoners has been deducted from the gross expenses. It will appear then that the loss to the industrial interests of the state must be increased by so much as the full value of the prisoners' time.

For a period of twelve years the average number of prisoners in confinement in Massachusetts was three thousand three hundred and fifty-five. This number does not include those in the state reformatory, as no accurate statement of the average number therein confined could be secured. Estimating the earnings of each prisoner at two hundred dollars per annum, the loss to the labor product of the state is six hundred and seventy-one thousand dollars.

From the above statement the following summary is made:

Direct outlay for state institutions	$6,641,000
Loss from idleness of prisoners	671,000
Total	$7,312,000

Seventy-five per cent of this is to be set down in the account against the liquor traffic.

This is	$5,484,000
Licenses	1,175,000
Net loss to state	$4,309,000

In the light of these facts it ought not to be difficult to reach the conclusion that in Massachusetts, at least, the liquor industry is not a paying industry for the state.

If this traffic is proportionally expensive in other parts of the United States, the loss to the several states from this one phase of the industry and its results, is about one hundred and twenty millions of dollars annually. And yet the losses from weakened bodily strength, the shortening of life and the misdirected labor are still to be taken into account.

Such are the showings of the traffic for the country at large.

What will be the showing of the great cities? In the city of Chicago "The Harper High License Law" has been in force for six years. The tax on the saloon is five hundred dollars per annum. The result is set forth in the following tables:

I.

Year.	Total License.	Each Saloon.	Average No. of Saloons.
1886	$1,850,033	$500	3.700
1888	1,992,446	500	3,984
1890	2,644,382	500	5,628
1891	2,744,678	500	5,600

II.

Year.	Number of Police.	Expense of Police Depart.
1886	1,032	$1,192,769
1888	1,255	1,450,437
1890	2,043	2,116,000
1891	2,500	3,091,573

From these tables it appears that while the revenue from saloons has increased forty-eight per cent, the expense of the police force has increased one hundred and fifty-nine per cent. For a time the license fees equaled or exceeded the police expense, but it no longer does either. But granting that the revenue from the saloons pays the entire police bill, does that solve the problem in favor of the traffic? By no means. Other items are to be considered.

If the pauperism of Chicago costs as much proportionally as it does in Boston, a tax of one million dollars will be needed to meet this. Again, the cost of the city courts is no inconsiderable item. And it must not be forgotten that four-fifths of all these items must be placed in the account against the traffic. It would be well if this were all, but if the 5,600 licensed saloons will average in value $1,000, they represent $5,600,000 of capital invested in a business that in no way adds to the industrial development of the city. It may be added without any attempt to misrepresent the facts, that the lots on which these saloons stand are so much more property wasted, for they not only do not give room for that which is useful and productive, but they do give room to that which is a harmful and destructive agent.

The next point for consideration is the relation of this industry and its product to the laboring people of the country. And at the very beginning attention will be given to the proposition that the liquor traffic furnishes employment for a very large number of men. No one can deny that the men are employed, and it may be assumed that there are a quarter of a million in this industry. These men derive their livelihood from labor in the business. But could not the capital invested in the different establishments that have to do with the liquor industry be invested in industries that would pay a larger per cent of the value of the products to labor, and at the same time secure a product that would assist the development of the nation by increasing the wealth-producing energy? If the United States census report shows anything at all, it shows most conclusively that this can be done.

From Table I, it appears that while out of the value of the whole manufactured product of the United States 17.65 per cent goes to labor, only 10.45 per cent of the wholesale value of the liquor product goes to labor. Removing the liquor product from the general average it would be seen that that industry returns to labor about half the rate per cent on the product that the other industries return. Another point is worthy of note. With $118,000,000 capital invested, and about $86,000,000 of raw material used, the liquor industry employs 23,687 men. On the other hand, the woolen goods industry, with about the same capital, employs 85,504 men, while the hardware business, with only $25,000,000 in stock and material, employs 16,801 men.

From Table II. no better showing can be had for liquor. Out of every hundred dollars the consumer pays for goods at retail, twelve dollars and sixty-one cents goes to the laborers, but out of every hundred dollars spent in liquor at retail, the laborer receives only two dollars and fifteen cents. This means that had the seven hundred millions represented money spent

Table I.

THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC COMPARED WITH LEADING INDUSTRIES ON THE BASIS OF WHOLESALE PRICES.

KIND OF PRODUCTS.	Number of hands employed.	Total wages paid during the year.	Total cost of materials.	Total capital invested.	Value of products at wholesale prices.	Per cent paid labor wholesale prices.
All United States Industries.	2,732.595	$947,953,795	$3,396,823,549	$2,790,272.606	$5,369,579,191	17,65
Boots and Shoes	111,152	43,001,438	102,442,442	42,994,028	166.050,354	25.89
Clothing	186,005	52,601.358	150.922,509	88,068,969	241,553,254	21.77
Furniture aud Upholstery	64,139	25,571,831	41.034,244	49,521.729	86.842,323	29.44
Hardware	16,801	6,846,913	10,097.577	15,363,551	22,653,693	30,22
Cotton Goods	185,472	45.614,419	113,765,537	219,504,794	210,950,383	21.62
Woolen Goods	85,504	25,836,392	100,845,611	96,095,564	160,606,721	16.08
Worsted Goods	18,803	5,683,027	22,013,628	20,374,043	33,549,942	16.94
Men's Furnishing Goods	11,174	2,644,155	6,503,164	3,724,664	11,506,857	22,98
All kinds of Liquors	23,689	15,078,579	85,921,374	118,037,729	144,291,241	10,45

Table II.

THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC COMPARED WITH OTHER INDUSTRIES ON BASIS OF RETAIL PRICES.

KIND OF PRODUCTS.	Value of products of Manf. at manufactory wholesale price, 1880.	Increase of 40 per cent on wholesale price for profits, etc.	Cost of articles to the consumers.	Wages paid for manufacturing	Sum paid for labor out of $100 worth at retail.
All Manufactures	$5,369,579,191	$2,147,831,676	$7,517,410,867	$947,953,795	$12,61
Boots and Shoes	166,050,354	66,420,141	232,470,495	43,001,438	18.49
Clothing	241,553,254	96,621.301	338,174,555	52,601.358	15.55
Furniture and Upholstering	86,842.323	34,736.929	121,579,252	25,571,831	21.03
Hardware	22,653,693	9,061,477	31,715,170	6,846,913	21.59
Cotton Goods	210,950,383	84,380,153	295,330,536	45,614,419	15.44
Woolen Goods	160,606,721	64,242,688	224,849,409	25,836,392	11.05
Worsted Goods	33,549,942	13,419,976	46,969,918	5,683,027	12.09
Furnishing Goods	11,506,857	4,602,742	16,109,599	2,644,155	16.40
Liquors	144,291,241	....	700,000,000	15,078,579	2,15

for other products than liquor, it would have paid to labor ninety million instead of fifteen million dollars.

The effect of the liquor traffic on the general trade of a city is made remarkably clear by reports of business men in the city of Atlanta, as to the results on trade and the reopening of saloons in that place. In reply to the question, Have you noticed any change in average amount of sales to working men since saloons were opened, as compared with same trade under prohibition, thirty-one replies were returned. Twenty reported a decrease of from ten to fifty per cent, four reported no trade with working men, four see no difference, two report business better, one an increase in some lines and decrease in others. In answer to the question, Do you sell more or less to working men for cash than under prohibition, there were twenty-nine replies. Twenty-one report less sales for cash and greater demand for credit, four report no change, four give irrelevant answers. As to the question of bad debts and difficulty of collection, twenty of twenty-six report bad debts increasing, four notice no difference, one doesn't know, one reports a decrease. These replies are taken in regular order, no attempt being made to make a showing different from that really contained in the whole number of responses.

But one conclusion can be drawn. The liquor traffic is a positive injury to all legitimate business. Also it takes from the laborer that which might otherwise have been spent for necessities and comforts. Even this is not all. The liquor the laborer uses weakens his body and shortens his life. In either case the labor element is materially diminished.

In a work by Carpenter, entitled "Alcoholic Liquors," are found many statistics of value bearing on this point. A carefully prepared table shows conclusively the great advantage of abstinence to men who are to undergo vigorous exertion, or withstand attacks of disease in unhealthful climates. The report is from the records of military service of British troops in India for six months of 1838.

MONTH.	Strength of Army.	Strength of temperance.	Strength of remainder.	Average daily per cent of men in hospital,	
				Temperance.	Others.
January	4522	1953	2569	2.54	8.15
February	4479	1840	2639	2.27	8.27
March	4421	1545	2879	2.94	8.66
April	4440	1359	3081	5.47	10.28
May	4443	1282	3161	5.24	10.66
June	4439	1364	3075	4.55	10.35
Total	26694	9340	17354	3.65	10.20

Thus it appears that the percentage of sickness among the temperance soldiers was only about one-third of that among the others. The whole history of the British troops in India confirms this report.

The same authority (page 88) gives the results of observations made in a brick-yard in England. "Out of twenty millions of bricks made in 1841, by the largest maker in the neighborhood, the average per man, made by the beer drinkers in a season, was 760,269; while the average for a teetotaler was 795,400, which is 35,131 in favor of the latter. Satisfactory as the account appears, I believe it would have been much more so, if the teetotalers could have obtained the whole 'gang' of abstainers, as they were very frequently hindered by the drinking of some of the 'gang,' and when the order is thus broken the work cannot go on."

The shovel factory of Amos & Son, in Massachusetts, produced, with the labor of three hundred and seventy-five men, eight per cent more goods than with four hundred men in the corresponding month, after the repeal of the temperance law. On this basis there would be a loss of $16,500,000 to the wage-earners of Massachusetts in a single year, resulting from the crippling of the labor power alone.

The loss to labor by the shortening of life is quite as great as the loss from weakened powers. Of course the loss can hardly be estimated, but a table showing the survival at successive ages will show that it is tremendous. Starting at twenty years, with 100,000 as the basis for both classes, the result is as follows:

Age.	Intemperate.	General Population.
25	81.975	95,719
30	64.114	91,577
40	39.671	82,082
50	21,938	70,666
60	11.568	56.355
70	5.076	35,220

In the face of these facts it is not too much to say that the loss to the industrial world, from the last two sources, is not less than that represented by the direct loss on the money expended for intoxicants.

To compare accounts, there is to the credit of the liquor traffic, the employment of a quarter of million of men and a small percentage of the product useful in arts and sciences. On the other side of the account appear wasted wages vastly greater than the total earnings of the 250,000 men, engaged in the manufacture and sale of the liquor; expenditures for three-fourths of all criminal, pauper and charity expenses, loss to labor in diminished proficiency and in shortening of life.

No sophistry can possibly make a balance. There is only one conclusion. The liquor traffic is *not* a paying industry for society, but it is one that involves incalculable loss to the wealth of the country.

F. H. OLNEY.

MODERN JOURNALISM.

AT the meeting of the Historical Seminary on October 23, Mr. C. S. Finch presented an interesting article on Modern Journalism. Lack of space alone prevents the publication of the entire paper, which was rich in that very element of "suggestiveness," upon which Mr. Finch placed the most stress in speaking of the proper function of the editorial. While recognizing that the publication of an extract can not do justice to the value of the whole paper, yet the writer's estimate of the influence of modern journalism, and his clearly stated comparison of the newspapers of yesterday and of to-day are so interesting that they can not be omitted. Mr. Finch spoke as follows:

In proportion to their number do the newspapers of to-day exert the influences upon the world that the newspapers of the past did? It is a very common expression now to say that newspapers have lost their power; that no one gives heed to what they say, and that they are read for the news they contain and not for the opinions they express. A casual view of the matter will convince almost any one that this is true. A deeper insight will show him his error. It is true that half a century ago the weekly newspaper was read in the household as religiously as the Bible was perused, and your grandfather will tell you now that the papers of his day were next to infallible. Did he consider them so then? Certainly not. He had the same arguments with his editor that you have with yours. A thousand times he knew he was right when the editor was wrong. But he has forgotten that now, and only remembers the wonderful words and the almost miraculous prophecies of things that have come to pass just as his editor said they would.

In your grandfather's day his weekly paper was all he had to depend upon for his knowledge of what the world was doing. The editor had the whole week in which to write and re-write his ideas, and he could afford to speak in a careful, conservative manner, and he was generally right three times in the month and wrong once, while the modern editor will be found right six days in the week and wrong on the seventh. He would hardly be human did he not err once in seven times. I speak now of the careful, conscientious editor, the one who has the courage of his convictions and a thorough knowledge of his work.

The fact can not be denied that the modern newspaper has been injured by pirates, and the honor of the profession has suffered in consequence. Many instances might be cited, where men with schemes to carry out and with money to back them, purchase a newspaper and an editor, and run the alleged newspaper with an eye single to the accomplishment of the end they have in view, regardless of the sacred duty that a newspaper owes to the world. Judge Cooley once said to me, "It is unfortunately true that there is no law to prevent a fool from writing a book." It is equally unfortunate that there is no law to prevent a fool or a rascal from running a newspaper. They have no regard for the public welfare or for the rights of individuals, and such men and such publications have brought the profession in a measure into disrepute. But I question if the profession has suffered by this piracy in proportion as other lines of business have suffered from the same causes within their own lines. The legitimate banker has suffered because men with no capital, but their colossal cheek, have captured the business and escaped to Canada with the funds. Legitimate railroad enterprises have been bankrupted because men could build competing lines with the proceeds of the bonds a misguided people would vote them. Legitimate mercantile houses

have been stranded because men without capital could buy goods and sell them for less than cost because they never would pay for them. Politics, which in its best sense is second only to religion, has been dragged in the mire by demagogues until a man's character is in jeopardy when he enters the forbidden portal, the worst men of the country are elevated to the best and most sacred trusts, the good and able men are relegated to the rear, and now we have in almost every state of the Union something that in the good old days was unusual, for then a statesman was never out of a job.

By a comparison then with other lines it will be found that the profession of journalism has suffered no more than others. It is true that there is more criticism of newspapers and editors than of any other profession. But there are good and sufficient reasons for this. The lawyer may cover his errors by an appeal, or excuse them because of the injustice of law. A minister may charge his to the mistakes of his system of theology. The physician may bury his, but the newspaper man must constantly have his errors staring him in the face and be called upon by every man he meets to answer for them. His truths and his errors alike are preserved as are the mummies of Egypt, and were he to return to earth in a thousand years every mistake would rise up and confront him. And to this fact is due very much of the talk that is constantly heard in reference to the retrogression of the modern newspaper. True it is that mistakes are daily made, but no one regrets them more deeply than does the man who makes them. It is the highest ambition of every writer to make his work as free from errors as possible, and to have his paper known as reliable in every particular. To this end he toils at all hours of the night and day. None but one who has been through the experience can know or understand the painstaking efforts of the modern newspaper to secure and give to the public the exact truth in reference to every event. No reputable newspaper ever gives as truth a rumor, no matter how well founded it may be. So strict a compliance is demanded to this rule that it is worth a man's position on a newspaper to violate it.

And when one thinks of the vast field that must be covered by a newspaper every twenty-four hours, the wonder is that ten mistakes are not made where one is actually found. From every quarter of the civilized world, and from many parts of that which is uncivilized, comes the news of each day. A slip of the writer's pen, a break in the operator's message, a comma omitted by the compositor, the careless eye of a proof reader, each and all may conspire to cause an error that will bring ridicule to the newspaper and cast serious reflection upon the editor. In view of all this, then, it is not strange that many serious errors are made, and that careless, unthinking people impute to the newspaper wrong motives and speak flippantly of the press. But to such perfection has the modern newspaper been brought that only the hypercritical find room to complain of reputable journalism.

And a word here in reference to the power of the press at the present time. Does it mould and fashion public opinion as it did formerly? In one sense it does, in another it does not.

Years ago a man read only the newspaper with the policy of which he agreed. Then he was a true follower of his favorite paper. He believed as it believed, thought as it thought and lived as it told him to live. Today every intelligent man reads papers of every shade of political, religous or literary belief. He can not believe as they all believe, and so we often find him striking a happy medium and thinking for himself, something that our grandfathers scarcely dared to do. But whether or not the reader believes as does the paper he reads, yet certain it is that each paper he studies has its effect in moulding his ideas, and by reading many he is better able to think for himself and to judge rightly as to

what opinion or idea is correct. The modern man depends almost wholly upon the newspapers for his ideas, though those ideas may not be conveyed to him directly by the paper. In this way the modern newspaper wields a power that the newspaper of fifty years ago did not dream of.

* * * *

The old fashioned newspaper confined itself almost wholly to elaborate essays upon the leading political ideas of the day. Little attention was paid to the current news, and small space was taken in chronicling local happenings. Today the news and the local pages of the papers make up the greater part of the edition. Two of our best daily papers, papers that make more money than any other two in the state, do not pretend to give space to editorial matter. It is true that both do give a little space to editorials, but if that space is demanded by other departments not a line of editorial appears. One of our best newspaper critics said to me the other day that the newspaper of the future would contain no opinions whatever. That it would be confined wholly to news matter. His reason for thinking so was that the tendency of modern journalism is undoubtedly in that direction and he thought the idea would be carried to the limit. He also said that men of the present day are thinking so much for themselves that they only want facts upon which to base their opinions; that they do not care what other men think, and that they no longer regard the opinion of the editor of more importance than they do the opinion of any other man. In a great measure this is true, even at the present time. The reason for it I have already given. It may be possible that this prediction will prove true. It will not be for some years, however, not until the editor has found that the people no longer care for what he says or follow his lead. When that is true, if it is ever true, perhaps he will reluctantly give up his cherished space to the man who collects the news.

The tendency of the modern newspaper is to economize space. Very few papers now have men employed whose duty it is to write against space. Every man has his instructions to "cut down" everything, and if he does not obey the order the ever ready and ferocious blue pencil does the work. There is more going on in the world today than there ever was before, and it is the ambition of every newspaper to tell it all. The paper that is continually "scooped" on home or foreign news will soon find that it has neither standing nor subscribers. And the news of the whole world is at hand now for even the country weekly that is published at a cross roads. Any paper in Kansas may have the very latest news of the world ten hours after it is in the great dailies of the metropolis. There is no other branch of industry that has profited by modern improvements as has the newspaper. If a man does not publish a good paper, no matter in what state or what county, the fault is his own. It costs no more to publish a good one than it does one that is not fit to read. This fact is so generally recognized and conceded that we have today very few papers that are not good, at least from a news standpoint.

But if the news must be abbreviated, what must we say of the editorial utterances? George D. Prentice, whose fame as a journalist will not grow dim, was the first apostle of paragraphing. In both theory and practice I am his follower. He said that you could reach and touch more people with a five line paragraph, well turned, than you could with a column of argument. Certain it is that a man who has not time to read a tedious, though sensible and logical editorial of a column in length, will peruse closely a column of paragraphs that treat of half a hundred different subjects. The ambition of the writer is to have what he writes read. How many men of your acquaintance take the time to read the tedious, though many times able editorials of the great papers of the day? When men desire that kind of reading they take the monthly

magazine. The daily paper is the child of a busy age, and it must conform to the requirements of that age. The daily paper of today is read by the business man, by the lawyer, by the mechanic, by the man who has no time for the work save that which he catches as he waits for his supper or breakfast or while he rides in the car to his daily work. The elaborate newspaper editorial or the magazine essay needs time for digestion and thought. The man for whom the lengthy editorial is meant seldom has time to read it. The bright, sparkling, well turned editorial comment upon a current event attracts him and it is read. It fixes the fact itself in his mind, it amuses him, and it leads him to deeper thought when he has time and opportunity for it. I do not deprecate the lengthy editorial, mind you, but as compared to the brilliant editorial comment of the paragraph it is as the slow moving ox train to the swiftly flying express. It is good in its way, and in some cases absolutely necessary, but for modern, every day work it is too old-fashioned to be much longer endured by a charitable and ever considerate public. It is only when one wants an argument or an explanation that he demands the elongated editorial. As I have said before, the modern man does his own thinking, and all he asks is to have the basis for that thought given to him in as brief a manner as possible. The writer of the news of the day furnishes the facts. The paragrapher gives him the foundation for his thought. That is all the modern man demands. The old-fashioned man wanted some one to do his thinking for him. There are some old-fashioned men on newspapers who imagine that the old-fashioned reader is still alive. This is a serious mistake. He is very dead.

SEMINARY REPORTS.

Russia and the Jews.

THE first special session of the Seminary of Historical and Political Science was held Friday afternoon, October 2. Several of the students filled the program with carefully prepared reports on different phases of the Russian-Jewish situation. The first report was by Mr. R. D. Brown, his article being "New Light on the Jewish Question," by Goldwin Smith in the North American *Review* for August, 1891. He said:

In Russia the Jews become money lenders, and do not cultivate the soil. As sure as the Jew settles in a village the peasant gradually falls in poverty. Their small landed possessions, with their intense greed for gain and their exclusive race notions, are the causes of this condition. Their power is greater in Russia than in the United States, because the people are lower intellectually. The contest is not one of religion, but can be attributed almost wholly to various social causes. Expulsion is the proposed remedy.

Mr. J. H. Sawtell followed with a report on "Persecution—Its Severity and Extent," from the *Forum* of August, 1891, by I. A. Hourwitch, with these ideas:

We are apt to imagine that there is little truth in the newspaper tales of the hardships of the exiled Jews, but investigation has shown them to be true. They are despised and hated by all; but the government found it profitable to encourage their education, when, from better education, they become more prosperous and the government's income is enlarged by increased taxes paid by them. They are heavily taxed, but have no civil rights whatever. Recently cruel laws have been

enacted, which bear heavily upon the unfortunate race.

Mr. H. E. Cooper presented a report on "Methods and Plans of Refuge," from the *Forum* of August, 1891.

Many measures have been proposed for bettering the condition of the Russian Jews. No assistance whatever can be hoped for from the Czar, hence colonization societies have been formed throughout Europe, generally through the efforts of the richer Hebrews. A large tract of land has been purchased in the Argentine Republic by one of these societies, in which Baron Hirsch is interested. The success of the scheme is claimed to be certain, from the prosperity of the agricultural colony of the Jews in southern Russia.

Mr. C. A. Peabody's report was on "Russian Finance—A Bad Investment," from the *Forum* of August, 1891, by Dr. Geffcken.

He showed that the Russian policy is disastrous in that, while it tends to lighten the present burdens, it is at a great future cost. Present debts, at a high rate of interest, are converted into a magnified capital for a longer time, at a slightly smaller rate. The present minister of finance, aided by the growth of manufactures, has been able to convert a small deficit into a small surplus, but the Russian credit is impaired and bankruptcy is the inevitable result of the present policy.

The last report was by Miss Bessie Hand on "The Jewish Emigrant." The report was based on articles in the *English Illustrated Magazine* for August and September, 1891.

She found from her research that many authorities believe the Jews will take care of their own distressed brethren. Nations, like families, have poor relations, and their demands are much the same. The Jew, urged on by his tribal pride, aids his suffering brother, not so much to avoid future trouble himself, but to save the latter from sinking into degradation. But in the present crisis many of the impoverished Jews must find new homes, and since the colonization schemes are not yet sufficiently developed to care for all the exiles the trend of their migration is toward our country. Our policy in their reception should combine humanity and statesmanship.

Prof. Blackmar, in closing, spoke of the great diversity of opinion in regard to this question, and the difficulty of determining the accuracy of the various reports. He most earnestly commended its careful study as a sociological problem. It is an important question, and will doubtless be more important in the coming century, as the Jews are rapidly becoming the money-lenders of America. Race problems are among the most difficult of those which must be settled in the near future.

For the benefit of those who may desire to make a study of this question by careful research, we give a list of authorities cited by the participants in this discussion. The list is as follows:

The *Forum*, August, 1891, three articles on the expulsion of the Jews from Russia. "Russian Finance—A Bad Investment," Dr. F. H. Geffcken. "Persecution—Its Severity and Extent," I. A. Hourwitch (a Hebrew barrister). "Methods and Plans of Refuge," Baron de Hirsch.

North American Review, August, 1891, one article on the Jewish question, in general subject. "New Light on the Jewish Question," Prof. Goldwin Smith.

North American Review, September, 1891, "Goldwin Smith and the Jews," Isaac Besht Bendavid.

New London Review, August, 1891, two articles, "Russia and the Jews."

English Illustrated Magazine, August and September, 1891, continued articles. "The Russo-Jewish Emigrants," (illustrated), Rev. S. Singer.

Millman's History of the Jews, Vol. III., Chap. XXV-XXX., treats of the Jews in England, Spain, Italy and other European countries.

Macaulay's Essays, part II., p. 317, "Civil Disabilities of the Jews."

Christian Union, September 24, 1891.

Economist, September, 1891, "The Wandering Jew."

Free Russia, September and December, 1890, May, June, July and August, 1891, (devoted to Jewish freedom).

Fortnightly Review, May, 1891, E. B. Lannin on Russian Censure.

Fortnightly Review, February, 1891, "Russian Finance—the Racking of the Peasantry."

MONTGOMERY HALLOWELL,
Reporter.

IMMIGRATION.

The Seminary met in regular session, October 16, 1891. In the absence of President Blackmar, Mr. Hodder presided.

The first paper was a "History of Immigration," by J. M. Challis. Several causes he said lead people to emigrate. Prominent among them are, first, the migratory instinct; second, a desire for wealth; third, a desire for new and better homes. Early immigration to this country resulted from the first two causes, from the second chiefly. At a later time people came to stay and make homes for themselves. Early immigration was rapid, but was insignificant when compared with that of the last half century. For a long time immigration was under very slight supervision. The first arrangements for receiving immigrants were made by New York, which in 1855 appointed three commissioners of immigration and opened Castle Garden. The number of immigrants increased irregularly until 1882, when it reached 788,992. Since then it has regularly decreased.

Mr. W. W. Brown then discussed the "Character of the Immigrants." Our immigrants, he believes, are constantly becoming a less desirable class. The reasons for this are that the passage is becoming cheaper, so that the poorer classes can come, and that the agents of steam-ship lines are stirring up the people and giving them information, or supposed information, about this country. The different nationalities are very different in character. The Germans are an agricultural people and make good citizens. They have a tendency, however, to retain their own language and customs. Immigration from Austria consists of those desiring to escape military service, and of anarchists and bankrupts. Of the Irish, seventy-five per cent are day laborers. They settle mostly in our coast cities. The English make good citizens but their number is decreasing. The northern Italians are a desirable class. Those from southern Italy are not. Most of our Italian immigrants are from southern Italy.

H. S. Hadley followed with the "Laws of Immigration." He said that the government has the right to restrict immigration. The tendency is toward severer restrictions. Laborers want immigration checked; employers do not. The first legislation with regard to immigration was in 1882. A tax of fifty cents each was then imposed on all aliens landing in this country. This tax goes to the United States treasury. Convicts and paupers may not land, neither may persons having any contagious disease. With the prohibition of Chinese immigration all are familiar. In 1885 a law was passed prohibiting the importation of aliens under contract to labor. The secretary of the treasury is charged with the execution of the immigration laws, but may arrange to place their execution in the hands of the states. The results of restriction are very encouraging, considering the short time it has been tried.

Mr. E. C. Hickey spoke of "Immigration from a Europern Stand-point." English and German emigrants are, he said, such a class of people as no country is glad to be rid of. From France the better classes only come, and the government is sorry to lose them. Emigration from southern Italy is stimulated. Russia has an abundance of untilled land and needs all her people at home. Norway and Sweden, like Great Britain and Germany, have a good class of citizens and do not want to lose them.

Mr. Adams summed up the immigration situation as follows: In the early history of this country we needed more people to assist us in developing our boundless resources. Immigration was then to be encouraged. Our resources are now pretty well developed. We do not need immigrants, and they bring with them dangers, both social and political. Immigration should, therefore, be restricted. This restriction should be, first, along the line of our present law prohibiting the immigration of convicts, paupers and idiots; second, our contract labor law should be rigidly enforced, and third, the time required for naturalization and suffrage should be extended.

Reference books on the subject of Immigration are: Reports Bureau of Statistics, Vols. 1–10; U. S. Consular Reports, Vols. 23–34; Cyclopedia of Political Science, II., 85; "Occupation of Immigrants," *Journal of Economics*, II., 223; "Control of Immigration," *Political Science Quarterly*, III., 46, 197, 401; "Immigration and Degredation," *Forum*, August, 1891; "Immigration and the Tariff," *Forum*, June, 1891; "Are Our Immigrants to Blame?" *Forum*, July, 1891; *North American Review*, January, 1884, pages 77–88; Report New York Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1885; Report Wisconsin Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1885–6; American Encyclopedia, "Emigration;" "Immigration and Emigration," Richard Mayo Smith; "Thoughts on the Future Civil Policy of America," J. W. Draper; Census Reports of 1850, 1860, 1870, 1880, and 1890; Scribner's Statistical Atlas; American Almanac, 1887; "Changes in Population," *Harper's*, Vol. 38, page 386; "Emigration," Johnson's Cyclopedia, Vol. 1, page 1,544; "The First Century of the Republic, *Harper's*, Vol. 51, page 391; "Foreign Elements in Our Population," *Century*, Vol. 6, page 791; "Early American Spirit," Richard H. Storrs.

R. D. Brown, *Reporter*.

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION.

THE University of Kansas has entered upon the work of university extension in a systematic manner and as usual has adopted the methods that best suit its environment. For some years the professors of the university have been giving single lectures in the state of Kansas and vicinity when called for by the different communities. These isolated lectures are given with a view to instruct and entertain. Doubtless they have been helpful in disseminating knowledge and in arousing an interest in higher education and in the University of Kansas in particular. Over one hundred of these lectures were given during the year 1890–91. And this has been done in addition to the heavy work of the regular University curriculum. At present an attempt is being made, and not without success, to systematize this work and render it ten times more valuable to the people.

It is generally conceded that with exceptional cases, the modern method of disseminating knowledge by means of single lectures has proved insufficient for its supposed purpose. A lecture must be entertaining to succeed, and the persons attending such a lecture may receive some inspiration and fragmentary knowledge. But the fragmentary knowledge, unless it is supported by wide reading, is of little value, for it soon becomes too dim for use. It is this defect that the university extension seeks to overcome. By giving a series of lectures on a given subject, or on subjects more or less connected, with opportunity for study and private reading under the direction of the lecturer, the person taking such a course has a founda-

tion upon which to build future knowledge. Again, those persons whose occupation has denied them the advantages of college training, or whose college education was of a meager sort, may be quickened into a new intellectual life. Having once mastered a certain line of thought it establishes for them a logical outline for the mind to follow in the pursuit of other knowledge. A mind once trained to think logically on a given subject and to carry on systematic study is prepared to do the same on any other subject. Thus discipline has followed instruction and knowledge. Others may have the opportunity to carry on in a thorough manner the well begun work of former years. The University professors are prepared to give two classes of work, namely, popular lectures to those persons who have not had time or opportunity to take college work and to make special investigation of a given line of subjects, and secondly, more scientific lectures prepared for more advanced work and for college men. In extending its work to the people the University has made it possible by means of the following plan to give credit for all thorough work done under the direction of its instructors. The lectures are prepared with a view to instruction rather than for the purpose of entertainment alone. They include readings, conferences and examinations, and are open to all persons who will form themselves into a class. At the close of every course an examination is given to those who desire it and credit given on the books of the university for all work done according to direction. "Persons who hold the degree of Bachelor of Arts from the University of Kansas, or from other institutions of equal rank with it, may receive the degree of Master of Arts upon the satisfactory completion of nine courses of twelve lectures each. These courses shall be accompanied by such study, reading and examination as shall be prescribed by the professors in charge."

"Persons not holding the bachelor's degree, upon the satifactory completion of nine university extension courses of twelve lectures each, shall receive a university extension diploma."

"Work done under instructors from other institutions than the University of Kansas will be accepted upon examination for not more than four of the twelve lecture courses necessary for a degree or diploma. The work will also be accepted as undergraduate work, a full course in university extension being reckoned as a two-thirds term in the University. Nine twelve-lecture courses will be accepted as equivalent to one year's work at the University. The records of all work done under the direction of the University of Kansas are kept on file at the University."

The way for commuities to avail themselves of the opportunities offered by this system of university extension is to establish local extension associations by means of which a class may be formed. Associations of this nature have been formed at Topeka and Kansas City. At the former place a course of lectures on Electricity is in progress by Professor L. I. Blake. The class numbers at least one hundred and fifty members who listen to the instructions given, take notes, ask questions, and are directed in their reading by an able instructor.

The new extension association at Kansas City is thoroughly organized and prepared to do efficient work in University lines. A course of lectures is now in progress on "Economic Problems," by Professor F. W. Blackmar. The class numbers at present about one hundred and fifty. The interest in the work is increasing daily. Quite a large number are enrolled for the examination to be given at the close of the course, (nine-two)—and quite a good many are looking forward to the prospective degree. In the class are doctors, lawyers, business men, school principals, ministers of the Gospel, and students and graduates of colleges and universities. Other courses will soon be started and there is an excellent prospect of earnest, faithful and effective work. A class is now being formed in English Literature in charge of Prof. C. G. Dunlap.

- SEMINARY - NOTES. -

PUBLISHED ON THE FIRST DAY OF OCTOBER, NOVEMBER, DECEMBER, FEBRUARY, MARCH, APRIL AND MAY,

BY

THE SEMINARY OF

HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCE.

State University, Lawrence, Kansas.

Frank W. Blackmar,
Frank H. Hodder,
Ephraim D. Adams, - - - - *Editors.*

Terms, Ten Cents a Number, - Fifty Cents a Year

THE purpose of this publication is to increase the interest in the study of historical science in the University and throughout the State, to afford means of regular communication with corresponding members of the Seminary and with the general public—especially with the Alumni of the University, and to preserve at least the outlines of carefully prepared papers and addresses. The number of pages in each issue will be increased as rapidly as the subscription list will warrant. The entire revenue of the publication will be applied to its maintenance.

Address all subscriptions and communications to

F. W. BLACKMAR,
Lawrence, Kansas.

PROFESSOR F. W. BLACKMAR has been employed by the National Bureau of Education to write the "History of Education in Kansas." The work will be published in 1892.

REV. CHARLES SHELDON, of Topeka, will address the Seminary next Friday on "Sociology from the Standpoint of a Minister." The address will have especial reference to practical work.

OUR students are carrying on practical investigation in Kansas and vicinity. Mr. J. M. Challis is working on the subject of "Kansas Railroads;" Mr. H. S. Hadley on "Alliance Co-operation Stores;" Mr. Raymond on "Popular Plans for More Money;" Mr. Noble on "Paper Money;" Mr. Fred. Kellogg will prepare a paper on the "Land Question in Oklahoma;" Mr. Harry Hall will prepare a paper on "Municipal Government in Kansas City." This and other similar work give evidence of the practical work of the seminary.

THE paper in the present number of SEMINARY NOTES, contributed by Mr. F. H. Olney, was read at the University before the class in Sociology of which Mr. Olney was a member.

THE following is a list of the corresponding members of the SEMINARY:

Hon. Geo. R. Peck, Topeka.
Hon. Chas. Robinson, Lawrence.
Hon. James Humphrey, Junction City.
Hon. T. Dwight Thacher, Topeka.
Hon. Frank Betton, Topeka.
Maj. J. K. Hudson, Topeka.
Chancellor J. H. Canfield, Lincoln.
Hon. J. S. Emery, Lawrence.
Hon. B. W. Woodward, Lawrence.
Col. O. E. Learnard, Lawrence.
Hon. C. S. Gleed, Topeka.
Hon. Charles F. Scott, Iola.
Mr. D. S. Alford, Lawrence.
Mr. Scott Hopkins, Horton.
Hon. Fred. A. Stocks, Blue Rapids.
Col. H. M. Greene, Lawrence.
Hon. Wm. A. Phillips, Salina.
Rev. W. W. Ayres, Lawrence.
Rev. C. G. Howland, Lawrence.
Rabbi Henry Berkowitz, D. D., Kansas City, Mo.
Principal W. E. Higgins, Topeka.
Mr. Noble Prentis, Newton.
Rev. Chas. M. Sheldon, Topeka.
Hon. S. O. Thacher, Lawrence.
Principal F. H. Clark, Minneapolis.
Principal W. H. Johnson, Lawrence.
Mrs. A. O. Grubb, Lawrence.
Mr. W. A. White, Kansas City, Mo.

THE following periodicals are taken by the Department of History and Sociology: The Public Opinion, Forum, The Nation, The Book Chat, The New England Magazine, The Chautauquan, The Quarterly Journal of Economics, The Review of Reviews, Harper's Weekly, Publications of the American Economics Association, Papers of the American Historical Association, The Johns Hopkins University Studies, Publications of the American Statistical Association, The Revue des deux Monde (French Dept. pays for one-half),

The Political Science Quarterly, Free Russia. In addition to these the department takes the following newspapers: New York Tribune (semi-weekly), New York Evening Post (semi-weekly), Baltimore Sun, Nashville American, Atlanta Constitution, Louisville Courier-Journal, Springfield Republican, Chicago Inter-Ocean, St. Paul Pioneer Press, Philadelphia Press, St. Louis Globe-Democrat, San Francisco Bulletin, Kansas City Times (daily), Kansas City Journal (daily). These are weekly papers when not otherwise designated. Besides these the department has access to a very large number of local dailies, monthly magazies and periodicals. By means of these the students of the department may be well informed on current topics.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

The latest publication of the American Economic Association is a monograph on "Municipal Ownership of Gas in the United States," by Edward H. Bemis, Ph. D., professor in Vanderbilt University. This is by far the most complete study that has yet been offered on the subject of gas supply. The monograph is largely made up of the comparison of nine cities in the United States in which municipal ownership obtains. Mr. Bemis has made a thorough study of the subject. He has gained most of his information by personal visits to the towns and by actual investigation of the conditions of the various plants, and by the aid of scholars, students and business men. The highest rate paid for gas in any of the nine cities is $1.50 per thousand cubic feet; the lowest is seventy-five cents. Mr. Bemis shows conclusively the advantages of municipal ownership and predicts a large increase in the number of cities adopting it.

We have received from McMillan & Co. of New York, a copy of "A History of Political Economy," by J. K. Ingram, LL.D., Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, with a preface by E. J. James of the University of Penn. This is by far the best history of political economy that has yet been published in English. It is not like Blanqui's history of economic systems but a history of economic thought. A true history of political economy is the history of those principles and theories advocated by the economists of different periods. The author of this volume is faithful to his subject and gives a clear and logical presentation of these events of the progress of economic thought. In this presentation one sees clearly how far political economy is a science, and discovers something of the nature of the science. In this respect the unsettled state of the political economists of the old school is clearly represented. Their attempt to find certain principles which would apply to every nation or society at all times has proved futile. The fact is that as society changes and new economic conditions arise all formulated laws must be applied according to these conditions. The progress of society is a variable curve. Its variations are not sufficiently regular to determine its future course over an extended period without taking a careful estimate of the actual condition of society at the time of the application of laws and principles. Yet with the recognition of deflections occurring at any given time the course of this curve may be studied scientifically and systematically. In this respect political economy demonstrates its claim to the name science. The book is indispensible to even a small library of political economy.

We have received from D. C. Heath & Co., of Boston, "Studies in American History," by Mary Sheldon Barnes and Earl Barnes; "Comparative View of Governments," by Wenzel; "The American Citizen," by Dole, and "State and Federal Government," by Woodrow Wilson. The plan of the "Studies in American History" is the same as that of Mrs. Barnes' "Studies in General History," published several years ago, which is, in brief, to give, instead of a connected narrative, a series of extracts from contemporary records, supplying such connecting links as are necessary.

COURSE OF STUDY

IN

HISTORY AND SOCIOLOGY.

FOR 1891–2.

F. W. BLACKMAR, PH. D.
F. H. HODDER, A. M.
E. D. ADAMS, PH. D.

Instruction in this department is given by means of lectures, recitations, reports, discussions, and personal direction in study and research. As the library is an indispensable aid in the pursuit of the following courses, students are expected to become acquainted with the best methods of collecting and classifying materials and of writing and presenting papers on special topics. All lectures are supplemented by required reading and class exercises.

Facts are essential to all historic study; yet the aim is to take the student beyond the mere details of events—to inquire into the origin and development of society and the philosophy of institutions. While the study of the past is carried on with interest and thoroughness, the most important part of history—that which lies about us—is kept constantly in view. The history of other nations, other political systems and other forms of administration, are studied, that we may better understand our own. To understand present social and political institutions, and to give an intelligent solution of present problems, is the chief aim of instruction in historical science.

THE WORK OF THE DEPARTMENT

Now embraces European History, American History and Civil Government, the History of Institutions, Sociology, and Political Economy. The work in American History will be continued with enthusiasm and thoroughness. Classes having begun this work will continue without a break. The importance of this work needs no comment. The preparation for good citizenship demands, among other things, a thorough knowledge of the growth of nationality, and the history of our industrial, social and political development. These, with financial experiments and national diplomacy, receive marked attention. The text of the Constitution and Constitutional Law occupy a prominent place in the study of this branch.

OUTLINE OF COURSES.

FIRST TERM.

1. English History. Daily. Descriptive history. A careful study of the English people, including race elements, social and political institutions, and national growth.

2. The History of Civilization. Lectures daily, embracing ancient society, and the intellectual development of Europe to the twelfth century. Special attention is given to the influence of Greek philosophy, the Christian church, the relation of learning to liberal government, and to the rise of modern nationalities.

3. Political Economy. Daily. The fundamental principles are discussed and elaborated by descriptive and historical methods. All principles and theories are illustrated by examples from present economic society. A brief history of Political Economy may be given at the close of the course.

4. French and German History. Daily. Descriptive history; including race elements, social and political institutions, and national growth. Especial attention given to French politics.

5. Historical Method and Criticism. One hour each week. Examination and classification of sources and authorities; analysis of the works of the best historians; collection and use of materials, and notes and bibliography.

6. Statistics. Two hours each week. Supplementary to all studies in economics and sociology. The method of using statistics is taught by actual investigation of political and social problems. The history and theory of statistics receives due attention.

7. Journalism. Lectures three hours each week. Laboratory and library work. *Legal and Historical.*—Ten lectures by Prof. E. D. Adams. *English.*—Twenty-five lectures by Profs. Dunlap and Hopkins. *Ethics of Journalism.*—Five lectures by Prof. Templin. *Newspaper Bureau, Magazines, and Special Phases of Journalism.*—Prof. Blackmar.

The course was prepared especially for those students who expect to enter journalism as a profession. Although the instructors have no desire to create a special School of Journalism for the purpose of turning out fully-equipped journalists, they believe that this course will be very helpful to those who in the future may enter the profession. The course will be found highly beneficial to stu-

dents who want a special study in magazines and newspapers as a means of general culture. The course is under the direction of this Department, but the professors named above have kindly and generously consented to assist in certain phases of the work, which occur more particularly in their respective departments.

8. American History. Instruction is given daily for two years in American History. The course embraces Colonial History and the Local Government of the Colonies, the Constitutional and Political History of the Union from 1789 to the present time the formation of the Constitution, and an analysis of the text of the constitution itself.

9. Local Administration and Law. Three conferences each week during the first term, covering the Management of Public Affairs in districts, townships, counties, cities, and States. This course is intended to increase the sense of the importance of home government, as well as to give instruction in its practical details.

10. Public Finance and Banking. Two conferences each week during the first term, on National, State, andMunicipal Financiering; and on Theoretical and Practical Banking, with the details of bank management.

SECOND TERM.

11. English Constitutional History. Two hours each week. A special study in the principles and growth of the English Constitution. This course may be taken as a continuation of number one. As it is a special study of Constitutional History, students ought to have some preparation for it.

12. Renaissance and Reformation. Lectures two hours each week, with required reading and investigation. This course may be taken as a continuation of number two. It includes the Revival of Learning throughout Europe, with especial attention to the Italian Renaissance; a careful inquiry into the causes, course, and results of the Reformation. The course embraces the best phases of the intellectual development of Europe.

13. Advanced Political Economy. Three hours each week, consisting of (*a*) lectures on Applied Economics, (*b*) Practical Observation and Investigation, and (*c*) Methods of Research, with papers by the students on special topics. This is a continuation of number three.

14. Institutional History. Lectures three hours each week on Comparative Politics and Administration. Greek, Roman and Germanic institutions are compared. The historical significance of Roman law is traced in mediæval institutions. A short study in Prussian Administration is given at the close of the course.

15. The Rise of Democracy. Lectures two hours each week on the Rise of Popular Power, and the Growth of Political Liberty in Europe. A comparison of ancient and modern democracy, a study of Switzerland, the Italian Republics, the Dutch Republic, and the French Revolution, constitute the principal part of the work. Students will read May's Democracy in Europe.

16. Elements of Sociology. Lectures three hours each week on the Evolution of Social Institutions from the Primitive Unit, the Family; including a discussion of the laws and conditions which tend to organize society. The later part of the course is devoted to modern social problems and socialistic Utopias.

17. Charities and Corrections. Two hours each week. Various methods of treatment of the poor. Scientific charity. Treatment of the helpless. Prison reform. State reformatories. This course is supplementary to number sixteen. Special efforts will be made towards a practical study of Kansas institutions.

18. Land and Land Tenures. Lectures two hours each week. This course treats of Primitive Property, the Village Community, Feudal Tenures of France and England, and Modern Land-holding in Great Britain and Ireland and the United States. Reports are made on other countries, and on recent agrarian theories and legislation This is an excellent preparation for the study of the Law of Real Property,

19. The Political History of Modern Europe. Two hours each week, including the Napoleonic wars, German Federation, the Rise of Prussia, the Unification of Italy, the Revolution of 1848, the Third Republic, the Russian problem, etc.

20. Constitutional Law. Three conferences each week during the second term, on the Constitution of the United States; with brief sketches of the institutions and events that preceded its adoption, and with special attention to the sources and methods of its interpretation.

21. International Law and Diplomacy. Class work twice each week during the second term; using Davis on the Rise and Growth of

International Law, and Schuyler on the History of American Diplomacy.

22. The Status of Woman in the United States. Three conferences each week during the second term, on the Status of Woman in all countries and times; with special investigation of the present legal, political, industrial, and professional position of women in the different States of the American Union.

23. The Histories and Methods of Legislative Assemblies. Two conferences each week during the second term on the Rise and Growth of Legislative assemblies, their rules of order and methods of business.

24. Mediæval History. Two-fifths of the last term of the Freshman year. For all students whose admission papers show that they have had Elementary Physics, Hygiene, and Chemistry. The course includes a study of the fall of the Western Empire, the Teutonic Races, and the rise of new nationalities.

25. Seminary. Two hours each week throughout the year.

New Courses. Other courses may be given in Political Philosophy, Modern Municipal Government, Roman Law, the South American Republics, and Comparative administration.

Graduate Courses. To those desiring them, special courses for post-graduate students will be given in the following subjects: The History of Institutions, American History and Civil Government, Sociology, Political Economy.

Newspaper Bureau. In connection with the work of the Department a Newspaper Bureau is maintained. In this the leading cities of the United States are represented by some twenty daily and weekly newspapers. The principal object of the Bureau is to enable students to form habits of systematic reading, to keep informed on the current topics of the day, to study the best types of modern journalism, to learn to discriminate between articles o temporary value only and those of more permanent worth, to make a comparative study of editorial work, to master for the time being the current thought on any particular subject, and to preserve by clippings properly filed and indexed, important materials for the study of current history and public life—to *make* history, by the arrangement and classification of present historical matter.

Preparation for Entrance to the University. —The time spent in the high schools in the study of history is necessarily limited. For this reason it is essential that the greatest care be exercised in preparing students for entrance into the University. At present very little history is required in the Freshman and Sophomore years, and the students enter upon the study of the Junior and Senior years without thorough preparation for the work. It would seem that the aim should be for all those who contemplate entering the University to learn the story of nations pretty thoroughly. A general outline of the world's history with a special study of the United States history and government represents the field. But this outline should be something more than a mere skeleton of facts and dates. It should be well rounded with the political, social and economic life of the people. Students will find a general text-book, such as Myer's or Sheldon's indispensable; but the work of preparation ought not to stop here. Such works as Fyffe's Greece, Creighton's Rome, Seebohm's Era of Protestant Revolution, Cox's Greece, and others in the Primer, Epoch, and Stories of Nations, series ought to be read. The object of this reading is to familiarize the student with the political and social life of the principal nations of the world. For this purpose everything should be as interesting as possible. Such an interest should be aroused that the student would not be puzzled over dates and threadbare facts, but would seize and hold those things that are useful on account of the interest his mind has in them. That history which is gained by a bare memory of events is soon lost. It grows too dim for use and consequently leads to confusion. With the story of the nations well learned the student comes to the University prepared for the higher scientific study of history and its kindred topics. He is then ready for investigation, comparison and analysis. He then takes up the real investigation of the philosophy of institutions and of national development. He is then ready for the science of Sociology, Institutional History, Political Economy, the Science of Government, Statistics or Political Economy. Students who enter the University without this preparation find it necessary to make up for it by the perusal of books, such as those mentioned above.

STUDENTS' LIBRARIES.

Every student in the University should lay the foundation of a good working library. Such libraries are not "made to order" at some given time, under specially favorable financial conditions—but are the result of considerable sacrifice, and are of slow growth. The wise expenditure of even ten dollars in each term will bring together books which if thoroughly mastered will be of great assistance in all later life. Room-mates, or members of the same fraternity, by combining their libraries and avoiding the purchase of duplicates, can soon be in possession of a most valuable collection of authors. Assistance in selecting and in purchasing will be given upon application.

The prices named below are the list prices of the publishers.

Any book in the list below can be had of Field & Hargis, Booksellers and Stationers.

Students are required to purchase books marked with an asterisk.

American Book Company, Chicago.

*Manual of the Constitution, Andrews .... $ 1.00
Analysis of Civil Government, Townsend 1.00
Civil Government, Young 1.00
History of England, Thalheimer 1.00
Mediæval and Modern History, Thalheimer 1.60
Outlines of History, Fisher 2.40

Ginn & Co., Boston and Chicago.

Ancient History, Myers & Allen .... $ 1.50
Mediæval and Modern History, Myers 1.50
Political Science and Comparative Law, Burgess, 5.00
Macy's Our Government .... .75
*General History, Myers 1.50
Leading facts in English History, Montgomery 1.12
Philosophy of Wealth, Clark 1.00
Political Science Quarterly, Yearly 3.00
Washington and His Country, Fiske 1.00

Harpers, New York.

*History of Germany, Lewis 1.50
*International Law, Davis 2.50
*Political History of Modern Times, Muller 2.00
*Short English History, Green 1.75
Civil Policy of America, Draper 2.50
History of English People, Green, 4 vols 10.00
History of United States, Hildreth, 6 vols 12.00
The Constitution, Story 1.00

Holt & Co., New York.

*American Politics, Johnston .... $ 1.00
American Colonies, Doyle, 3 vols 9.00
American Currency, Sumner 2.50
Civil Service in United States, Comstock 2.00
History of Modern Europe, Fyffe, 3 vols 7.50
Political Economy, Roscher, 2 vols 7.00
Political Economy, Walker 2.25

Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

*Civil Government in United States, Fiske .... $ 1.00
American Commonwealths, 13 vols., each 1.25
American Statesmen, 24 vols., each 1.25
American Revolution, Fisk, 2 vols 4.00
Critical Period of American History, Fisk 2.00
Emancipation of Massachusetts, Adams 1.50
Epitome of History, Ploetz 3.00
War of Secession, Johnson 2.50

Appleton, New York.

Dynamic Sociology, Ward, 2 vols .... $ 5.00
History of Civilization, Guizot 1.25
Political Economy, Mill, 2 vols 6.00

Cranston & Stowe, Chicago.

*Political Economy, Ely .... $ 1.00

MacMillan, New York.

Constitutional History, England, Stubbs, 3 vols $10.00
Principles of Economics, Marshall, vol. I 4.00

Armstrong, New York.

*Democracy in Europe, May, 2 vols .... $ 2.50

G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London.

*American Citizen's Manual, Ford .... $ 1.25
Constitutional History and American Law Cooley and others 2.00
History of Political Economy, Blanqui 3.00
Railroad Transportation, Hadley 1.50
American Electional System, O'Neil 1.50
Economic Interpretations of History, Thorold Rogers 3.00
Constitutional History of the United States, Sterne 1.25
*Tariff History of the United States, Taussig 1.25
The Story of Nations, 34 vols., each 1.50
Heroes of the Nations, 12 vols., each 1.50
American Orations, edited by Johnston, 3 vols., each 1.25

Callaghan & Co., Chicago.

Constitutional History of U. S., Von Holst, 6 vol $20.00
Constitutional Law of U. S., Von Holst 2.00

Crowell, New York.

*History of France, Duruy .... $ 2.00
Labor Movement in America, Ely 1.50
Life of Washington, pop. ed., Irving, 2 vols 2.50
Problems of To-day, Ely 1.50

Little, Brown & Co., Boston.

History of Greece, Grote, 10 vols $17.50
History of the United States, Bancroft, 6 vols 13.50
Rise of the Republic, Frothingham 1.75

Longmans, Green & Co., New York.

Epochs of Ancient History, each vol .... $ 1.00
Epochs of Modern History, each vol 1.00
Political Economy, pop. ed., Mill 1.75
The Crusades, Cox 1.00

Scribners, New York.

*American Diplomacy, Schuyler .... $ 2.00
History of Rome, Mommsen, 4 vols 8.00
Lombard Street, Bagehot 1.25
Silent South, Cable 1.00

Silver Burdett & Co., Boston.

*Historical Atlas, Labberton .... $1.50 or $ 2.00
*Historical Geography of U. S., MacCoun 1.00
*Institutes of Economics, Andrews 1.50
Institues of General History, Andrews 2.00

Morrison, Washington.

History of United States, Schouler, 4 vols .... $ 9.00

D. C. Heath & Co., Boston.

The State, Woodrow Wilson .... $ 2.00
Principles of Political Economy, Gide 2.00
Methods of Teaching History, Hall 1.50
General History, Sheldon 1.60
*Old South Leaflets, 22 Nos., each .... .05
History Topics, Allen .... .25
State and Federal Governments of the United States, Wilson .... .50

SEMINARY NOTES.

State University—Lawrence, Kansas.

Vol. I. DECEMBER, 1891. No. 4.

SEMINARY OF HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCE.

All students connected with the department of History and Sociology are, by virtue of such connection, members of the Seminary. All students having two or more studies under the instructors of the department are required to take the work of the Seminary as part of their work in course.

The meetings of the Seminary are held every Friday, in Room 15, University Building. Public meetings will be held from time to time, after due announcement.

The work of the Seminary consists of special papers and discussions, on topics connected with the Department mentioned; prepared as far as possible from consultation of original sources and from practical investigation of existing conditions, under the personal direction of the officers of the Seminary.

Special assistance in choice of themes, authorities, etc., is given members of the Seminary who have written work due in the department of History and Sociology, or in the Department of English, or in any of the literary societies or other similar organizations in the University; on condition that the results of such work shall be presented to the Seminary if so required.

In connection with the work of the Seminary, a Newspaper bureau is maintained. In this the leading cities of the United States are represented by some twenty daily and weekly newspapers. The principal object of the Bureau is to enable students to form habits of systematic reading, to keep informed on the current topics of the day, to study the best types of modern Journalism, to learn to discriminate between articles of temporary value only and those of more permanent worth, to make a comparative study of editorial work, to master for the time being the current thought on any particular subject, and to preserve by clippings properly filed and indexed, important materials for the study of current history and public life—to *make* history by the arrangement and classification of present historical matter.

Special investigation and study will be undertaken during each year, bearing on some one or more phases of the administration of public affairs in this State; the purpose being to combine service to the State with the regular work of professional and student life. In this special work the advice and cooperation of State and local officials and of prominent men of affairs is constantly sought, thus bringing to students the experience and judgment of the world about them.

Graduates of our own University, or other persons of known scholarly habits, who have more than a passing interest in such work as the Seminary undertakes, and who are willing to contribute some time and thought to its success, are invited to become corresponding members of the Seminary. The only condition attached to such membership is, that each corresponding member shall prepare during each University year one paper, of not *less* than two thousand five hundred words, on some subject within the scope of the Seminary; and present the same in person at such time as may be mutually agreed upon by the writer and the officers of the Seminary, or in writing if it be found impossible to attend a meeting of the Seminary.

The library of the University and the time of the officers of the Seminary are at the service of corresponding members, in connection with Seminary work—within reasonable limits.

More than twenty gentlemen, prominent in official and professional circles, have already connected themselves with the Seminary, and have rendered very acceptable service during past years.

The officers and members of the Seminary will gladly render all possible assistance ot any public officials who may desire to collect special statistics or secure definite information on such lines of public work as are properly within the sphere of the Seminary.

Any citizen of Kansas interested in this work is invited to correspond with the Seminary, and to be present at its meetings when possible.

FRANK W. BLACKMAR,
Director.
FRANK H. HODDER,
Vice-Director.
EPHRAIM D. ADAMS,
Secretary

EARLY MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT IN CHICAGO.

THE history of Chicago begins with the discovery by Marquette and Joliet of the ground upon which the city now stands. The earliest settlement there was made by a negro from San Domingo a few years before the Treaty of Paris secured the territory to the United States. The ordinance of 1787 provided for the organization of the Northwest without special mention of municipal corporations. Although a government was provided, the new republic did not obtain actual possession of her property until the British, in accordance with Jay's treaty, evacuated their Western posts and the Indians in 1795 made peace with General Wayne at Greenville. Among the cessions of territory, made by this treaty, was "one piece of land, six miles square, at the mouth of the Chicago river."

As the purchase of Louisiana gave an impulse to Western settlement, the federal government determined to establish a military post on the southern shore of Lake Michigan, in order to afford the pioneers in that section some protection against the Indians. The site finally chosen was the tract to which a title had been acquired by the treaty of Greenville. Here a detachment from Detroit built a rough log fort in the autumn of 1803 and named it after General Henry Dearborn, then secretary of war. Around the fort a few pioneers built their cabins. Thus Chicago, like many of the great cities of Europe, grew up around a military camp. The garrison of the fort was commanded by a captain, acting under the orders of General Hull at Detroit. The settlers were at first too few to need a government. At the outbreak of the war of 1812 the Indians swept away the entire settlement, consisting of five houses besides the fort, but in 1816, after the close of the war, the fort was rebuilt and the little colony started again. It was then sometimes called Dearborn settlement, from the fort, and sometimes Chicago, from the name of the river.

The Territory of Indiana had been organized in 1800 and nine years later the Territory of Illinois, extending northward to the international line, had been separated from it. In 1818, through the efforts of the inhabitants of the extreme south, a part of this territory was admitted as a state. The settlers at Fort Dearborn seem to have first come in contact with the state authorities in 1823. They were then included in Fulton county and June 3, 1823, the court of that county levied a general tax of a half per cent. "on all personal property (household property excepted) and on all town lots. The amount realized in Dearborn settlement was $11.42 in State paper, indicating a total valuation of $2,284. A little later, Fulton county commissioned two justices of the peace for the place. Between 1826 and 1831 Chicago was a part of Peoria county, and that county commissioned justices of the peace, appointed judges for state and national elections and granted licenses for the settlement.

Cook county was organized in 1831, and included within its limits territory since divided into five counties. Chicago was made the county seat, and a government, consisting of three commissioners, a sheriff, treasurer, clerk, and coroner, was organized in the usual way. The first meeting of the commissioners' court was held in the fort March 8, 1831. April 13 the court levied the first tax and fixed the charges to be made at taverns. These two acts form the first bit of local legislation that has been preserved. They read as follows:

"*Ordered*, That there be a half per cent levied on the following description of property, to-wit: On town lots, on pleasure carriages, on distilleries, on all horses, mules, and neat cattle above the age of

three years; on watches and their appurtenances, and on all clocks."

"*Ordered*, That the following rates be allowed to tavern keepers, to-wit: Each half pint of wine, rum or brandy, 25 cents; each pint do., 37½ cents; each half pint of gin, 18¾ cents; each pint do., 31¼ cents; each gill of whiskey, 6¼ cents; each half pint do., 12½ cents; each pint do., 18¾ cents. For each breakfast and supper, 25 cents; each dinner, 37½ cents; each horse feed, 25 cents; keeping horse one night, 50 cents; lodging for each man per night, 12½ cents; for cider or beer, one pint, 6¼ cents; do., one quart, 12½ cents."

The first act gives interesting evidence of the classes of property that were selected for taxation, and the second indicates a disposition to fix prices. Receipts for the year, ending March 1, 1832, were derived from the levy just quoted and from fees for licenses. Expenditures for the year amounted to $252.35, leaving a balance of $15.93 in the treasury. The next year an "estray pen," costing $12, and a jail "of logs well bolted together," were built. These were the first public buildings.

Chicago increased in population and importance by being made the northern terminus of the proposed Illinois and Michigan canal, and in 1833 was organized as a town. Beginning with this date her corporate history may be divided into four periods:

1. The town government.
2. The period of the first city charter.
3. The era of board government.
4. Government under the general charter.

In 1831 the general assembly of the state had passed "An act to incorporate the inhabitants of such towns as may wish to be incorporated." Under this general law, any town, of not less than one hundred and fifty inhabitants, could be incorporated whenever two-thirds of the voters so desired. The town government was vested in a board of five trustees, elected annually. The board chose their president from among their own number. They were empowered to pass necessary ordinances; to establish public markets, sink public wells, make pavements and build sidewalks; to protect the town from injury by fire; to define town boundaries, "*Provided*, That the same shall not exceed one mile square;" and to levy an annual tax upon real estate of not more than fifty cents on a hundred dollars.

Although Chicago had not the population required by the statute, her citizens were ambitious to have a town government. August 5, 1833, a public meeting was held, of which the following are the minutes:

"At a meeting of the citizens of Chicago, convened pursuant to public notice given according to the statute for incorporating towns, T. J. V. Owen was chosen president, and E. S. Kimberly was chosen clerk. The oaths were then administered by Russell E. Heacock, a justice of the peace for Cook county, when the following vote was taken on the propriety of incorporating the town of Chicago, county of Cook, state of Illinois:

"For Incorporation—John S. C. Hogan, C. A. Ballard, C. W. Snow, R. J. Hamilton, J. T. Temple, John Wright, G. W. Dole, Hiram Pearsons, Alanson Sweet, E. S. Kimberly, T. J. V. Owen, Mark Beaubien—12.

"Against Incorporation — Russell E. Heacock—1.

"We certify the above poll to be correct.

(Signed) "T. J. V. OWEN, *President*.
"ED. S. KIMBERLY, *Clerk*."

The town history covers a period of a little less than four years, during which time there were four elections for town trustees. The first was held five days after the vote upon incorporation. It is supposed that every one entitled to vote did so. Twenty-eight ballots were cast, and half of those voting were candidates for office. During the first year the meetings of the trustees were held on the first Wed-

nesday of each month, usually at a private house or one of the town taverns. The minutes were kept on loose scraps of paper, all of which have been lost. The board organized by the election of a town president from among their own number, and afterwards erected several additional officers. A treasurer was appointed in September. The duties of street commissioner and fire warden were united in one officer, and those of assessor and surveyor in another. In November a collector was appointed, and authorized to retain as fees "ten per cent of all moneys put into the town treasury." At the December meeting a corporation attorney was added to the list of officers.

The trustees, on November 6, so far extended the limits, which they had fixed for the town at their first meeting, as to include an area of nearly seven-eighths of a square mile. November 7 they adopted a code of law: "The citizens were forbidden to let pigs wander in the streets; to shoot off any fire-arms; to steal timber from the bridges for firewood or other purposes; to endanger the public safety by pushing a new stove-pipe through a board wall; to run a race horse through the principal streets; to leave lumber lying loose in the streets, or to throw dead animals into the river." The entire tax levy for the first year of town government amounted to $48.90, a large part of which was paid in town orders that had been made receivable for taxes, for at this early period the practice of anticipating the revenue by the issue of scrip was begun.

In 1834 public business so far increased that the trustees found it necessary to meet twice instead of once a month as before. In October of this year the first loan was negotiated. Sixty dollars were borrowed for the purpose of improving the streets, "with the careful provision that the money should be paid back as soon as it could be raised by taxation, and at no more distant time than fifteen days." In November the first step was taken toward a system of public water works by the digging of a town well, costing $95.50. The next year a loan of $2,000 was authorized, at a rate of interest not exceeding ten per cent, and payable in twelve months.

By an act of the general assembly, approved February 11, 1835,* the number of town trustees was increased from five to nine, and their powers were considerably enlarged. Under this amended charter the electors were such residents of the town as were qualified to vote for representatives to the legislature and the elected were required to be freeholders. The number of officers to be appointed by the trustees was increased. The list included a clerk, street commissioner, treasurer, assessor and collector of taxes, town surveyor, two measurers of wood and coal, two measurers of lumber, and two weighers of grain. The last section of this act is important, for the reason that it marks the beginning of what afterward became the three separate towns of South, West and North Chicago. It reads as follows:

"This corporation shall be divided into three districts, to-wit: All that part which lies south of the Chicago river and east of the south branch of said river, shall be included in the first district; all that part which lies west of the north and south branches of said river, shall be included in the second district; and all that part which lies north of the Chicago river and east of the north branch of said river, shall be included in the third district; and the taxes collected within the said respective districts shall be expended, under the direction of the board of trustees, for improvements within their respective districts; but the election of trustees within said town shall be by general ticket."

In June, 1835, the trustees established a permanent board of health. In August a longer municipal code was adopted, and in October the ordinances were for the first

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*References to the acts, relating to Chicago, passed by the state legislature before 1866, may be found in Gross's "Index to the Laws of Illinois." The state legislation, before 1866, was printed in an appendix to the volume of "Laws and Ordinances Governing the City of Chicago," published in that year.

time printed. Much attention was given by the town authorities to the prevention of fires. In 1834 the town was divided for fire purposes into four wards, and a fire warden appointed for each. By an ordinance to prevent fires, passed later in the year, all citizens were required under penalty to obey the summons of the fire wardens, "whether it be to enter the ranks or lines formed for passing water or buckets, or to aid in promoting such other means as to said wardens may seem calculated to carry into effect the object of this ordinance." The same ordinance was re-enacted immediately after the adoption of the city charter. The following are some of its sections:

SEC. 30. The citizens and inhabitants shall respectively, if a fire happens at night, place a lighted candle or lamp at the front door or windows of their respective dwellings, there to remain during the night, unless the fire be sooner extinguished.

SEC. 34. Every dwelling house or other building containing one fire place or stove, shall have one good painted leathern fire bucket with the initials of the owner's name painted thereon, etc.

SEC. 35. That every able bodied inhabitant shall, upon an alarm of fire, repair to the place of the fire with his fire bucket or buckets, if he shall have any, etc.

SEC. 36. Every occupant of any building shall keep the aforesaid fire buckets in the front hall of said building, etc.*

So far as we can determine the administration of the town government, during the four years of its existence, was both wise and economical. In common with the history of other isolated western towns, it furnishes a striking illustration of the genius that the Anglo-Saxon people have for self-government. There were, however, two transactions, which, if entered into in good faith, show how little the citizens of Chicago foresaw the future greatness of the place. The first was a sale of valuable school lands in 1833, for $38,865. The second was the loan of wharfing privileges, in accordance with a provision of the act of February, 1835. Under the authority of that act the trustees leased, for a term of 999 years, to the owners and occupants of lots fronting the river, privileges, since worth millions of dollars, at rates varying from $8.50 to $25 per front foot. The mistake was evidently very soon discovered, for within two months an act was secured from the state legislature restricting to a term of five years the power of the trustees to make such leases, and indicating dissatisfaction with the action of the town government, by reducing the limit of taxation from one-half to one-forth of one per cent of the assessed valuation.

At a meeting of the trustees, held November 18, 1836, it was ordered, "That the president invite the citizens of each of the three districts of the town to meet in their respective districts and select three suitable persons to meet with the board of trustees on Thursday evening next, and consult together with them on the expediency of applying to the legislature of the state for a city charter, and adopt a draft to accompany such application." In accordance with this resolution delegates were chosen in each district, and November 5, at a meeting of the trustees and delegates, a committee of five was appointed to draft a charter. December 9 the proposed charter was presented to the trustees, and, after some amendment, was sent by a messenger to Vandalia, then the state capital. March 4, 1837, it passed the legislature and became a law. The adoption of this charter closes the first period in the municipal history of Chicago.

F. H. HODDER.

*H. H. Hurlbut's *Chicago Antiquities*.

SOCIOLOGY FROM THE PREACHER'S STANDPOINT.*

"THE study of humanity is interesting, but the study of the individual is stupid," said a friend to me once, and I must confess that there seems to be much truth in the remark, especially after one has been *slumming* and come in contact with the most degraded forms of human beings. There is a sense in which sociology as a science or a study in one's library becomes fascinating. But the moment one goes out and applies the principles he has advocated from the platform or in the essay the subject assumes an entirely different character. It is so easy to work up enthusiasm for mankind. It is so hard to love one individual man, especially if he is dirty, degraded, and sinful. And yet sociology as a science or a study has for its end, if I understand it right, the elevation of the human race. And this cannot be done at arms' length. The end of sociology is not statistics, nor accounts of theories advanced by men who sit at home in comfortable rooms and never go near the man, but the end is the redemption of society through the work of men with men, through the actual touch of soul with soul. To illustrate. There is a man in Topeka who is struggling for existence. He is having a harder time of it than I am. He is worse off than I am body, soul, mind, every thing. Well, I study that man's surroundings. I find out the reasons for his condition. I trace out the hereditary influences which have gone down to the man and into him. I make a study of his physical weaknesses and his moral lapses. I take into account the particular trade or means by which he attempts to keep the breath of life in him. I make an exhaustive analysis of his complete environment, and I put it all down in a book and print it and give it out to the world. But all that is not sociology, unless the man is in some way the better for it. And it may be possible I may not have any right to make a study of that man, unless I am ready and willing to go to him and help him make his conditions in life happier and stronger. I may have no right to publish a book about him, unless I am ready to give him my personal sympathy and help. All this from the preacher's standpoint, you understand.

I believe most heartily that at the basis of all true sociological study is a true love of men, so true that we are ready to go and actually apply what we preach; if we have a theory for the advancement of the race to make an experiment with it; if we deliver a lecture or preach a sermon on being servants to the poor and outcast, ready to prove our sincerity by going ourselves to give ourselves in acts of service to the humblest soul that lives. Legislation can do much. So can machinery. But it can do nothing but turn itself, unless the human element is constantly present to direct the products of its movement. The world has suffered from statistical philanthrophists. Not that the figures are useless. They may prove of great value. But I have of late come in contact with so much sentimental study of social science that I have almost lost the sweet temper with which God blessed me, when I see the eagerness with which men and women form clubs for the discussion of humanity and the reluctance with which they teach a class of ignorant negroes or put theories of their club rooms into actual practice. All this from the preacher's standpoint.

I shall have to confess to you that I have done an immense amount of preaching, that I have been slow to follow up myself with practice, but nevertheless I don't believe in it and never shall.

I think the first impulse I ever had to study humanity at first hand, dates from an experiment I ventured to try in my first parish in a country town in Vermont. I

*Read before the Historical Seminary on Nov. 6.

was perplexed, as very many pastors are, by the parish visiting problem. I wanted to know my people, to become familiar with their wants and their temptations; their discouragements, and their ambitions. It seemed to me that if I could see every man, woman and child in my whole parish between two Sundays, I could then face them on Sunday and preach with the knowledge that I was reaching something definite. But it was a physical impossibility. The parish was seven miles square, and being in the heart of the Green Mountains it was all up hill. And my only means of locomotion was a small horse that had the quinsy, the springhalt, and a lazy disposition. At last I very frankly asked the parish to let me board out with it. I was rooming in a hotel. I continued to take my breakfast there and to sleep there each night, but by arrangement I took my dinner and supper with one of the families of the parish for an entire week, beginning with Sunday. In this way I saw, in the course of a year, nearly every family in the parish. I met the *men* of the household, for they were, as a rule, prompt to their meals. And I suppose I had a more thorough knowledge of that parish and its real needs at the end of a year than I could have gained by ten years of formal calls in an afternoon, when nobody but the "women folks," to use a New England phrase, could be found at home. I need not say that all this was done, not from a vulgar curiosity to know other people's business, but through a genuine desire to know the people in order that I might be more useful to them as a servant. If our service to mankind is valuable in proportion to our knowledge of its actual condition, then the better we know it the better we can serve it. All this from the preacher's standpoint.

Under this same impulse to know mankind at first hand, I began a year ago a series of personal investigations into the daily life of eight groups of men. I divided up the city of Topeka into eight districts, according to the daily activity of its inhabitants. These groups were as follows: The street car and electric car men, the negroes, the Santa Fe railroad men, the Washburn college students, the doctors, the lawyers, the business men, and the newspaper men. My process of study was as follows: For instance, with the students, I went out to the college and stayed there a week. Visited the class rooms; studied Greek and Latin with the boys; played ball with them on the campus; met groups of them between the periods of study for the discussion of religious or literary topics; in short, put myself into their places as completely as possible. With the railroad men, I had permission from the superintendent to ride on the engine, and go down the road on freight and cattle cars. I spent most of my time in the yard, at night, or when most of the work was being done, and tried to find out the religious feeling of the men when it seemed wise. But conversation on religious topics, with a man who is running a wild freight train, is apt to be fragmentary. With the newspaper men, I engaged work on the *Capital* as a reporter, and for a week astonished the community, I have no doubt, by accounts of runaways, the arrival of John Smith into the city and the conflagration of Mr. Brown's barn last night. My greatest temptation while with the newspaper fraternity was to manufacture history to keep up with the everlasting cry for copy. With the negroes, I visited them in their homes and at the schools, and spent three weeks with them, making as complete a study of their habits and characteristics as possible.

The same principle was observed throughout, of learning from actual contact the environment of each of the eight groups. I worked at a disadvantage. My church, which, by the way, is the most good natured church in Kansas, of necessity demanded a certain amount of my time, and I could not give to the special work all the strength required. But the result of even such imperfect study as I was able to give was invaluable to me in

my chosen life work. I consider those twelve weeks, with those groups of men, of more value than an entire seminary course, so far as getting a real insight into human nature goes. And while it is impossible for one man actually to put himself into another man's place, the very attempt impresses him with the tremendous gap which is possible to yawn between men of the same original creation. Why is it that the church, to-day, stands powerless before the masses of working men? It is not because she does not contain the life of the world. It is because the preacher does not know the facts of men's lives. He is a scholar in the scholastic sense. The common people are strangers to him. He cannot face a crowd of working men and talk fifteen minutes in such a way as to keep them interested. Give him an audience of his own kind, students, scholarly men and women, people who take the reviews and the magazines, and who think intelligently, and the average preacher gets along pretty well. If he gets a little dull and prosy his audience is too well bred to do any thing worse than take a nap. But face him with a crowd of brakemen, street cleaners, hod carriers, and men who toil with their hands, and he is helpless. His education has educated him away from men. And there is something radically wrong, I believe, in any process of education which turns out of our seminaries every year men who can preach only to a class. I do not believe it is a matter of genius, or of disposition, or temperament which makes it possible for a preacher to reach all sorts and conditions of men. It is a matter of willingness and humility, and love, and service, and study, and industry. It is a matter of being all things to all men, if by any means we may save some.

The pastor of one of the Presbyterian churches in Topeka has joined with me in a plan for the better understanding and education of the negro in Topeka. It happens that just across the street from our respective churches is an entire district known as Tennessee Town, where about 1,200 negroes have their homes. There are four churches in that district—four denominations. The three active colored pastors have signified their willingness to assist in any way to make the plan of Mr. Harris and myself a success. I feel no hesitation in making this personal mention of work in this line, for the reason that I take for granted one of the objects of this Seminary is to get all we can out of one another, and instead of waiting to be pumped I simply work the handle myself. With this understanding, this little obtrusive pronoun "I," will, I trust, be pardoned for being so loud and conspicuous in this paper. The plan is as follows: We advertise a series of lectures, to be given on Monday nights, every other week, beginning with an illustrated chemical and electrical lecture on "Light." This will be followed by lectures on "One Dollar and What it Can Buy," "A Quart of Whisky and What it Can Do," (to be given by my Presbyterian brother) "What the Negro Has Done for Himself Since the War," "What Has Been Done for the Negro Since the War," with two or three topics yet to be arranged. These lectures will be for boys and young men only. Admission by ticket, free, of course, but restricted to those who have secured tickets. These we place in the hands of the pastors and others in the district for distribution. We take turns at the different churches for our meeting places, there being no prejudice on the part of the masses against going into the church building, as there is with the more enlightened Anglo-Saxon. This work of the lectures is to be supplemented by house to house visiting (I dislike the word "visitation," it sounds too much like the smallpox or yellow fever), and by every other possible means of learning the actual condition of the black man.

Now this plan, in actual working, may fail. But I have the sublimest confidence that it won't, unless there is some reckless handling of the chemicals the first night

and the removal thereby of one of the necessary lecturers. Of this I am certain, an honest attempt to solve hard questions in the human problem will be blessed in some way, I know it will. And the preacher of all men, must meet men in daily life and as souls. The sociological problem with me is not simply an interesting problem in history, or like the theory of the fourth dimension in space, or like an exceedingly difficult proposition in Euclid. Sociology with me means life, with eternal for its adjective. And to me it seems like a self-evident proposition that the preacher must know the facts if he would do any effective service in the line of a true sociology. Charles Booth, the author of that admirably exhaustive publication, "The Life and Labor of the People in London," has called attention to the fact that much of the philanthropic and charitable work of London has been done blindly. The causes which underlie poverty and crime and hardship have not been studied. And he endeavors to show that a thorough personal survey of the subject is necessary to any remedy proposed for the existing conditions. I remember when I was a boy in Southern Dakota, before it was a state, there was a regular government survey of the government lands. But it was done so superficially by ignorant men who were in it for the politics and the money, that nearly all of it had to be surveyed again, and some of it three times before it was at all correct. The preacher is to-day suffering from this kind of surveying in the field of humanity. He is compelled to do it all over again. He finds that it is not sufficient that another man has been over the ground. He must go over it himself. He may be compelled to accept much of the work of scholarship from other men. He may follow the work already done by specialists in science. But in the field of humanity I believe he must do much at first hand himself. That is his business. Not writing sermons, and delivering addresses, and studying the Bible. That is not the preacher's main business. His business is humanity and a knowledge of it from personal acquaintance, so that when he faces men from the pulpit it may be with the courage and sympathy which are the result of having faced them six other days where life is most a reality to the average man. In other words, the preacher must get his sermons more out of men and less out of books.

I cannot help believing that the preacher, in his relation to sociology, is beginning to take on an aroused and growing feeling of power and responsibility. It is dawning upon me like the stealing of the light out of the sea to the passenger in mid-ocean who has been watching the horizon for a clear day, that Jesus Christ, the greatest sociologist of the world, meant to teach the blessedness of the human existence in this world. It is not true, that taunt of the masses that Christianity preaches a heaven, but offers no hope for this world. Christianity preaches a heaven in earth. It is "thy kingdom come, thy will be done in *earth* as it is in heaven." And the preacher is just beginning to feel the force of that teaching which said, "Seek ye first the kingdom of God, and all these things," (the food, clothing, development,) "shall be added unto you." We are not afraid to preach to a man that if he will seek God he will be blessed in this world, because that is the plain teaching of the great Master. And it is a very hopeful sign to me that the church and ministry of the present age is making a study of how men have to live in this world, and how much wages they get, and how many hours they put in, and what time they have for religious and intellectual life. We are learning that it is very hard work to convert a man who is hungry; but still the need of more personal work and study is very great. A. S. Barnett, the rector of St. Jude's in Whitechapel district, one of the leaders in the Toynbee Hall and University Extension movement, recently claimed (*Christian Union* October 10, 1891,) that the success of the work

in the East End was due to public legislation and private philanthropy going hand in hand. There never will come a time in the history of this world when machinery can take the place of bowels. Laws and enactments cannot do all the work; indeed, good laws are necessarily the result of the action of good men. As long as a heart beats on the globe, so long the need of sympathy will exist, and the preacher to-day stands at the very front of all true sociological advance. He can do splendid service for the teacher and the statesman. He must do it if he would see the church what it ought to be—a grand extension movement of God's kingdom among men. I shall be satisfied with this brief presentation of my own thought, if the result shall be to center thought upon the real need of personal touch with the problem, and the everlasting factor of love which truly underlies all true effort for the uplift and outgrowth of society. There are only two supreme commands over a man in this world. The first is, that he love God with all his being. The second is, that he love his neighbor as himself. All valuable and necessary work and study in this world hang on the fulfilling of those two eternal, sublime principles. All the study we can make of the social organism; all the ink and paper we wearily or egotistically put together on the subject, may not affect the real problem any more than blowing pretty soap bubbles in the face of a cyclone will stop it, unless love to God and men control the private act and the public service. I have yet to find any thing in the social systems of mankind which can take the place of love. There is nothing. And I, for one, as I view this great study of sociology, which is only another name for the fatherhood of God applied to the brotherhood of man, cannot suppress a prayer of intensity that the ministry of this generation may rise to its opportunity, and ignoring sectarianism and forsaking foolish discussions of doctrines, unite in one great crusade for the deliverance of the holy sepulchre of humanity from the pagan defilement of the world and the flesh and the devil. And do it by meeting the enemy in hand to hand combat in actual battle, where no quarter is asked or given, and where to perish will be to win eternal fame as a true defender of the faith of mankind. In an age so heroic as this it would be a pity if heroes were wanting. We shall see a perfect social system in the world, when love is supreme, and not before, for God himself is love. All this from the preacher's standpoint.

CHAS. M. SHELDON.

SEMINARY REPORTS.

IRRIGATION.

THE Seminary met in regular session on October 30, Prof. Blackmar presiding.

Irrigation in Egypt was the first paper on the progam, and was read by Miss Humphrey. The paper was a digest of the government report of that title, issued in 1889 by the United States. Miss Humphrey said that we may safely infer that the processes of irrigation actually in use have been in a great measure bequeathed to us by the most remote ages. Until the present century, overflow basins were used both in Upper Egypt and the Delta. This process was uncertain and dangerous. Mehemet Ali abolished basins in Lower Egypt and dug canals, thus introducing the inundation process of irrigation, which is now in use in one-third of Egypt. With the aid of a diagram Miss Humphrey then explained the construction of dykes built for this purpose. The paper closed with a description of the control and management of irrigation by the government.

Mr. Hallowell read a paper on "Irrigation in Italy and Spain," based on a

report on Irrigation in France, Italy, and Spain, by State Engineer Hall, of California, and giving the history of irrigation in those countries. He said that in the time of Rome's greatness the streams were the common property of the people. The ownership then changed to the feudal lords of the middle ages, next to the kings, and finally to the state; but during these times the royal governments and the municipalities were constantly struggling for the right of control. Since the settlement of these disputes, by placing the control of water rights in the hands of the government, commendable laws have been passed and the development of irrigation promoted. The paper gave a close description and explanation of these laws, and mentioned the advantages of irrigation to the countries considered.

Mr. Ross read a paper on "Irrigation in California." This paper was also upon the authority of Engineer Hall, of California. It gave a history of the subject in the western states of the Union, outlined the plans in use in California, and treated of the problems presented in bringing irrigation into more general use. The principal difficulty is the limited water supply. It is proposed to remedy this by the use of storage water reservoirs, and the paper gave a description of the largest of these and closed with a prophecy of what irrigation may do, in the future, for the West.

The last paper of the session, "Irrigation in Kansas and Colorado," was read by Mr. Noble. He said that he had given such information on the subject as he could obtain from the newspaper bureau. The paper presented the past and present of irrigation in these states, stating that Colorado is much in advance of Kansas, owing to the favorable natural features found in that state and showing that the natural features of Kansas are in general so unfavorable to irrigation that many improvements in present processes will be necessary before it can become a great factor in reclaiming to cultivation the arid land of the state.

Reading references on the subject of Irrigation are: "Theory of Irrigation," *Ecl. Engin*, 12, 435; "Irrigable Lands of Arid Regions," *Century*, 39, 766 (Powell); "Irrigation of Arid Lands," *Popular Science Monthly*, 36, 364; "Irrigation of Western Lands," *North American Review*, 150, 370; "Irrigation in the United States," *Nation*, 47, 390; "Irrigation in the Southwest," *Nation*, 45, 474; "Irrigation in California," *Ecl. Engin*, 16, 79; "Irrigation in Egypt," *Century*, 17, 342; "Irrigation in Egypt," *Athenaeum*, 2, 389; "Irrigation," *Ecl. Engin*, 35, 445; "Irrigation in Australia," *Century*, 28, 425; "Irrigation in China," *Popular Science Monthly*, 37, 821; "Irrigation in India," *North American Review*, 77, 439; "Irrigation Works in India," *Contemporary Review*, 27, 549; also *Ecl. Engin*, 1, 76; 15, 113; 17, 140.

F. S. JACKSON, *Reporter*.

CANADA.

The subject for discussion in the students' Seminary, of November 13, was "Canada." Three papers were presented. The first paper, by Prof. Sayre, was entitled "Notes of a Traveler," and was a very interesting account of the writer's experience and observations in Canada during the past summer. Prof. Sayre noted particularly the difference existing between city and rural population in Canada, and the apparently conservative tendency of the latter class. He also called attention to the fact that the separation in feeling between the French and English parts of the Canadian people was still in existence, a separation which has been of the greatest importance in the historical development of the nation. This antagonism is most evident in the matter of religion, but Prof. Sayre was of the opinion that it would some time be an effective force in considering the question of annexation. In his estimation the French were, as a class, favorable to the United States. The greater part of Prof. Sayre's paper was taken up with a description of Canadian

customs and manners, to which it is impossible to do justice in a brief report.

"The Government of Canada," as described by Mr. Simmons, in its present form, dates from the passage by the Queen's parliament in 1867, of the British North American Act. In form the government resembles that of our own country, the essential difference being that parliament delegates power to the people in Canada and the people delegate powers to congress in the United States. The Dominion has a constitution and is nominally under the authority of the mother country, but practically independent. The governor general is appointed by the crown, but is not accepted unless the provinces are willing. The provinces choose the lower house, but the upper house is appointed by the governor general. The prime minister controls the action of the latter officer, and being head of the cabinet is much more powerful than any other man in the state. The "yes power of the upper house is much greater than the no power;" and taken altogether the legislative branch of the government is less centralized than our own. The ministry is composed of fifteen members, nominated by the premier and appointed by the governor. The latter officer also has a nominal veto power. The judicial system is much more simple than that of United States, consisting of supreme court, superior courts in the provinces, and district courts, besides justice courts. All officers of justice, except police judges and justices of the peace, are appointed by the governor general. The judicial and executive systems are much less democratic in Canada than in our own county.

The third paper, presented by Mr. Rush, was on the subject of "Canadian Annexation." Mr. Rush began his paper by stating that less than three years ago Senator Sherman said: "The United States has its index finger forever pointing to a union with all that lies north of us as our manifest destiny." This expresses the sentiment of the average American citizen, and he feels that his nation must only keep up the pace she has held the last seventy-eight years to make our grand republic extend from the Isthmus of Panama to the Arctic Ocean in the near future. Looking over the history of their country it is small wonder that the citizens of the United States feel that their government will soon cover the continent. Canada, exceeding the United States in area by over a half a million square miles, possesses all the resources that nature can give to make a nation great. Its wealth, both actual and potential, is enough to excite the cupidity of a much less ambitious and aspiring nation than our own. The commercial advantages of the country are almost as desirable as its natural wealth. The water ways, besides furnishing an easy road to the interior, furnish much easier access to both Europe and Asia than does that of any other country on the continent. The commercial advantage is more desirable, because it has once been enjoyed. The selfish desire for commercial advantages, including the saving of an expensive customs system along the border, should not alone be allowed to govern the action of the people in this matter. Considered from the politico economic side annexation will open new fields and afford the Canadian youth as good an opportunity at home as he has in the United States and he will not emigrate. The Union will also give the Dominion a republican government. On the other hand the farming and aristocratic classes are prejudiced against annexation from selfish motives, and the idea that the United States will absorb their country and its people. The commercial class favors the union, and has gained much power by the exposure during the past summer of political corruption in their boasted "pure government" and the greater knowledge of the debt it owes. A per capita debt of $46.60, together with a 16 per cent rate of increase in population, as compared with a 25 per cent rate in America, should make the latter country hesitate before forming an alliance.

M. M. Raymond, *Reporter*.

HISTORICAL STUDY AT JOHNS HOPKINS.

THE editors of the SEMINARY NOTES have planned to give a comparative view of the nature and extent of historical study in the principal universities of Europe and America. It is intended to give in each number a short description of the work done in prominent institutions. These sketches must, of a necessity, be quite meagre on account of limited space, but they will, at least, call attention to the growth of historical study and present the best methods now in vogue. Our readers will remember to have seen descriptions of Cornell and Michigan in a previous number. To-day an outline of Johns Hopkins study is given.

At the Johns Hopkins University a student is greatly impressed with the spirit of helpfulness that prevades the entire work. To such as are earnestly seeking knowledge and are willing to pay for it with the full amount of hard work necessary to its attainment, means of improvement and wise direction are at hand in time of need. This spirit of helpfulness does not end with the bare preparation of students, for a prevailing idea is that scholarship is at its best when it is serving the purpose of helping humanity. While a high standard of scholarship is urged and maintained, the service of education is emphasized as against mere scholasticism. That a higher education is for the benefit of society at large, though obtained through individual effort is a maxim worthy of consideration. "Democracy in education" is the best democracy and the only one that has preserving qualities. The majority of the students attending the university are there for the purpose of preparing to help others in the pursuit of knowledge and in service to humanity.

A student having been ushered into the presence of President Gilman for the first time, stated that he had come to the University for the purpose of attaining a higher scholarship and for laying a broader foundation for usefulness. President Gilman welcomed the student, and said "I think we can quicken you." It is this quickening process, this enthusiasm for knowledge and scholarship that seeks utility in the service of letters or humanity which marks the student life at Johns Hopkins.

The historical department has given especial attention to the humanitarian side of history and education. While its scholarship is of a superior kind the placement of this in useful service to human society as an educative principle is considered paramount. This inspires every student with a desire to contribute to "the sum of human knowledge," and to lend his assistance to the general upbuilding of society. While it is a school of research; while the Roman and the Greek receive their due share of attention, the typical American is the ideal and modern society in all of its phases the chief field of operation.

The methods employed in instruction are what may be termed the Americanized German, and are those in general use in most modern institutions with varied characteristics. The chief features of the methods pursued at Johns Hopkins are as follows: First, lecture courses by instructors with accompanying readings by members of the class; thorough examinations follow on notes taken at lectures and on the authorities consulted. The title of the department is "History and Politics," which is of wide signification. History, social science, and political economy are included in this heading. The lectures then cover a wide range in institutions, public administration, social problems, and political economy. The second phase of the work is that of general lines of special investigation, carried on by the students under the personal guidance of instructors. These

investigations require a great deal of hard work, and are carried on with such thoroughness that their results are usually published. A student generally extends a single investigation over a period of years. Many of the results of this feature of the work are represented in the Johns Hopkins Studies in Historical and Political Science, of which eight series and ten extra volumes are now published. The third phase is a general historical seminary, where students and instructors meet around a common table for the purpose of comparing and criticising results of work, of studying the most recent phases, of political, social, and economic life, and the books and periodicals representing them. The Seminary meets in the Bluntschli library, as do most of the classes. This library should be termed a historical laboratory, for it is here that the student finds the materials with which he works and where he carries on the work of scientific investigation. Other special phases, such as the Economic Conferences, which are held weekly, for special investigation of problems in economics and frequent meetings of general study are also held.

During the present academic year (1891-92) the following courses are announced:

1. Historical Seminary, two hours, Prof. Herbert B. Adams.

2. History of the Nineteenth Century, one hour, Prof. Herbert B. Adams.

3. Roman History and Politics, two hours, Prof. Herbert B. Adams.

4. History of Political Economy, two hours, Prof. Richard T. Ely.

5. Economic Conferences, one hour, Prof. Richard T. Ely.

6. Special Economics, two hours, Prof. Richard T. Ely.

7. Historical Jurisprudence, two hours, Mr. Emmott.

8. English Constitutional Law and History, three hours, Mr. Emmott.

9. French Absolutism and Revolution, two hours, Prof. Herbert B. Adams.

10. Administration and Public Law. A course of twenty-five lectures by Professor Woodrow Wilson, of Princeton College.

11. Municipal and Social Problems. A course of lectures by Dr. Albert Shaw, editor of the *Review of Reviews.*

12. Statistics. A course of lectures by Prof. Henry Carter Adams, of the Inter-State Commerce Commission and Professor of Political Economy in the University of Michigan.

13. Recent Phases of Social Science in Europe. A course of ten lectures by Dr. E. R. L. Gould, of the United States Department of Labor.

14. American Political History. A course of ten lectures by James Schouler, LL. D., author of the History of the United States under the Constitution.

15. The History of European and American Diplomacy. A course of ten lectures by Hon. John A. Kasson, of Washington, D. C., former United States Minister to Austria (1877-81); to Germany (1884-85).

Besides these graduate courses the following under-graduate courses are offered:

1. Greek and Roman History, three hours, Mr. Kinley.

2. Outlines of European History, three hours, Mr. Scott.

3. Heroditus and Thucydides in translation, one hour, Mr. Kinley.

4. Livy and Tacitus in the original, four hours, classical instructors.

5. Church History; Mediæval and Modern History, five hours, Prof. H. B. Adams.

6. Introduction to Political Economy, five hours, Dr. R. T. Ely.

7. International Law and Diplomacy, five hours, Prof. H. B. Adams.

8. English and American Constitutional History, five hours, Mr. Emmott.

Some of the above courses occur every year, others alternate with other courses during different years, and others occur only once in three years. Space does not permit a description of the various libraries and historical museums brought into use by the students and instructors of the historical department.

There were one hundred and fifty-nine students registered in the department of History and Politics at the beginning of the present year. These come from nearly every state in the Union, and represent nearly every prominent college and university in the United States and Canada, besides many from the Old World.

It will be seen by the above announcements that the University represents pre-eminently a graduate institution with a strong under-graduate department.

- SEMINARY - NOTES. -

PUBLISHED ON THE FIRST DAY OF OCTOBER, NOVEMBER, DECEMBER, FEBRUARY, MARCH, APRIL AND MAY, BY THE SEMINARY OF HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCE. State University, Lawrence, Kansas.

Frank W. Blackmar, *Frank H. Hodder*, *Ephraim D. Adams*, - - - *Editors.*

Terms, Ten Cents a Number, - Fifty Cents a Year

THE purpose of this publication is to increase the interest in the study of historical science in the University and throughout the State, to afford means of regular communication with corresponding members of the Seminary and with the general public—especially with the Alumni of the University, and to preserve at least the outlines of carefully prepared papers and addresses. The number of pages in each issue will be increased as rapidly as the subscription list will warrant. The entire revenue of the publication will be applied to its maintenance.

Address all subscriptions and communications to

F. W. BLACKMAR,
Lawrence, Kansas.

THE paper in the present number on Sociology from a Preacher's Standpoint, was read before the Seminary on Friday, November 6. It touched a phase of sociology too much neglected. It was greatly enjoyed by those who listened to it. We hope to hear from Mr. Sheldon again.

PROFESSOR HODDER is preparing a history of Municipal Government of Chicago, to be published in the Johns Hopkins Studies. This is an interesting field and such a history will be highly instructive. The study of municipal government is one of the most useful found in modern historical courses. The study is calling the attention of the best men of the country. There is great need of municipal reform throughout the United States.

THE November number of the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, contains papers on Congress and the Cabinet, by Gamaliel Bradford; the Place of Party in the Political System, by Anson D. Morse; Recent Tendencies in the Reform of Land Tenure, by P. Cheney; Lawmaking by Popular Veto, by Ellis P. Oberholtzer; Some Neglected Points in the Theory of Socialism, by T. B. Veblen, and a full list of personal notes and book reviews. The *Annals* is maintaining its position as a publication of extraordinary merit.

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION seems to be progressing. Professor Bailey is giving a course of lectures at Olathe on the "Chemistry of Every-day Life." Prof. Carruth will soon begin a course in Kansas City on German History and German Literature. The two courses already begun, now in progress at Kansas City, and under Professors Dunlap and Blackmar, are doing finely. Prof. Blake's course in Topeka, on Electricity, is a success. Prof. Penny expects to give a course in Topeka on Music. The Normal School of Warrensburg, Mo., hopes to induce Prof. Hodder to give a course on American History.

A WRITER in the November number of *The Inlander*, the new literary monthly published by the students of Michigan University, reopens the vexed question of the authorship of the Ordinance of 1787. Webster, in his celebrated "reply to Hayne," expressed the opinion, common up to that time, that the chief credit belonged to Nathan Dane, of Massachusetts. In order to score a point for the South, Benton claimed the honor for Jefferson, on the ground that he had inserted an anti-slavery clause in the first draft of the earlier ordinances passed for the government of the territory. Here the discussion rested until the appearance in the *North American Review*, for April, 1876, of an elaborate article by Mr. W. F. Poole, of index fame, who claimed that the main provisions of the Ordinance originated with Dr. Menassah Cutter, the agent sent by the Ohio company to negotiate the purchase of some five million acres of public land, which purchase was the im-

mediate occasion of the provision made by congress for the government of the territory. Mr. Poole argued that the Ordinance was probably framed to meet the wishes of so large a purchaser, and his conclusions have been very generally accepted. The writer in *The Inlander* reopens the case for Dane. He bases his argument partly upon a letter Dane wrote Rufus King, reporting the adoption of the Ordinance in his committee, and partly upon the fact that Cutter's journals do not show that he took any very active part in framing the plan of government, but on the contrary, that he had so little interest in it that he packed his grip, before the work was half done, and went for a visit to Philadelphia. Whoever framed the instrument no one at the time seems to have had any idea of the importance that would afterwards be attached to it.

An article on "Law-making by Popular Vote," in the November number of the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, calls attention to certain recent provisions concerning municipal government in the constitutions of two western states which seem altogether unique. An amendment, adopted in 1887, to the constitution of California, provided that cities, in that state, of over 10,000 inhabitants, may elect a board of fifteen freeholders to draft a charter. This charter is then submitted to the voters of the city, and if approved is referred to the state legislature, which must either reject or approve *in toto*. Proposals for amending the charter may be made by the city councils, at intervals of not less than two years, and if approved by a two-thirds vote of the people are submitted to the legislature for acceptance or rejection. The power to reject each amendment seems to be the only power which the state legislature has over the municipalities after their charters have once been granted. Since the adoption of this amendment several cities have drafted charters which have been accepted without question by the legislature.

The constitution of the new state of Washington goes a step further. It provides that cities of over 20,000 inhabitants may draft their own charters in the same way that the California cities do, but that they take effect immediately and without any action by the state legislature. The provisions of these two constitutions would seem to entirely change the legal status of municipal corporations in the two states. Charters adopted in accordance with them are not the creations of the state legislature, to be amended or withdrawn at will, but give to the cities an independent position similar to that of cities abroad. Whether or not such independence is desirable, experience will decide.

In 1587 Sir Walter Raleigh made his second attempt to found a colony in America. The colonists, sent out under the leadership of John White, settled at Roanoke. Here Virginia Dare, the first English child in America, was born to White's daughter. White, himself, was soon called back to England by the threat of Spanish invasion, and did not return to Roanoke until 1590, when no trace of the settlement was to be found. The fate of this colony has always been one of the unsettled problems of early American history. Professor Stephen D. Weeks, of Trinity College, North Carolina, has made a careful study of this question, the results of which are published in the last issue of the *Papers of the American Historical Association*. His conclusion is that the colonists removed to Croatan soon after White's return to England, intermarried with the Indians there, and were the ancestors of the Croatan Indians living in North Carolina at the present day. In summing up his article he says that there are several reports in early records that the colonists of 1587 survived; that the Croatans of to-day claim descent from them; that their habits, disposition and mental characteristics show traces both of savage and civilized ancestry; that their language is the English of 300 years ago, and their names in many cases those borne by the original colonists,

The recent issues of the best magazines contain articles, or notices of articles, on the probability or improbability of war in Europe. Generally the articles are at least entertaining and suggestive, even if the writers find it impossible to make a definite statement in regard to the exact position held by any European nation. To the average American student the situation is somewhat perplexing. The expulsion of the Jews from Russia, considered from the side of its effect on international relations; the Boulanger episode in France, as an index of the temperament and wishes of the French nation; the somewhat novel and not entirely clear attitude of the young Emperor William; the recent apparent violation of treaty stipulations by the passage through the Dardanelles of Russian war ships, and the still more recent appearance of inflammatory articles in the London papers upon the necessity for the adoption of war measures to check Russian advance in Asia, all need interpretaby some one possessing an intimate knowledge of European politics.

* * *

Perhaps the most noticable of the articles on the European situation, in the November magazines, was that in the *Forum*, by Edward Freeman, entitled "Dangers to the Peace of Europe." The article had been extensively advertised before its appearance, and was undoubtedly read by many with the hope of gaining a comprehensive understanding of the existing state of affairs. Mr. Freeman did not, however, attempt to give a classified view of European politics, but confined himself principally to a consideration of the condition of Turkish affairs, for it is in Turkey, in his estimation, that the greatest danger to peace in Europe exists.

* * *

Mr. Freeman's view of the situation is somewhat as follows: The Turkish Empire in Europe is on the point of dissolution. Every year makes more clear the fact that the "sick man" of Europe is really an invalid of whose recovery there can be no hope, and whose approaching death is likely to be assisted and hastened at any time by those nations who regard themselves as heirs of the estate.

These nations are Greece, Servia, and Bulgaria, and the danger to peace consists in the improbability of there being a harmonious agreement to a division of spoils, for such a disagreement would inevitably draw the greater powers into the struggle, some of them on grounds of self-interest and others as a necessity of self-defense.

The improbability of a peaceful agreement between the three interested nations is shown by the fact that already the attempt has been made, and has failed, to have the governments of Greece, Servia and Bulgaria reach some understanding on the matter. Greece and Servia are willing to provide for a future division of Turkish territory, but Bulgaria believes that she can do better by refusing to enter such an agreement.

* * *

The noticeable thing about Mr. Freeman's article is that he places but little stress on the enmity between France and Germany, or upon the supposed ambition of Russia for Turkish or Asiatic conquest. With regard to the former, he says that although there is no means of judging the actual temper of the people of these two nations, yet the general idea seems to be that the people as such are for peace, at least for the present, and that if this is true neither nation would think of going to war. On the other hand, if the temper of the people has been misjudged, either nation, but more probably France, could be forced into a war distasteful to the government, by the mere urgency of popular opinion.

With regard to Russia, Mr. Freeman is inclined to minimize the danger of war arising from her ambition, and, in fact to laud her efforts in the direction of better government in the Danubian principalities. In this connection he incidentally takes occasion to eulogize the govenment of Mr.

Gladstone, as compared with that of the Marquis of Salisbury.

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The fact that Mr. Freeman should be an admirer of Russia's policy toward the provinces to her south, is not much to be wondered at, when we remember the peculiar attitude of Russia and of England at the time of the Treaty of Berlin, after the last Russo-Turkish war in 1877. One of the most important questions under consideration was the form of government to be established in East Roumelia. Russia, governed by the most absolute of Emperors, insisted on the right of the East Roumelians to form a democratic government, while England, the model government of the people, was equally determined that East Roumelia should be returned to the Porte, and to Turkish absolutism. The result was a compromise, and, of course, the whole question was purely diplomatic in so far as Russia and England were concerned, yet the sight was certainly an odd one.

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In marked contrast with Edward Freeman's article, is one immediately following it in the *Forum*, by William R. Thayer, on the "Armed Truce of the Powers." After outlining the existing condition and power of the armies of Europe, and drawing the conclusion that never before has Europe been so subject to the influence of the idea of force, the writer comes to the conclusion that the only European nation which is at all dangerous to the peace of Europe is Russia, and that she is a continual menace because of the fact that her policy is at all times dependent upon the will of one person, and is therefore not to be depended upon. It is the impossibility of knowing what Russia intends to do, that necessitates these immense armaments. Mr. Thayer evidently does not consider such a country as Servia or Greece, of any importance in European affairs, except in so far as it may be used as a cat's paw by some one of the great powers, while Mr. Freeman is of the opinion that the bickerings of these small countries are the only real source of danger to European peace.

Mr. Edward C. Mason, of Harvard University, has recently given us a much needed study of the veto power of the president, which he has published as number two of the Harvard Historical Monographs. His study of the veto has also led him to investigate another subject touching the relation between the executive and legislative departments of our government, and that is the question whether congress has the right to compell the president to give information and transmit papers. There have been six instances in our history of refusal on the part of the president to transmit papers called for, either by the house or senate. The first was Washington's refusal in 1796 to send to the senate the papers relating to Jay's treaty. The second case occurred in 1833, when Jackson refused to accede to the demand of the senate for a paper he had read in his cabinet on the United States bank. The third and fourth cases occurred in 1842, when President Tyler refused to comply with two demands made by the house, the one for a list of members of congress who had applied for office, and the other for a special report on the Cherokee Indians, made to the secretary of war. The fifth case occurred in 1846 under Polk, who refused to report to the house the expenditures of the department of state on account of the secret fund. The sixth and last case was the recent refusal of President Cleveland to transmit the papers relating to the removal of a United States attorney, for the district of Alabama, for which the senate made demand in 1885. Although in almost all cases information is given without question, it would seem to be the right of the president to refuse to transmit papers which, in his estimation, it would injure public interests to publish, or which, in his opinion, belong exclusively to his own department. This right results from the fact that the executive is an inde-

pendent and co-ordinate department. Occasional clashing between the several departments of our government is one of the disadvantages of a system which works well as a whole. It is not likely that the introduction of the English system of ministerial responsibility, which some writers have advocated, would be an improvement.

THE approaching celebration of the five hundreth anniversary of the discovery of America has led to a fresh study of the discovery itself. The latest fruit of this study is a life of Columbus, by Justin Winsor, a copy of which has just been received by the University library. This book is by far the most careful and exhaustive examination of the character of Columbus that has yet been made, and the result is the destruction of the hero. Mr. Winsor finds him "unfaithful in his family life; deceiving his followers and depriving them of their wages; enslaving the natives; misrepresenting his discoveries; incapable of governing his men; cruel, deceitful, treacherous, ready to permit enormous crimes, the importation of African slaves, and insuring the extermination of the native race of the Antilles under the guise of conversion, but really to consume their lives in extracting from the soil the gold to enrich his purse. He finds him abandoning all high aims and ambitions on the return from his first voyage, and giving up the entire remainder of his life to a struggle for wealth and position." This is very different from the rosy picture left us by Irving.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

"The Elements of Civil Government," by Alex. L. Peterman, is a new text-book for schools, published by the American Book Company. The author is a member of the Kentucky state senate and recently Professor of Civil Government in the Normal School of the Kentucky State College. He is therefore well qualified by actual experience both in practical affairs and as a teacher, for the work he has undertaken. It is not many years since text-books on civil government explained at length the provisions of the federal constitution and neglected entirely the study of local government. Recent books have remedied this fault and have usually begun with a description of the town, the county and the state. But Mr. Peterman goes a step further and begins literally "at home." The first chapter treats of the family and its government, and shows how each member has rights and corresponding duties. The author then passes to the second form of government with which the child comes in contact, that of the school, enforces the same lessson of rights and duties, and shows how school government, like all other good government, exists by the consent and for the good of the governed. The succeeding chapters describe the town, county, city, state and nation. Part second treats of government abstractly, of liberty and justice, of law, legislation and taxation, of the machinery of parties and elections and the Australian ballot system. Throughout, the style is clear and simple, without being childish. Altogether the book seems well fitted to give young people a clear idea of the nature and objects of government and of the duties and responsibilities of citizenship.

"The Yazoo Land Companies" is the title of a neat little book of forty-five pages, written by Dr. Chas. H. Haskins, assistant professor in Wisconsin University. The work is a reprint from the papers of the American Historical Association, Vol. V., No. 4, 1891. The brochure is a type of accurate scholarship. It is full of interest, protraying, as it does, an obscure part of American history. It treats of the early land speculation, of Georgia lands, the South Carolina Yazoo company, relations with Spain, the Tennessee company, the Yazoo land claims, and other interesting topics. Were it not history one could scarcely realize the amount of land speculation indulged in by prominent men in this early period. The lands of the northwest territory have been repeatedly and

amply treated, and students of American history will welcome this scholarly history of the lands of the south.

The new Dictionary of Political Economy, by R. H. I. Palgrave, promises to be of some service to students. It will prove a handy volume for the working library. The work is to be published in eight parts. Only one part is yet completed. This is the great annoyance, for as usual the topic which you especially want to refer to is liable to be in the next volume, which you hope will be out soon. It is a great pity that the book could not be published at once. The quality of the book is assured by the able list of contributers, and the editorial work by Mr. Palgrave will, without doubt, prove satisfactory.

A valuable book just received from Longmans, Green & Co., is a "School Atlas of English History," edited by Samuel Ransom Gardiner, the well-known English historian. The book is intended to accompany Gardiner's "Students' History of England," but is so well arranged that it can be easily used with or without any companion work. It is in fact a small history in itself, for the territorial changes in English dominion are clearly indicated. Although some maps are given of European nations, they are merely for the purpose of showing to the student the general condition of other countries at important periods in English history, and the book is distinctly what it purports to be, an atlas of English history. It contains many maps, of historical interest, not to be found in the ordinary atlas. There are eighty-eight maps, of which sixty-six depict territorial changes, and twenty-two are plans of battles of importance to England.

A book which does not properly come under the head of "New Publication," but which is always worth mentioning, is Thalheimer's "Mediæval and Modern History," published by the American Book Company. It is an excellent work in point of suggestiveness, and although not intended for the advanced student of history, is yet a valuable book to have in any library, because of its clear arrangement of important events and movements. It is easy to find in this book any one point which a student finds it necessary to know, and to know in a hurry. The most valuable portion of the work are books three and four, covering a period from 1492 to 1789, while hardly enough attention has been paid to distinctively modern affairs. The book practically closes with the Franco-Prussian war. With regard to the work as a text-book for high schools and elementary classes in history, there is no need for comment. It has already proved itself a success.

Another book of a somewhat similar nature, published by the American Book Company, is Barnes' "General History," intended more especially for high school work, for which it is admirably fitted. The author has succeeded in putting into interesting form the somewhat dry details of ancient history, and has made a free use of illustrations in seeking to attain this end. An interesting feature is a long list of questions under the head of "Historical Recreations." These questions should furnish many ideas to the teacher of ways in which the study of history can be made of the greatest interest, inasmuch as they suggest not only facts of history, but also descriptions of customs and governments.

We have received during the month the following books: from Ginn & Co., Montgomery's "Leading Facts of American History," Macy's "Our Government;" from the American Book Company, Barnes' "General History," Fisher's "Outlines of Universal History," Thalheimer's "Mediæval and Modern History;" from Longmans, Green & Co., Gardiner's "School Atlas of English History."

COURSES OF STUDY
IN
HISTORY AND SOCIOLOGY.
FOR 1891-2.

F. W. BLACKMAR, PH. D.
F. H. HODDER, A. M.
E. D. ADAMS, PH. D.

Instruction in this department is given by means of lectures, recitations, reports, discussions, and personal direction in study and research. As the library is an indispensable aid in the pursuit of the following courses, students are expected to become acquainted with the best methods of collecting and classifying materials and of writing and presenting papers on special topics. All lectures are supplemented by required reading and class exercises.

Facts are essential to all historic study; yet the aim is to take the student beyond the mere details of events—to inquire into the origin and development of society and the philosophy of institutions. While the study of the past is carried on with interest and thoroughness, the most important part of history—that which lies about us—is kept constantly in view. The history of other nations, other political systems and other forms of administration, are studied, that we may better understand our own. To understand present social and political institutions, and to give an intelligent solution of present problems, is the chief aim of instruction in historical science.

THE WORK OF THE DEPARTMENT

Now embraces European History, American History and Civil Government, the History of Institutions, Sociology, and Political Economy. The work in American History will be continued with enthusiasm and thoroughness. Classes having begun this work will continue without a break. The importance of this work needs no comment. The preparation for good citizenship demands, among other things, a thorough knowledge of the growth of nationality, and the history of our industrial, social and political development. These, with financial experiments and national diplomacy, receive marked attention. The text of the Constitution and Constitutional Law occupy a prominent place in the study of this branch.

OUTLINE OF COURSES.

FIRST TERM.

1. English History. Daily. Descriptive history. A careful study of the English people, including race elements, social and political institutions, and national growth.

2. The History of Civilization. Lectures daily, embracing ancient society, and the intellectual development of Europe to the twelfth century. Special attention is given to the influence of Greek philosophy, the Christian church, the relation of learning to liberal government, and to the rise of modern nationalities.

3. Political Economy. Daily. The fundamental principles are discussed and elaborated by descriptive and historical methods. All principles and theories are illustrated by examples from present economic society. A brief history of Political Economy may be given at the close of the course.

4. French and German History. Daily. Descriptive history; including race elements, social and political institutions, and national growth. Especial attention given to French politics.

5. Historical Method and Criticism. One hour each week. Examination and classification of sources and authorities; analysis of the works of the best historians; collection and use of materials, and notes and bibliography.

6. Statistics. Two hours each week. Supplementary to all studies in economics and sociology. The method of using statistics is taught by actual investigation of political and social problems. The history and theory of statistics receives due attention.

7. Journalism. Lectures three hours each week. Laboratory and library work. *Legal and Historical.*—Ten lectures by Prof. E. D. Adams. *English.*—Twenty-five lectures by Profs. Dunlap and Hopkins. *Ethics of Journalism.*—Five lectures by Prof. Templin. *Newspaper Bureau, Magazines, and Special Phases of Journalism.*—Prof. Blackmar.

The course was prepared especially for those students who expect to enter journalism as a profession. Although the instructors have no desire to create a special School of Journalism for the purpose of turning out fully-equipped journalists, they believe that this course will be very helpful to those who in the future may enter the profession. The course will be found highly beneficial to stu-

dents who want a special study in magazines and newspapers as a means of general culture. The course is under the direction of this Department, but the professors named above have kindly and generously consented to assist in certain phases of the work, which occur more particularly in their respective departments.

8. American History. Instruction is given daily for two years in American History. The course embraces Colonial History and the Local Government of the Colonies, the Constitutional and Political History of the Union from 1789 to the present time the formation of the Constitution, and an analysis of the text of the constitution itself.

9. Local Administration and Law. Three conferences each week during the first term, covering the Management of Public Affairs in districts, townships, counties, cities, and States. This course is intended to increase the sense of the importance of home government, as well as to give instruction in its practical details.

10. Public Finance and Banking. Two conferences each week during the first term, on National, State, andMunicipal Financiering; and on Theoretical and Practical Banking, with the details of bank management.

SECOND TERM.

11. English Constitutional History. Two hours each week. A special study in the principles and growth of the English Constitution. This course may be taken as a continuation of number one. As it is a special study of Constitutional History, students ought to have some preparation for it.

12. Renaissance and Reformation. Lectures two hours each week, with required reading and investigation. This course may be taken as a continuation of number two. It includes the Revival of Learning throughout Europe, with especial attention to the Italian Renaissance; a careful inquiry into the causes, course, and results of the Reformation. The course embraces the best phases of the intellectual development of Europe.

13. Advanced Political Economy. Three hours each week, consisting of (*a*) lectures on Applied Economics, (*b*) Practical Observation and Investigation, and (*c*) Methods of Research, with papers by the students on special topics. This is a continuation of number three.

14. Institutional History. Lectures three hours each week on Comparative Politics and Administration. Greek, Roman and Germanic institutions are compared. The historical significance of Roman law is traced in mediæval institutions. A short study in Prussian Administration is given at the close of the course.

15. The Rise of Democracy. Lectures two hours each week on the Rise of Popular Power, and the Growth of Political Liberty in Europe. A comparison of ancient and modern democracy, a study of Switzerland, the Italian Republics, the Dutch Republic, and the French Revolution, constitute the principal part of the work, Students will read May's Democracy in Europe.

16. Elements of Sociology. Lectures three hours each week on the Evolution of Social Institutions from the Primitive Unit, the Family; including a discussion of the laws and conditions which tend to organize society. The later part of the course is devoted to modern social problems and socialistic Utopias.

17. Charities and Corrections. Two hours each week. Various methods of treatment of the poor. Scientific charity. Treatment of the helpless. Prison reform. State reformatories. This course is supplementary to number sixteen. Special efforts will be made towards a practical study of Kansas institutions.

18. Land and Land Tenures. Lectures two hours each week. This course treats of Primitive Property, the Village Community, Feudal Tenures of France and England, and Modern Land-holding in Great Britain and Ireland and the United States. Reports are made on other countries, and on recent agrarian theories and legislation This is an excellent prepaiation for the study of the Law of Real Property,

19. The Political History of Modern Europe. Two hours each week, including the Napoleonic wars, German Federation, the Rise of Prussia, the Unification of Italy, the Revolution of 1848, the Third Republic, the Russian problem, etc.

20. Constitutional Law. Three conferences each week during the second term, on the Constitution of the United States; with brief sketches of the institutions and events that preceded its adoption, and with special attention to the sources and methods of its interpretation.

21. International Law and Diplomacy. Class work twice each week during the second term; using Davis on the Rise and Growth of

International Law, and Schuyler on the History of American Diplomacy.

22. The Status of Woman in the United States. Three conferences each week during the second term, on the Status of Woman in all countries and times; with special investigation of the present legal, political, industrial, and professional position of women in the different States of the American Union.

23. The Histories and Methods of Legislative Assemblies. Two conferences each week during the second term on the Rise and Growth of Legislative assemblies, their rules of order and methods of business.

24. Mediæval History. Two-fifths of the last term of the Freshman year. For all students whose admission papers show that they have had Elementary Physics, Hygiene, and Chemistry. The course includes a study of the fall of the Western Empire, the Teutonic Races, and the rise of new nationalities.

25. Seminary. Two hours each week throughout the year.

New Courses. Other courses may be given in Political Philosophy, Modern Municipal Government, Roman Law, the South American Republics, and Comparative administration.

Graduate Courses. To those desiring them special courses for post-graduate students will be given in the following subjects: The History of Institutions, American History and Civil Government, Sociology, Political Economy.

Newspaper Bureau. In connection with the work of the Department a Newspaper Bureau is maintained. In this the leading cities of the United States are represented by some twenty daily and weekly newspapers. The principal object of the Bureau is to enable students to form habits of systematic reading, to keep informed on the current topics of the day, to study the best types of modern journalism, to learn to discriminate between articles o temporary value only and those of more permanent worth, to make a comparative study of editorial work, to master for the time being the current thought on any particular subject, and to preserve by clippings properly filed and indexed, important materials for the study of current history and public life—to *make* history, by the arrangement and classification of present historical matter.

Preparation for Entrance to the University. —The time spent in the high schools in the study of history is necessarily limited. For this reason it is essential that the greatest care be exercised in preparing students for entrance into the University. At present very little history is required in the Freshman and Sophomore years, and the students enter upon the study of the Junior and Senior years without thorough preparation for the work. It would seem that the aim should be for all those who contemplate entering the University to learn the story of nations pretty thoroughly. A general outline of the world's history with a special study of the United States history and government represents the field. But this outline should be something more than a mere skeleton of facts and dates. It should be well rounded with the political, social and economic life of the people. Students will find a general text-book, such as Myer's or Sheldon's indispensable; but the work of preparation ought not to stop here. Such works as Fyffe's Greece, Creighton's Rome, Seebohm's Era of Protestant Revolution, Cox's Greece, and others in the Primer, Epoch, and Stories of Nations, series ought to be read. The object of this reading is to familiarize the student with the political and social life of the principal nations of the world. For this purpose everything should be as interesting as possible. Such an interest should be aroused that the student would not be puzzled over dates and threadbare facts, but would seize and hold those things that are useful on account of the interest his mind has in them. That history which is gained by a bare memory of events is soon lost. It grows too dim for use and consequently leads to confusion. With the story of the nations well learned the student comes to the University prepared for the higher scientific study of history and its kindred topics, He is then ready for investigation, comparison and analysis. He then takes up the real investigation of the philosophy of institutions and of national development. He is then ready for the science of Sociology, Institutional History, Political Economy, the Science of Government, Statistics or Political Economy. Students who enter the University without this preparation find it necessary to make up for it by the perusal of books, such as those mentioned above.

STUDENTS' LIBRARIES.

Every student in the University should lay the foundation of a good working library. Such libraries are not "made to order" at some given time, under specially favorable financial conditions—but are the result of considerable sacrifice, and are of slow growth. The wise expenditure of even ten dollars in each term will bring together books which if thoroughly mastered will be of great assistance in all later life. Room-mates, or members of the same fraternity, by combining their libraries and avoiding the purchase of duplicates, can soon be in possession of a most valuable collection of authors. Assistance in selecting and in purchasing will be given upon application.

The prices named below are the list prices of the publishers.

Any book in the list below can be had of Field & Hargis, Booksellers and Stationers.

Students are required to purchase books marked with an asterisk.

American Book Company, Chicago.

*Manual of the Constitution, Andrews ... $ 1.00
Analysis of Civil Government, Townsend ... 1.00
Civil Government, Peterman ... .60
History of England, Thalheimer ... 1.00
Mediæval and Modern History, Thalheimer ... 1.60
Outlines of History, Fisher ... 2.40
General History of the World, Barnes ... 1.60
Political Economy, Gregory ... 1.20
Lessons in Political Economy, Champlin ... .90

Ginn & Co., Boston and Chicago

Ancient History, Myers & Allen ... $ 1.50
Mediæval and Modern History, Myers ... 1.50
Political Science and Comparative Law, Burgess, 5.00
Macy's Our Government ... .75
*General History, Myers ... 1.50
Leading facts in English History, Montgomery ... 1.12
Philosophy of Wealth, Clark ... 1.00
Political Science Quarterly, Yearly ... 3.00
Washington and His Country, Fiske ... 1.00

Harpers, New York.

*History of Germany, Lewis ... 1.50
*International Law, Davis ... 2.50
*Political History of Modern Times, Muller ... 2.00
*Short English History, Green ... 1.75
Civil Policy of America, Draper ... 2.50
History of English People, Green, 4 vols ... 10.00
History of United States, Hildreth, 6 vols ... 12.00
The Constitution, Story ... 1.00

Holt & Co., New York.

*American Politics, Johnston ... $ 1.00
American Colonies, Doyle, 3 vols ... 9.00
American Currency, Sumner ... 2.50
Civil Service in United States, Comstock ... 2.00
History of Modern Europe, Fyffe, 3 vols ... 7.50
Political Economy, Roscher, 2 vols ... 7.00
Political Economy, Walker ... 2.25

Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

*Civil Government in United States, Fiske ... $ 1.00
American Commonwealths, 13 vols., each ... 1.25
American Statesmen, 21 vols., each ... 1.25
American Revolution, Fisk, 2 vols ... 4.00
Critical Period of American History, Fisk ... 2.00
Emancipation of Massachusetts, Adams ... 1.50
Epitome of History, Ploetz ... 3.00
War of Secession, Johnson ... 2.50

Appleton, New York.

Dynamic Sociology, Ward, 2 vols ... $ 5.00
History of Civilization, Guizot ... 1.25
Political Economy, Mill, 2 vols ... 6.00

Cranston & Stowe, Chicago.

*Political Economy, Ely ... $ 1.00

MacMillan, New York.

Constitutional History, England, Stubbs, 3 vols ... $10.00
Principles of Economics, Marshall, vol. I ... 4.00

Armstrong, New York.

*Democracy in Europe, May, 2 vols ... $ 2.50

G. P Putnam's Sons, New York and London.

*American Citizen's Manual, Ford ... $ 1.25
Const. Hist. and Am. Law, Cooley and others ... 2.00
History of Political Economy, Blanqui ... 3.00
Railroad Transportation, Hadley ... 1.50
American Electional System, O'Neil ... 1.50
Economic Interpretations of History, Rogers ... 3.00
Constitutional History of the U. S., Sterne ... 1.25
*Tariff History of the United States, Taussig ... 1.25
The Story of Nations, 34 vols., each ... 1.50
Heroes of the Nations, 12 vols., each ... 1.50
American Orations, ed. by Johnston, 3 vols., each 1.25

Callaghan & Co., Chicago.

Constitutional History of U. S., Von Holst, 6 vol $20.00
Constitutional Law of U. S., Von Holst ... 2.00

Crowell, New York.

*History of France, Duruy ... $ 2.00
Labor Movement in America, Ely ... 1.50
Life of Washington, pop. ed., Irving, 2 vols ... 2.50
Problems of To-day, Ely ... 1.50

Little, Brown & Co., Boston.

History of Greece, Grote, 10 vols ... $17.50
History of the United States, Bancroft, 6 vols ... 13.50
Rise of the Republic, Frothingham ... 1.75

Longmans, Green & Co., New York.

Epochs of Ancient History, each vol ... $ 1.00
Epochs of Modern History, each vol ... 1.00
Political Economy, pop. ed., Mill ... 1.75
The Crusades, Cox ... 1.00

Scribners, New York.

*American Diplomacy, Schuyler ... $ 2.00
History of Rome. Mommsen, 4 vols ... 8.00
Lombard Street, Bagehot ... 1.25
Silent South, Cable ... 1.00

Silver Burdett & Co., Boston.

*Historical Atlas, Labberton ... $1.50 or $ 2.00
*Historical Geography of U. S., MacCoun ... 1.00
*Institutes of Economics, Andrews ... 1.50
Institues of General History, Andrews ... 2.00

Morrison, Washington.

History of United States, Schouler, 4 vols ... $ 9.00

D. C. Heath & Co., Boston.

*The State, Woodrow Wilson ... $ 2.00
Principles of Political Economy, Gide ... 2.00
Methods of Teaching History, Hall ... 1.50
General History, Sheldon ... 1.60
*Old South Leaflets, 22 Nos., each ... .05
History Topics, Allen ... .25
State and Fed. Governments of the U. S., Wilson .50
The American Citizen. Dole ... .90
Comparative View of Governments, Wenzel ... .20
Studies in American History, Sheldon—Barnes ...

SEMINARY NOTES.

State University—Lawrence, Kansas.

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SEMINARY OF HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCE.

All students connected with the department of History and Sociology are, by virtue of such connection, members of the Seminary. All students having two or more studies under the instructors of the department are required to take the work of the Seminary as part of their work in course.

The meetings of the Seminary are held every Friday, in Room 15, University Building. Public meetings will be held from time to time, after due announcement.

The work of the Seminary consists of special papers and discussions, on topics connected with the Department mentioned; prepared as far as possible from consultation of original sources and from practical investigation of existing conditions, under the personal direction of the officers of the Seminary.

Special assistance in choice of themes, authorities, etc., is given members of the Seminary who have written work due in the department of History and Sociology, or in the Department of English, or in any of the literary societies or other similar organizations in the University; on condition that the results of such work shall be presented to the Seminary if so required.

In connection with the work of the Seminary, a Newspaper bureau is maintained. In this the leading cities of the United States are represented by some twenty daily and weekly newspapers. The principal object of the Bureau is to enable students to form habits of systematic reading, to keep informed on the current topics of the day, to study the best types of modern Journalism, to learn to discriminate between articles of temporary value only and those of more permanent worth, to make a comparative study of editorial work, to master for the time being the current thought on any particular subject, and to preserve by clippings properly filed and indexed, important materials for the study of current history and public life—to *make* history by the arrangement and classification of present historical matter.

Special investigation and study will be undertaken during each year, bearing on some one or more phases of the administration of public affairs in this State; the purpose being to combine service to the State with the regular work of professional and student life. In this special work the advice and cooperation of State and local officials and of prominent men of affairs is constantly sought, thus bringing to students the experience and judgment of the world about them.

Graduates of our own University, or other persons of known scholarly habits, who have more than a passing interest in such work as the Seminary undertakes, and who are willing to contribute some time and thought to its success, are invited to become corresponding members of the Seminary. The only condition attached to such membership is, that each corresponding member shall prepare during each University year one paper, of not *less* than two thousand five hundred words, on some subject within the scope of the Seminary; and present the same in person at such time as may be mutually agreed upon by the writer and the officers of the Seminary, or in writing if it be found impossible to attend a meeting of the Seminary.

The library of the University and the time of the officers of the Seminary are at the service of corresponding members, in connection with Seminary work—within reasonable limits.

More than twenty gentlemen, prominent in official and professional circles, have already connected themselves with the Seminary, and have rendered very acceptable service during past years.

The officers and members of the Seminary will gladly render all possible assistance ot any public officials who may desire to collect special statistics or secure definite information on such lines of public work as are properly within the sphere of the Seminary.

Any citizen of Kansas interested in this work is invited to correspond with the Seminary, and to be present at its meetings when possible.

FRANK W. BLACKMAR,
Director.
FRANK H. HODDER,
Vice-Director.
EPHRAIM D. ADAMS,
Secretary.

INDIAN EDUCATION.

We have always had with us the Indian problem since our forefathers first landed upon this continent. We have experimented with this Indian for centuries and still find him a problem. Even now there is no commonly accepted opinion of what is best to be done under the general management. However, it may be said that within recent years, great progress has been made in the country, not only as to what may be done, but by actually doing something practical and systematic for the welfare of the Indian. The government has at last shaped something like a definite policy for his permanent treatment. The greatest point that has been made is in education, and this is of quite recent date. Thorough and efficient education is the only means to help him permanently. To feed him, clothe him, and give him land, farming implements or stock, and tell him to engage in industrial pursuits is of little use. To educate him in the way of industry under wise supervision, to show him how he may begin and carry on industrial and self-supporting life, is the prime object. In order to accomplish this it is necessary to give the greatest painstaking attention to the education of the Indian. The older Indians of the tribe may be past systematic education, past a decided reform, but there can be aroused in them a sentiment for something better and higher for their children.

The great difficulty now in educating him is to give the proper kind of treatment during the process of education and to insure the utility of educated powers. The great problem is to take members of a savage or barbarous race, little acquainted with the arts and sciences and industries of modern life, and less inclined to follow them and to familiarize them with the common arts, sciences and industries, and at the same time plant within them a desire for improvement in these especial lines. It has been stated by one acquainted with Indian affairs, that "an Indian will do just what a white person would do under similar circumstances." This may convey a wrong impression, unless we examine carefully into what constitute similar circumstances.

In the first place there is a wide gulf between the civilization of the Indian and of the white race. Nowhere has this become more apparent than when we attempt to educate the Indian and turn him to practical affairs of modern life. When he first came into contact with the Anglo-Saxon he was still in a state of savagery, or in some cases had entered the first stages of barbarism. He came in contact with the race which has not only passed through all these stages, but had entered the great stage of commerce, passed through it and is now in the height of the industrial age. He came in contact with a race that has not only accomplished in an industrial way all the stages of progress of which the human race has passed through, but developed a high state of learning and culture. Moreover the cultured race had a compact and stable political organization. All this was strange and new to the uncultured mind of the native of the forest, and he who attempts to solve the problem of Indian education, either theoretically or practically, will observe that the circumstances surrounding the Indians are so far different from those surrounding our own race that the two races may not be placed in similar conditions.

The fundamental processes of education of any race may be carried on under one or more modes of development: 1. That of self-development and self-determination. 2. The process of imitation. 3. Compulsory activity. The first process is a necessary process to all true education; without it the best quality of

development is lacking. The other two processes are more or less artificial. If we examine the Indians of the west, that still retain their tribal relations, we shall find that the self-determining principal is almost entirely wanting in the tribes of pure blood. There is no tribe on record of pure blood that has expressed any desire to rise higher in civilization, accompanied with a set determination to accomplish anything single-handed. And it is still this lack of self-determination and self-development that makes the disposition of the Indian different from the sturdy Anglo-Saxons, who have had this from the beginning of history and have developed it during two thousand years of positive progress, yielding, as a result, some of the best types of culture of both hemispheres.

If we turn our attention to the second phase of education, that of imitation, we shall find on this score that the Indians have made some progress in adopting the manner and customs of the people with whom they have come in contact for a long period of time. We shall find they have made progress in civilized life; and, it may be stated here, also, that just in proportion as their own blood has become mixed with that of the white race they have shown this desire for imitation. The third, or compulsory process, has not yet been directly applied to tribes and races, although in some cases to individuals. Certain expedients have been tried by the government, from time to time, to force Indians out of their natural gait; but these have been usually incidental and unsystematic. Not until of late years has any well developed plan been adopted for the purpose of forcing the Indian into the ranks of modern civilized life. This is an artificial process, but it is the last resort to save the race. Properly pursued it may lead to self-development.

The last two phases of education must of necessity be more or less artificial, for imitative education is not as permanent as the self-determination, but it is largely brought about by the development of inferior powers of the mind and nature. We will find that the imitative education though valuable, has failed to prepare a nation or tribe for sturdy, independent existence. We can never be sure that a nation or tribe has become educated in the way that will make him independent and strong, until the self-determining principles arouse him to his needs with the desire to fulfill them regardless of what others are doing or have done. The Indian is then not in a condition at the present for the self-determining principles unaided by outside influences. In imitation he has not made rapid progress. There are those tribes, and fragments of tribes, that have lived in the presence of civilization these hundred years without reaping any permanent results of the same. Left to compete openly and unaided with the modern, industrial system, they perish. And, indeed, they have lived in this condition without any desire to take on anything beyond the worst forms of our own system of civilization. Other tribes have been broken in their tribal relations and barbarous spirit and have turned to our civilization. They have been isolated within solid walls of compact life and have been found by circumstances to adopt modern modes of life. The education which is forced can in no way be as beneficial as that which springs spontaneously within the pupil, but it is the best we have to give the Indian, and this superficial education must be forced upon him with the hope that there may spring up within him what may lead these tribes in due time to higher development. The recent law passed for the compulsory education of Indians is a step in the right direction. In time it may be made of more permanent value by development and extension, and although we may point to the fact that these people may be in time persuaded to adopt the means of a higher culture and a better education, yet there is no time to wait for such developments in respect to the Indians of to-day. Their immediate education is

their only salvation. They must be forced as far as possible to transfer their mode of living so that they may transform their lives after the mode of modern industrial and civil life.

It is not to be supposed that parents of Indian children are capable of determining whether education is good for their children or not. Indeed, it is not to be supposed that those who have reached advanced years should turn away from their savage life, when we consider the past relations of the United States government with its Indian wards, as they may be called. The nation may stand *in loco parentis* and may feel great responsibility for these Indians, but in whatever form or shape the duty arises, what is to be done must be done at once, and thoroughly, or the good which has already been gained will be lost.

The compulsory education act passed by congress and approved March, 1891, provides as follows:

"And the Commissioner of Indian Affairs subject to the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, is hereby authorized and directed to make and enforce by proper means such means and regulations as will secure the attendance of Indian children of suitable age and health at schools established and maintained for their benefit."

In the following October Commissioner Morgan set forth a list of rules and regulations to be observed by all Indian workers. The law applies to all Indians subject to absolute control and under the especial protection of the United States, but the law does not apply to the Indians residing in the state of New York, the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico, the Five Civilized Tribes and the Indians residing in states and who have become citizens of the United States. The commissioner said that so far as practical the preferences of Indian parents or guardians of Indian youth of sufficient maturity and judgment will be regarded, but children of a suitable age must attend school, either public or private. All those between five and eighteen years of age who are determined, by a special medical examination, to be in good health, are compelled to attend school. As a rule Indian children will attend the schools established for their benefit on their respective reservations, but in case such schools are already filled they may be required to attend non-reservation schools. Should any refuse they are referred to the Indian office for treatment under this act. The aim and object of this law, as explained by Commissioner Morgan, is to insure education to all Indians of the rising generation and to prepar them to enter modern civilized life and to assume life's duties. The duties of agents, supervisors, and superintendents, are explicitly defined. The chief duty of the agent, however, is to keep the government schools filled with children. The supervisors of education have the care of certain districts; they inspect the same and report upon different schools within their district. They have the power to transfer the children from one school to another and from reservation to non-reservation schools. The superintendents of non-reservation industrial training schools and of reservation government boarding schools shall, on or about the first of April of each year, send to the office a report stating, as far as possible, the condition of the schools and the number of pupils enrolled for the fiscal year.

This law, with its regulations, is calculated to cover the entire field of education and to compel the attendance of all students of a suitable age, and thus take from all Indian parents the responsibility and care of educating their own children. It is thought by this that the rising generation will be strong enough on completing the requirements and training of modern industrial life to withstand the downward tendency of the ignorant and barbarous tribes.

It seems a sad thing to force children against the wishes of their parents, to attend school away from home, but it is the only hope or salvation of the Indian race. The

tribal inspiration and the tribal influence must be broken up, and the Indians must be taught to take their stand among the people of their country, to toil for their bread and to engage in the industries of common life. They must be prepared for intelligent citizenship; they must know how to gain and hold property; they must understand their rights and be content with what belongs to them and ask for no more. With such education the greater part of the Indian problem is solved.

To the Indian teacher or worker this means a great deal, for he knows too well the influences that are brought to bear upon the Indian children who desire to attend school after having once been there. If the present and coming generation be forced to obtain an education and to prepare for any one of the arts or industries of civilized life the great work has been well begun. If the government can go far enough to insure the results of this education to these students, a sure foundation of the great work will have been laid. In the education of our own youth we have been changing very much of late years. In the first place we realize that students must not only respect general culture, but must be fitted for something useful and particular. Every year witnesses the development of our educational system towards making a direct contact of the school with practical life. We take pains not only to develop the mind and give it culture and to train it for usefulness in any good pursuit, but we try to find for students positions of usefulness in the common occupations after they have completed their educational work. It may be proper in theory to prepare the Anglo-Saxon youth for his life work, to develop what we call the powers of the mind, and then let him go forth into the world to make a place for himself. This is the old theory, and in some respects it is a good one, but the lists of competition are drawn so closely and the places of business so well filled that we feel disposed to give even our bold and hardy English youth all the assistance possible to prepare him for the activities of life. He may know something of many things, but we must assure him that at the point of contact of his life with the world he must know some one thing well and know how to take hold, and if necessary, he must be shown how.

The Indian youth finds it even more difficult on the completion of his education to enter any chosen profession. The civilization on most of the reservations is developing slowly, and the number of industries which are practiced are comparatively few. There can be but few positions of trust or usefulness until they are made for the Indians who have already been educated. The greatest difficulty of Indian education is the relation of the educated individual to general society. What is the social, industrial, and political status of the educated Indian? An answer to this question will bring vividly before us the true Indian problem. As has been stated, we cannot expect the average Indian to go among white people and compete, unaided, with the Anglo-Saxon youth in the business enterprises of the world. It is not a question of personal ability, but of personal relations. A youth brought up in the tribe, or on the reservation, finds it exceedingly difficult to make the connection between school life and the practical life of the world. The Indian youth, educated at one of the best schools, returns to his home in the native tribe where he finds himseif surrounded with all the influences of the camp life; he finds but little to do, knows not how to get a living. He may be ridiculed for having adopted citizen's clothes and manners and because of his education; he may be importuned to turn aside from the course he has adopted and to return to the old habits of camp life. If this be the case, of what use is his education to him; literally thrown away. This cannot be blamed upon the work of the schools. Since there are thorough and efficient training schools the students are prepared by practical training for the pursuits of life, as well as given a general

learning. No fault can be found in the reservation schools or the denominational schools in their earnest endeavor to give the Indians a thorough and efficient education. The great question at stake is the utility of education after once it has been accomplished, and in this we must see that the outlook is indeed gloomy, unless the government extend its work of educational reform into the very heart of society.

A plan has been developed through the influence of Captain Pratt, of Carlisle Institute, which is termed the "Outing System." When an Indian youth has completed his education and is prepared to render useful service he is placed in some good family upon certain terms, and is to be protected from the baneful influences of uncivilized life. We can conceive of no better method for the development of Indian character. In close relationship with the family he becomes more and more accustomed to civilized life and habits and the thoughts and the best principles of the American home. He is enabled to ply his trade or calling from day to day, from year to year, until he becomes proficient. He is self-sustaining; his character has become strong under the influence of home surroundings; he has gradually, through home influence, obtained character and independence, and is enabled, if necessary, to take his place among the people in the struggle for existence.

It is found that the reformatories of different classes of industrial schools have worked upon his plan for many years and it is found to be the one salvation, not only for white but for Indian children. It is impossible to train a pauper or a criminal, or a child of any kind which has existed under evil influences, and then return him to the same low surroundings without his being drawn back to the old position of life. It is even more true of the educated Indian youth; he must struggle with and against the habits of the tribe, acquired during centuries of life without civilization. He must meet all difficulties of race prejudice from above and below. A careful examination of the results of education of our best schools has shown us the dangers of the ways of the present system of Indian education. To those who are not conversant with the present Indian school system it may be stated that there are what are known as reservation schools, where pupils are taught in elements of learning. These schools are provided through the government agency or else under similar circumstances by religious denominations. Here children are trained in the simple elements of education and prepared for higher work. After they complete the course they are allowed to enter one of the great training schools for higher education. There are at present no Indian colleges. Those who have been prepared for college education have entered some one of the universities or colleges of America. Haskell and Carlisle are the principal high schools of the Indian educational system. When pupils have completed a term at a training school they are allowed to return to their homes; they should be placed in town or on farms to work.

Let us consider for a few moments the work done at Haskell and we shall see that it is thorough and competent, and has done all that its means will allow. There is found a body of thorough and efficient workers who have done all that could be done with the means placed in their hands. We must remember that Haskell Institute has not been in progress for many years; there have yet been but about nine years of school life at Haskell, scarcely enough to develop the original plans for the education of the Indian youth. Yet, in this time wonders have been accomplished in the training of the mind, in mastering common elements of learning, and also in the training of the youth in industrial pursuits. And he who is interested at all in the future of the Indian race should visit Haskell and inspect the methods and systems, and he will see the students have ability to learn, the capacity to absorb; and see that the Indian youth is prepared

to take a fair grade of education. All the criticism that can be made is that not sufficient opportunity is given him for the use of that education. If he return to the reservation he is in danger of taking up the old life and allowing the real results of his education to lapse. The best way to understand what is meant is to examine the results of Indian education. For this purpose let us take up a few of the examples of students who have attended at Haskell or Carlisle for some years:*

Example 1. An Indian of New York attended Haskell about five years. He completed the common school course, mastered the carpenter's trade successfully and filled the position of assistant school carpenter during the last two years of his stay. Since going home he has been engaged in building houses for the Indians, working for contractors and constantly making good use of the knowledge gained at school.

Example 2. An Indian girl of the Pottowatomie tribe attended Haskell three years, completed the common school course and took some special training for teaching. After finishing her course she was appointed to teach a primary grade at the Otoe boarding school, and all who saw her work in the school room can recommend her as a very successful teacher. In the fall of 1891 she married a former Haskell student and they are now living in Wichita, Kansas.

Example 3. An Indian youth of the Kaw tribe was at Haskell about three years and proved to be a very thorough student as far as he advanced. He learned the carpenter's trade and has been employed as agency carpenter at the Kaw agency since he went home.

Example 4. Another young man, of the Pawnee tribe, stayed at Haskell about three and one half years. He was an average student and learned tailoring and blacksmithing. Since returning home he has been employed as assistant blacksmith.

*The writer is indebted to Supt. Charles F. Meserve and Principal H. B. Peairs for the follrwing data.

Example 5. A young man of the Cherokees attended Haskell three years. He completed the common school course and took one year of the high school work and then learned the carpenter's trade. He has been working at the trade since going home, and his employers speak well of him.

Example 6. Henry Cadue, of the Kickapoo tribe, was at Haskell three years. He completed the work in the primary grades and learned the carpenter's trade. Since leaving school he has supported himself and mother by working at his trade.

These examples show the capacity of the Indian youth for education and its practical use, when opportunity is given for its application. Other examples might be given of those who have become more proficient in learning at Carlisle, Haskell, and elsewhere. One Indian having studied medicine has gone back to the Sioux reservation to practice among his people. The results of Indian education are best observed through manual training. Here their capacity is shown at best advantage, and from industrial education we may expect to obtain the best improvement of the race. Industrial education is so essential that it should be made compulsory, and every Indian should, beside his general education, be taught to do one thing well. He should be taught a trade or given a means of earning his own living. At Haskell all students are required to work at manual labor half of the time; but not all learn trades, although all must pass through a systematic course. During the first quarter a boy is engaged in learning how to farm; if he does well at this he is then given something else to do. The students are changed about from one thing to another in order to give them a variety of occupation and thus educate them in the common affairs of life. About three-fourths of those who graduate have learned one thing well, or have a means of earning a living. It may be said that this does not go far enough. The authorities should

insist that every graduate and every pupil be compelled to devote himself to a trade or to practical and theoretical farming, so that he may have a certain means of earning his living. As it is only those who desire, learn trades; it should not be a matter of choice. To the present time there has not been shop room enough to give more than a limited number instruction in trades. The United States government should see to it that nothing is wanted in this respect. At present new buildings are being constructed for industrial purposes, and I presume that it is the plan of the superintendent to make the industrial features of the school more prominent and to insure to every boy and girl a means of earning a living.

The most unfavorable phase of Indian education is seen in the attempt of the educated Indian to harmonize with his surroundings. Much of the good effect of education is lost on account of the lack of opportunity for the Indian to use his education and the lack of knowing just how to make a successful entrance to industrial and civil life. In this respect the government should exercise more care and see to it that the efficient work of the schools be not lost. The following examples will illustrate this point:

Example 7. An Osage Indian was at Haskell three years. During which term he became proficient in farming and gardening. In his school work he had advanced to the fourth grade. He went home with the expectation of returning soon to complete his education. He was persuaded by his relatives and friends to marry. He settled down to the life of a camp Indian and the force of his education is lost.

Example 8. An Osage Indian who was at Haskell Institute three years. While at school he learned to speak English fluently. He went home determined to become a farmer and stock raiser. But soon he yielded to the influences of the old life that surrounded him and is now living the life of a camp Indian. He married a squaw and is living in a tent eight feet square.

Example 9. An Osage Indian girl. She was at Haskell Institute three years. While there she learned to do all kinds of house work, sewing and fancy work. In fact she became a most complete housekeeper. After returning home she wished to again return to Haskell and complete her education. Her parents refused to grant her permission, and to avoid further complications sold her to a blanket Indian for a number of ponies. After being compelled to live a life of degradation and misery for about two years she died, and thus passed to a world where we trust her education would be of some use to her as it was doubtless of little benefit here.

Example 10. A Pawnee Indian boy who made a good record for three years at Haskell. While there he learned the blacksmith's trade. He learned to speak English fluently, and did fairly well at his books. After returning home he was influenced by the surroundings and became a blanket Indian. He married a school girl and they both became degraded to the common camp life, influenced in every way by the camp Indians whose ways they imitated.

Example 11. A Pawnee Indian girl who made a splendid record at Haskell during a period of three years. During this time she obtained a fair common school education and had become proficient in all kinds of house work. Two months after having returned to the home of her parents she was observed to be in full Indian dress, having abandoned the style of dress used at school and was cooking meat in Indian style over a bed of coals in the center of the wigwam. It is needless to say that dust and ashes were the principal seasoning. She kneaded the bread on the same blanket that was used to sleep in at night. An observer asked her if she liked this kind of life. She replied "No, but he (pointing to her father) won't let me come back to school." Education had fitted her for a better life,

but the parent forced her to comply with the conditions of degrading service. Soon after she was married to a common blanket Indian, which means that she is lost in the common herd and that her education will not save her from ruin.

Example 12. A Ponca Indian girl who spent five years at school in Haskell. She was considered a very bright and intelligent young girl. She was adjutant of the girls' battalion for some time. She was a good cook, a good seamstress, and an excellent housekeeper. She married a young man who held to the old regime. She now carries the water, chops the wood, builds the fires and gets the breakfast while her Indian helpmeet is lying in bed. She even has the pleasure of applying her quickened intellect to the pleasant task of harnessing the horses while her so-called better half seeks repose.

Example 13. Example thirteen was an Arapahoe Indian boy. He was at Haskell for four years. During this time he learned farming and gardening. He also worked at the harness-maker's trade. He had obtained a good use of the English language. But in the summer of 1890 he returned to his home and is now a blanket Indian, living as a man of the tribe.

Example 14. A Ponca girl who went to Haskell for two years. She learned to do all kinds of house work. She spoke English fluently. Returning home she married a blanket Indian and entered upon the degrading life of a blanket squaw. In the summer of 1890 she was observed carrying one papoose on her back, another strapped on a board, while two others followed behind.

Example 15. An Osage boy spent two years at Carlisle. Then he went home to stay for a short time and afterwards went to Haskell Institute, where he remained for about two and one half years. He learned the harness-making trade at school. He returned home, married a squaw and became worthless.

Example 16. A Cheyenne boy went to the Arapahoe boarding school for a number of years, then he went to Carlisle for a short time. From Carlisle he was sent to Fort Wayne, Indiana, to attend college, and, so he says, to study for the ministry. After leaving Fort Wayne he returned home for a time and then came to Haskell. He finally secured a permit to enter the State University. He did not succeed very well at the University, and subsequently returned to Haskell. At Haskell he went to work in the tailor's shop. He finally gave up school and returned to the reservation to engage in the Y. M. C. A. work at home. This in turn was given up and his time is now spent in roaming over the Cheyenne reservation, apparently without thought of rendering service to himself or anybody else. He has adopted the former habits and customs of his tribe and draws his rations with the other worthless wards of the nation.

Example 17. A young man who went to Carlisle for three years. After taking a vacation for a short time he entered Haskell for three and one half years. After this he returned to Carlisle for two years. During the summer of 1891 he was observed in a state of nature under the care of an Indian doctor. He had an excellent character in every way. But he said that "he must either get away from the tribe or go back to old habits."

Example 18. A Cheyenne Indian boy who spent either three or five years at Carlisle. After a short vacation he entered Haskell, where he remained three years. At the latter place he thoroughly mastered the tailor's trade. He was made superintendent of the tailor shop at Haskell, and after returning to the reservation he performed a similar office. While in charge of the tailoring establishment at the Cheyenne reservation the camp Indians would continually ask him for money and presents. Being of a generous nature he found at the end of the month that he had invariably overdrawn his salary, or in other words, had spent more than he had earned. He finally became discouraged and went to camp and married a squaw, and now

lives like his fellows, on the rations of the government. He was a good workman in every respect, but the surroundings of the reservation were against his success and he failed. The begging propensity of the average Indian on the reservations is unlimited. The various traders understand this, and of a necessity feel compelled to charge a high price for goods in order to make up for the many presents which it is policy to give. I am told by one acquainted with the Osage agency that the Indians expect to receive all of their tobacco gratis. This last example illustrates very clearly what chance a young man may have for success if turned back to the tribe. All are interested in retarding his progress and in bringing him back to the level of camp life. While if he is capable of earning anything the old tribal spirit comes in to claim its share.

Example 19 records the results of education in the case of another young Cheyenne. He spent a term at Haskell, during which time he was president of the battalion, president of the Y. M. C. A., and, in fact, a leader in all school work. After returning to the agency he was corresponding secretary of the Y. M. C. A. He, too, finally became discouraged and succumbed to the influences of camp life. He married an Indian woman with three children and now the government generously supports him and his family. Yet who can doubt that had this young man had a fair chance under favorable influences that he might have been a success. It is true that the Indian youth probably has not the character nor the opportunity to compete with the average white boy who is well educated. There are not now, and we are not to expect it for many years, the necessary qualities in the Indian youth which incite him to make a place where there is none. In this he cannot compare with the average white American. Yet it is the duty of the government to give him the best opportunities possible; and while he is taught self-reliance in the schools, opportunity should be given him for its exercise under circumstances not wholly against him.

Example 20. Another young Cheyenne who spent four years at Haskell and stayed in other institutions for a considerable length of time, has gone the way of the useless and the do-less. While in Haskell he was adjutant of the battalion and was noted as a superior officer. He was a good farmer and could read and write English well. He owns 160 acres of land and his squaw has another tract of the same size. But in practice he is a veritable camp Indian. He receives his rations from the government and does nothing towards his own support. He lives with his family in a tepee about six by eight feet, and just high enough to receive him standing. He is now living with his second woman since leaving school.

Example 21. The sister to example 14 had been in Haskell for a term of six years and had advanced to the sixth grade. She had practically forgotten her own language. When she reached the agency she cried to be brought back to school, but her mother refused to allow her to come back. She said that her daughter had forgotten her native language and that she did not want her daughter to adopt "white man's ways." She lived sixty miles from the agency in order to keep the child from running away. Her brother was asked to use his influence to have the girl returned to school, but he responded, "No, mother would kill me if I did." This is a clear case in which the government should take its own course and bring the girl back to school. The only hope in Indian education is with the younger generations. There is no hope for the average adult who has not already been educated. It is the duty of the government to see to it that the younger generation is not ruined by the older.

Example 22. A young Indian girl who spent three years and a half in Haskell became an expert seamstress, dress cutter, and fitter; besides all this she was a good cook and familiar with all general house-

keeping. She had a fair common school education and spoke English well. She was found by a visitor in a tepee living as a blanket Indian, having adopted the full dress of the camp Indian. She was living upon the rations of the government. The secret of her life is, that all of those with whom she now comes in contact are striving to make her adopt the methods of camp life and to return to the customs of the tribe. Indeed the Indians of the camp are very careful to use every influence to induce educated Indians to return to their old customs. They ridicule their fine clothes, make sport of their language, and in every way make it disagreeable to the students returning from school, until having no other alternative they are at last forced to yield to the old regime.

Example 23. A young Indian was at Haskell four years. Returning to the reservation he had no opportunity to exercise his education. He had a good knowledge of farming and gardening. He became one of the worst boys on the reservation. He is addicted to drink and is frequently in the lockup. But the boy can hardly be blamed, and it is not the fault of the education, for his father and older brother are known to be bad characters.

Example 24. A girl was at Haskell four years. During this time she had thoroughly mastered all kinds of sewing, tailoring, and fancy work. She was a very capable girl. After returning to the reservation she married an Indian and is now living a camp life. There was nothing else for her to do.

These may seem isolated examples. It may be stated that of sixty-seven boys who have been investigated as to the results of their education after their attendance at Haskell, it was found that only three were doing anything beyond the life of an ordinary camp Indian. They were living in blankets and attending ghost dances. Without a single exception, when asked "why are you doing this way," the answer was: "Because I have nothing else to do."

The conditions of tribes vary much with respect to education, and their disposition toward educational improvement is varied. Some tribes observe and possess a progressive spirit, while in others there is a strong tendency downward. The foregoing examples are taken from a variety of tribes. The true way to study the nature and capacity of the Indian is by tribes. Much care should be given to the different characteristics of the tribes. While it would be a great plan to break up tribal relations as rapidly as possible, close observance of existing conditions must be made by those who deal with the Indian in a moral, religious, educative, or political sense.

But the great difficulty is still with all tribes, whether semi-civilized, barbarous, or wild. It is the problem of contact with the white race and the adjustment of their lives to the conditions of modern civilization. Wherever an inferior and a superior race have come in contact there has always been more or less difficulty. This difficulty cannot be avoided, but must be met and solved on right principles. The race problem is as old as history itself, but we observe it more closely and distinctly in relation to the Indians of the West than in any other place. Formal treaties and agreements may be made between the inferior and superior races; they may be able to get along peaceably with one another, or there may be constant discord and disagreement. The superior race may dominate over the inferior, or stand in the parental position towards it, and still there may be for a time unity and peace. But the moment the attempt is made to force the inferior race into competition with the superior by education; to turn it out in the common struggle for existence, unprotected and unassisted by any power, the inferior race will be overcome by the superior in the struggle for existence. One of the most striking illustrations of this is found in the contact of the Americans with the Spanish neophytes of the southwest. The franciscan fathers

at an early date came into California, gathered the savages into villages, instructed them in the elements of learning and in the practice of the ordinary industrial arts. Over thirty thousand Indians were thus instructed in the elements of civilized life. Through one hundred years this civilization of the Indian went on. Property was accumulated, fields cultivated, harvests were reaped. Great herds of stock roamed over the pastures, fruit and flowers developed around them, and one would say to look upon this picture that, indeed, at last a method had been discovered by which the savage of the forest could be forced to adopt our modern civilization. Yet, all of this was merely appearance, the whole education was accomplished by imitation—the self-determining principle in religion or in industry had not yet developed.

The missionaries were to the Indians as parents. They watched over them as children and called them such. The Indians knew nothing of independent action or self-government. So long as the missionaries were with them, and over them, they could carry on the imitative process of education, but once left alone there was nothing for them but to be crushed out of existence. The difficulties which arose after the conquest of California by Mexico need not be recounted, sufficient to say that the neophytes were left unprotected in their contact with the white race and soon went down before them. Of the thirty thousand in 1834, which were apparently living so happy in their crude villages and missions, only four thousand remained in ten years after. The rest were scattered up and down the coast, knowing not where to go or what to do. Thousands returned to their wild life, and in a short time but little effect could be seen of the great civilization wrought by the *padres*.

Here, then, lies the great Indian problem of to-day. No one need criticise the progress that has been made in our best schools. They are thorough, earnest, and efficient; they make the Indian self-supporting, and turn him from the schools so that he may compete with the Anglo-Saxon in the industries of life.

They attempt to keep him from the reservation where the overwhelming influences of the tribe and the tepee and the camp shall not reach him. This, indeed, is the true problem of Indian education. The schools should not stop, but go on with more vigor and more spirit than ever; they should receive all that is necessary to make them thorough and efficient and painstaking. But some attempt, at least, should be made to carry the results of this education beyond the walls of the school room. The government must see to it that this education shall not be lost; that the tribal life of the Indian, with its baneful influences, shall be broken up; that those who are prepared with practical trades shall have an opportunity for their exercise; that they shall be given a chance to till the soil; that they shall be given an undisputed title to the land; that all government support shall be withdrawn from the tribes and they shall be put in the way of earning a living. If they fail to earn a living through sloth or idleness, let them take the punishment which nature has appointed them. The government must deal with the Indian problem as a matter of business, and not as a matter of sentiment. It should see that the tribes are broken up as soon as possible; that lands be rapidly apportioned; that education shall be pushed as rapidly as possible; that justice shall be given to all, but that the system of begging and ration support shall be abolished at once in every case where subsistence is possible to the Indian.

F. W. Blackmar.

SEMINARY REPORTS.

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

THE meeting of the Seminary Friday, December 4, discussed the subject of "Municipal Government Abroad." Prof. Hodder presided, and after making some introductory remarks, comparing the government of American and foreign cities, called upon Mr. Wilber Kinzie for a paper upon "Municipal Government in England." Mr. Kinzie introduced his paper by a short sketch of the development of local government. The present system is an outgrowth of the one introduced at the time of the Norman conquest. At first the towns were ruled by officers of the crown. But the people demanded a voice in their government and local authority passed into the hands of justices, part of them elective and part of them appointed by the Crown. The system at present is very confused and needs reorganization. Uniformity was given to the government of all English cities, except London, by the Municipal Corporation's Act of 1835. An act of 1882 revised the earlier one and incorporated all subsequent amendments. Glasgow may be taken as a good example of the form of government established by these acts. It is governed by a single general council, elected by the rate payers and serving without salary. This council is divided into committees, each one of which has a certain branch of the government under its control. The city is remarkable for the rapid progress it has made in the housing of the poor and in the construction and management of public works. It has public baths, lodging houses, and wash houses. Its reading rooms are the best in Great Britain. The city owns and operates its own gas works, and built its own street railroad and leased it to a private company upon such favorable terms that the road will repay the cost of construction and yield the city a large revenue in addition.

Mr. E. W. Smith read a paper on the "Government of London." The position of London is exceptional as the Municipal Corporation's Acts did not apply to it. It is necessary to distinguish clearly between the metropolis and the "city," or corporation of London. The former covers about 120 square miles and has nearly five million inhabitants, while the latter consists of only a square mile in the heart of this vast aggregation of people and has a population of only about 50,000. Until within two years the metropolis had no general government. It was divided into numerous districts and vestries, each governed by a local vestry board similar to those of small towns in the country. But in 1889 the whole metropolis was made an administrative county and was given a representative council, elected from the various districts and the city. This council will eventually obtain full control of all municipal affairs and constitute a city government proper. The "city" is still governed by the guilds, a relic of mediævalism. The members of the guilds, or liverymen, as they are called, elect the aldermen and the aldermen are advanced in turn to the office of Lord Mayor.

Mr. H. B. Hall illustrated "Municipal Government in France" by describing the organization of the city of Paris. The government of Paris is highly centralized. The principal power is in the hands of the Prefect of the Seine, appointed by the central government. The people have the right of electing a general council, which exercises legislative powers. For administrative purposes the city is divided into twenty districts, and each has a mayor and council, subject to the Prefect and the general council. Paris has led the way in changing mediæval alleys into modern avenues. The greatest improvements were made between 1852 and 1871 under Louis Napoleon.

H. E. Copper read a paper on the government of Berlin. He said that it was while Napoleon I. was holding Germany in check that the present municipal system was inaugurated by Baron Von Stein, minister to Frederick William III., of Prussia. The government of Berlin is vested in a mayor, council, and magistracy. The city council, or lower house, is elected, one third by each of the three groups into which the voters are divided according to their taxes. It is composed of 108 members and elects the mayor and members of the magistracy, or upper house. The magistracy consists of thirty-four members, including the mayor. The mayor and a part of the magistracy, whose whole time is taken up by their offices, receive pay, the other members of the magistracy do not. The mayor need not be, and quite frequently is not, at the time of his choice, a resident of the town of which he is elected mayor. But he must be a graduate of a German university. The city has its own gas plant and sells more than enough gas annually to pay the interest on the original investment. As a business corporation Berlin is a model city.

W. D. Ross, *Reporter*.

ARGENTINE REPUBLIC.

The Seminary was called to order by Professor Blackmar on Friday, December 11. After the reading of the minutes of the last meeting Miss Morrow was introduced and gave an address on the subject of "The Argentine Republic." The points emphasized were: Argentine Republic has a beautiful landscape and a healthful climate with a temperature ranging from the freezing point in winter to 90° in summer. The climate resembles in some degree that of California. The productions are varied, and are rice, coffee, and sugar, and, of late, the cereals are being cultivated and a fine quality of wheat and flax raised. The mineral deposits are rich, having enough coal, by some estimates, to last the Republic 2,000 years, yet it imports most of its fuel from England. Immense cattle and sheep ranches are still found here. The people are descendents of the Spaniards, mixed with the Indian, Italians and other European races, but they retain the Spanish language and customs. Before the recent financial crisis there were very few poor people there. Argentine has a state religion which is Catholic. Other religions are tolerated, provided those who wish to establish a church get permission from the government. Education is compulsory between the ages of six and fourteen. The school system was modeled after that of our country, and many teachers were taken from the United States. There are two universities, supported by the national government, and each state has a lower form of school which is called the normal college leading up to the university. Below these are the primary schools, supported by the cities, and also the kindergarten. The proficiency of some of their professional schools surpasses that of ours. Co-education does not exist, except in some of the primary schools.

Argentine Republic has fourteen states, governed much as are our states and united under one federal constitution, modeled after the constitution of the United States. The present form of government was established in 1852, and superseded a dictatorship. The president holds office for six years and cannot succeed himself. Although the government is republican in form yet the restrictions upon the ruling party are nominal only. It is a military government, except in name.

The present financial disturbance was brought on by circulating paper money in great quantities. The national treasury was at first full of gold, but this was all drained from the country in foreign trade while the paper remained at home. The state is very rich in resources, and it is thought that if some one were found to govern it properly it would soon pay its enormous debt and become wealthy. Argentines think that they are a peculiar people, and that all the laws of political economy do not apply to them, and they

see nothing else to do now but to go on printing paper money. The crisis almost resulted in a political revolution, but the president resigned and saved the overthrow of the government.

W. M. CURRY, *Reporter.*

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

The Seminary met on Friday, January 15, Professor Blackmar presiding.

The subject for discussion was opened by Mr. Truitt, with a paper on the "Development of the Spoils System." The growth of this system was due to a defect in the constitution, which gave powers of appointment to the president, but, although the spoils system had early become an institution in some of the states, it was some time before it affected the federal government. Washington and Adams, together, removed only eighteen persons from office, and these were not removed by party causes. Jefferson was so scrupulous that he would appoint no relative to office, no matter how well qualified. He was the first to see the evils which would eventually result from placing such powers of appointment in the hands of the president and sounded a warning against it. But the federal offices were still very few, and it was thought that the president's sense of duty, as well as the noble precedents set by the first presidents would cause him to act justly. With the rapid growth in population, however, the number of officers was also enormously increased, party organization became more perfect, and finally Andrew Jackson announced the principle "to the victors belong the spoils," and astounded the whole nation by turning out in one year two thousand officials to make way for his own adherents.

Although it has always been condemned by the best citizens of every class, on account of the immense advantages afforded by it to the party in power, the spoils system has continued in full force from the time of Jackson until now. But it is to be hoped that it will soon be a thing of the past. The civil service reform bill of 1883 is a long step in the right direction, and public sentiment is ripe for further reform in the same line.

Mr. Fullerton followed with a paper on the "Pendleton Act of 1883." He said that in 1853, thirty years before the passage of the Pendleton act, a bill was passed requiring civil service examinations for inferior offices, but only those recommended by United States senators and representatives were permitted to take the examinations; so that the only effect was to place the power of appointment in the hands of congressmen. In 1872 General Grant instituted a civil service examination similar to the present system, but congress refused to make any appropriation for carrying it out and it fell through.

The present system was instituted in 1883. By its provision no official is under obligation in any way to assist the administration for purely party purposes; not more than two persons from the same family may hold office; and, of course, the most important provision, concerning the examinations, is included. For this purpose the officials, to which the act is extended, are divided into four classes: the departmental service at Washington, the customs service, the postal serviee, and the railroad mail service. Each of these has a separate general board of examiners, and also local boards as many as may be necessary. All local examinations may be appealed to a special board of appeal. When any one wishes to be a candidate for any office under this act he fills out the blanks which are sent to him, stating his age, name, etc. This must be signed by five persons. His name is then enrolled on the list of candidates, and when an examination occurs within a convenient distance he is notified. If he passes his name is placed on the books and he is given a place when a vacancy occurs. The name of the candidate is represented on the examination paper by a number, so that the examiners are not influenced by any personal prejudice. When the candidate is appointed he must

serve six months on probation. In 1887 15,852 persons were examined, of whom 10,746 passed and 5,106 failed. The average age of the candidates is about 32. The principal difficulty in the system has been in its practical application, but this difficulty is being rapidly overcome.

Mr. Cann concluded the discussion with a paper on the advantages of the merit system. He said that the civil service was composed of men who had either been appointed from motives of charity or as a reward for party service. While the only test should be efficiency, yet the political machine controlled the power of appointment, partly through bribes and partly through the fear they were able to inspire. The merit system of competitive examinations, if faithfully carried out, would do away with this evil. It would also abolish the degrading spectacle of two hundred thousand people scrambling for office after every national election, for every officer would hold his position for life unless removed for a worthy cause. The trouble lies in the fact that the law is not obeyed. The power of appointment still lies in the power of the congressman and he still uses it to place his henchmen in office. Besides this it takes his time from his real duties. Garfield said that in his day congress took one third of its time to distribute the offices. With the rapid increase of population and consequently of offices, it may happen that at some day it may almost shut out the business of legislation. Spoilsmen try to throw the merit system into contempt by saying that it is Chinese; and try to arouse prejudice against it on the ground that it is English. But we are not so narrow and bigoted that we cannot see the benefits of a reform, unless we originate it; and it is certainly un-American to put a man of merit out of office to make way for the henchman of a politician. The advantages of the merit system are efficiency of service, justice to the officer, the lessening of political corruption and the allowance of more time to congress for legislation, while its good effects may be felt throughout the country in the lessening of partisanship and the bringing into clear light the questions which have been obscured by party prejudices.

J. W. PARK, *Reporter.*

THE FIRST PRINCIPLES OF MONEY.

The Seminary met at 4 o'clock on Friday, January 22, to hear a paper by Hon. Joel Moody on "The First Principles of Money." Prof. Blackmar presided.

Senator Moody introduced his subject by taking issue with Walker's definition of money—"money is a medium of exchange, a means not an end." A medium is that thing through or by which a thing passes; money is not a medium. Money is the measure of all commercial things, value springs from those inherent qualities in man that cause him to desire certain things more than others. The commercial value of anything is alone connected with man. Eliminate man and you eliminate value. Neither can anything have value without having utility. Price is simply the measure of value, the measure of value is money. Value, a relative term, must be measured by something concrete. All things must be measured by a concrete unit, as extension, capacity, weight, value. It is necessary that a standard shall be fixed by law. Money was invented by man to avoid barter. By the invention of money commerce has become a science. Money must have existed before the civil state. It brought the state into existence. Even the most barbarous tribes have something that stands for money.

But money must have certain requisites. It must serve as a measure of value and have value in itself. Money must possess lasting qualities. "True money lives, false money dies." All the metals have been used as money, but simple lessons in metallurgy have led to the adoption of gold and silver. By its vast use to man money has obtained its value. Gold and silver came to be used through a natural choice. Money must also possess malleability, divisibility and weight. Gold does not have

to be coined before it can be called money. Some claim that metal is not a necessary element in a scientific definition of money, that a fiat law can create money. The government can no more create money than it can value, gravity or extension. Civil law cannot create money. If it could a nation could maintain itself without taxation. It would make the legislative will the measure of all values. If law cannot create value, and if what is created has no value, it will not last. It is not the fiat law, nor the stamp of the mint, nor the inscription "In God We Trust," that gives money value.

On account of the lateness of the hour Mr. Moody was unable to read all of his paper, but Prof. Blackmar made the statement that although it would be impossible to have the remainder of the paper at a meeting of the Seminary, because of an already completed program, yet he had secured the promise of the senator to appear before the class on Political Economy before long and finish the subject. At that time opportunity will be given for questions or criticisms by the students in accordance with the custom of the Seminary. C. A. PEABODY, *Reporter*.

HISTORY IN HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

OF the two hundred and seventy courses offered at Harvard University twenty-seven are credited to the department of History. At least twenty others, which are listed under Political Economy, Semitic, Hebrew, Greek. Latin, and Fine Arts, might well be called history courses. If any student wishes to make a study of any time or institution not covered by this large number of courses, facilities are offered him in the different seminaries to explore almost any field. In fact the student's own choice sets almost the only limit to the range of historical work done in Harvard University. This desirable condition is, however, a matter of recent growth. The memory of Harvard's youngest professors runneth back to the time when the "text-book" method of teaching history was still in vogue, when a student's historical acquisitions were measured by pages of text committed or dates and facts memorized.

A story is still told of the amazement which almost overcame the instructor when Prof. Taussig, then a student, one day ventured to introduce into his recitation some facts gathered outside the regular text-book and thus made a brilliant and interesting recitation. But all such things are of the past, and if Harvard did not introduce what we are pleased to term the "Modern Scientific Method" of teaching history, she is, at present, certainly behind no American university in the use of that method; but one of the history courses is now given as a text-book study.

The history work here may be divided into three classes:

First. The preliminary courses, which it is expected will be taken in the Freshman or Sophomore years, must precede the advanced courses. In these the lectures and two or three books contain most of the matter, for which the student will be held responsible. The supplementary work which he is required to do is not extensive, and, in the general European history course, takes the form of geographical study by the use of maps, illustrating the political divisions of Europe at different periods. These preliminary courses are attended by from 150 to 300 men, and each instructor has an assistant, whose business it is to hold short conferences with each member of the class; give them aid or information on any point, and satisfy himself that the work of each man is being done faithfully.

What may be called the second division

of the history work is well typified by Prof. Emerton's course on the Reformation, or Prof. Hart's course in United States History. In these the students are more advanced and more work is expected of them. Topics are studied critically, and each man must form his own opinion from the evidence presented. He also supplements by his own reading the outline or skeleton of the period, which is all that the professor attempts to give in his lectures. Besides, special reports, bibliographies and biographies are required from each student. The man who attempts to depend on the lectures alone will find himself at sea when Prof. Emerton asks, as he did on our examination, full two thirds of the questions on points which he has not mentioned in the class room. Prof. Hart says that a man cannot pass *his* examination without doing the supplementary reading, even if he should learn the lectures verbatim. The importance which he attaches to the student's part of the work is also indicated by the topical outline of about three hundred pages, which serves as a guide to the collateral reading.

Some of the professors, however, test a man's reading by requiring two or more theses during the year and then examine only on the lectures. In a few courses if a man pays close attention to the lectures and keeps them well in mind h pass satisfactorily without doing any reading. By what I have said of the examinations I only mean to indicate the minimum amount of work which will enable one to pass. Almost any one of these courses can profitably employ half of a man's time, and the encouragement and facilities offered tempt all real students to spend enough time on each subject to get a clear knowledge of it.

But I must pass to the third class of work which each year occupies a more important place in the historical work done. This is what is known as the seminary work. There are four seminaries given; but as they are much alike, and I am best acquainted with the one in Ameriean History, conducted by Professors Hart and Channing, my description will be confined to it. This Seminary was established in 1885 with six members, and has increased each year till there are now seventeen members, each of whom selects some special topic for investigation and is expected to embody the results of his work in a thesis. Many of the reports thus produced have been printed in the Papers of the American Historical Association, in the Harvard Historical Monographs, or in book form.

The Seminary meets each Monday evening. At the earlier meetings of the year the instructors lecture on the methods of historical investigations and on the materials of American History. At later meetings the students report upon their investigations and discoveries. Each report is discussed by the iustructors and fellow students. New books, which are likely to prove of interest to members of the Seminary, are reviewed by some members. Each member of the Seminary has half an hour a week set apart for personal conference with the professor. At this conference he reports progress and receives suggestions and instructions for the next week's work. Thorough, scholarly work is encouraged, and each student becomes a master of his particular field. If he does not write history himself he knows how it should be written, and learns to estimate at its true historic worth any work which may come before him.

The wide range of studies is shown by the list of courses in history:

COURSES IN HISTORY FOR UNDER-GRADUATES.

1. Mediæval and Modern History, Asst. Prof. Channing.

2. Constitutional Government, Prof. Macvane.

3. Roman History to the Reign of Diocletian, Mr. Bendelari.

4. The Middle Ages, from Charlemagne to Dante, Prof. Emerton.

5. History of Western Europe, from

the Germanic Invasions to the Treaty of Verdun, Mr. Bendelari.

6. The First Eight Christian Centuries, Prof. Emerton.

7. The Era of the Reformation in Europe. Prof. Emerton.

8. History of France to the Reign of Louis XIV., with special reference to institutions, Dr. Snow.

9. Constitutional History of England to the Sixteenth Century, Dr. Gross.

10. American History to 1788, Asst. Prof. Channing.

11. European History during the Seventeenth Century and the first half of the Eighteenth, Mr. Bendelari.

12. European History from the Middle of the Eighteenth Century, Prof. Macvane and Asst. Prof. Channing.

13. Constitutional and Political History of the United States, Asst. Prof. Hart.

15. Elements of Public International Law—History of Treaties—Dr. Snow.

COURSES IN HISTORY FOR GRADUATES.

21. Early Mediæval Institutions, Mr. Bendelari.

22. The Sources and Literature of English Constitutional History, Dr. Gross.

23. History of the Government and Institutions of France to the Reign of Louis XIV., Dr. Snow.

25. English Constitutional History from the Tudor Period to the Accession of George I., Mr. Bendelari.

26. History of American Institutions, Asst. Prof. Channing.

27. Government and Administration in the United States—National, State, and Municipal—Asst. Prof. Hart.

28. History of Continental Europe (chiefly of France and Germany) since the Seven Years' War, Prof. Macvane.

29. Constitutional History of England since the Accession of George I., Asst. Prof. Channing.

30. Federal Government — Historical and Comparative—Asst. Prof. Hart.

31. Leading Principles of Constitutional Law—selected cases, American and English—Prof. Macvane.

32. The Historical Development of International Law, Dr. Snow.

20. Courses of Research.

I. Seminary in Mediæval History:
 (a) Church and State, Prof. Emerton.
 (b) Municipal History, Dr. Gross.
 (c) Political Institutions, Mr. Bendelari.

II. Seminary in Modern History and Diplomacy:
 (d) Social History, Prof. Macvane.
 (e) English History in the Stuart Period, Mr. Bendelari.
 (f) Diplomatic History, Dr. Snow.

III. Seminary in American History, Hart and Channing.

COURSES CATALOGUED UNDER POLITICAL ECONOMY, SEMITIC, HEBREW, GREEK AND LATIN, BUT WHICH ARE REALLY HISTORY COURSES.

Economic History of Europe and America since the Seven Years' War, Mr. Cole.

Railway Transportation, Asst. Prof. Taussig.

History of Tariff Legislation in the United States, Prof. Dunbar.

Theory and Methods of Taxation, Prof. Dunbar.

Banking and the History of the Leading Banking Systems, Prof. Dunbar.

Babylonian—Assyrian History from native sources with comparison of the Greek and Roman writers—Prof. Lyon.

History of Israel—Political and Social—Prof. Lyon.

History of the Hebrew Religion, with comparison of other Semitic religions, Prof. Toy.

Political and Literary History of the Bagdad Califate, Prof. Toy.

Political and Literary History of the Spanish Califate, Prof. Toy.

Three Centuries of Greek History (600-300 B. C.), Prof. Wright.

The Life of the Ancient Athenians, Prof. J. W. White.

The Reign of Tiberius—the Annals of Tacitus—Prof. Smith.

The Athenian Expedition to Sicily, Prof. Goodwin.

The Constitutional History of Athens and the Judicial Process of the Athenian Courts, Prof. Goodwin.

History of Ancient Art, Prof. Norton.

History of Roman and Mediæval Art, Prof. Norton.

WM. HILL.

- SEMINARY - NOTES. -

PUBLISHED ON THE FIRST DAY OF OCTOBER, NOVEMBER, DECEMBER, FEBRUARY, MARCH, APRIL AND MAY, BY THE SEMINARY OF HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCE. State University, Lawrence, Kansas.

Frank W. Blackmar.
Frank H. Hodder, - - - - *Editors.*
Ephraim D. Adams,

Terms, Ten Cents a Number, - Fifty Cents a Year

THE purpose of this publication is to increase the interest in the study of historical science in the University and throughout the State, to afford means of regular communication with corresponding members of the Seminary and with the general public—especially with the Alumni of the University, and to preserve at least the outlines of carefully prepared papers and addresses. The number of pages in each issue will be increased as rapidly as the subscription list will warrant. The entire revenue of the publication will be applied to its maintenance.

Address all subscriptions and communications to

F. W. BLACKMAR,
Lawrence, Kansas.

IT may be of interest to readers of SEMINARY NOTES to know that Prof. F. W. Blackmar's article on Indian Education, published in this issue, will appear shortly in the *Review of Reviews*, and in the *Annals of the American Academy*. The text of the article may differ somewhat from that published in the SEMINARY NOTES, but in substance it will be the same. Another view of the same subject is also to appear in the *Charities Review*.

Prof. Blackmar is a firm friend of the existing system of Indian education. His article merely asserts that the great need is for a further extension of that system, so that the Indian youth shall be forced to take a position on equality with his American competitor.

ON January 22 Hon. Joel Moody read a paper before the Historical Seminary which was of unusual interest to the students, both because of the personality of the writer and because of the entertaining manner in which he treated the subject under discussion. A report of that portion of his paper which he was able to finish is to be found in another column. Mr. Moody's definition of money differed somewhat from that usually given, but it would be unfair to either accept or reject his ideas before hearing the remainder of his paper. He is to appear again shortly before the class in Political Economy, and will at that time give the students opportunity for discussion.

THE sketch, this month, of the study of History in American colleges, treats of History in Harvard University. It was written by Mr. Wm. Hill, a former student of K. S. U., now pursuing special work in American History at Harvard. Mr. Hill is evidently enthusiastic over the lecture system, and his description of the character of the work done under that system is inspiring. It has always been found that with every step in the direction of separating epochs of history into short periods for special class room study, the value of the lecture system increases. Owing to lack of space it was found necessary to omit a portion of Mr. Hill's paper, relating to library facilities at Harvard. It will be published at another time.

SOME three years ago a movement was set on foot to erect a monument at Delfshaven, Holland, the place from which the Pilgrims sailed when they started for the new world, the object being to recognize in this way the debt of gratitude due the Dutch for the asylum afforded the Pilgrims during their twelve years' residence in Amsterdam and Leyden. The attempt to raise subscriptions was met by the objection that the Pilgrims were not well treated in Holland. This charge has been carefully investigated by the leaders of the movement and found to be without foundation. A pamphlet on "The Influence of the Netherlands in the Making of the English Commonwealth and the American Republic," by Dr. W. E. Griffis, is one of a number that are now being circulated in the interest of the Delfshaven memorial.

Dr. Griffis discusses principally the influence upon English life of the thousands of Dutch who fled to England to escape the Spanish persecution, and the influences upon the Pilgrims while in Holland and the Dutch ideas they took with them to the new world.

In Holland, at this time, there was much greater liberty than in England. There was religious toleration of all Protestant sects, and even Catholics and Jews were permitted private exercise of their religion; there was a free press, free schools, a free land; that is land was held in fee simple and there was a system of registration of deeds and mortgages. Other things, having no precedent in England, which the Pilgrims learned to know in Holland were written constitutions, prescribing and limiting the powers of public officers, secret written ballots, a court of supreme authority, a union of law and equity, and, in the local administration of justice, a public prosecuting office, corresponding to what we now call the district attorney, and the right of the accused to counsel for defense. All of these improvements became a part of the institutions that grew up in New England, and we are in all probability much more largely indebted to Holland for them than has been commonly supposed. Upon this subject we are promised an extended article by Douglas Campbell, entitled "The Puritan in England, Holland, and America."

LAVISSE'S "Political History of Europe," noticed in another column, contains many interesting historical generalizations. In the conclusion, after calling attention to the fact that the present condition of Europe is apparently dependent upon force alone, the author outlines the part which may, perhaps, be played by the America of the future. His statement of this is so interesting that a portion of it is here given:

"The relations between the Old World and the New are not necessarily peaceful. Down to the present the latter has had no foreign policy; still the Monroe Doctrine, 'America for the Americans,' is a policy. If it is ever applied to the islands of America (premonitory signs of this are not wanting), it will cause a conflict between the two worlds. American civilization is pacific. All these new nations grow and multiply in the midst of peace. Peace is thus their vocation, but, as if it were contrary to the eternal order of things, the United States are beginning to use their treasury surplus for the construction of war vessels. Armaments are ruining Europe, while American wealth is producing armaments. * * * After having seen so many changes, states come into existence and perish, empires crumble that had hoped for eternal life, we must foresee new revolutions, deaths and births.

"All force exhausts itself; the faculty of guiding the course of history is not an inalienable possession. Europe, which inherited it from Asia three thousand years ago, will not, perhaps, retain it forever."

It is not, however, the indication of America as the future seat of political power, that is most noticeable in this quotation, but rather the thought that the world has reached no fixed stage in politics; that all things are yet to change, and to change quickly. This thought is to be found in nearly every recent writer on European politics. Even if no war comes to change the map of Europe, yet the pressure of the present armaments upon each government is so great that something is likely to give way before long. The young reformer of Europe believes that he will live to see the day when his reforms shall be adopted, but he also frequently believes that this can only be accomplished by a use of force, in a measure. In the United States we are wont to assume that we have no need of troubling ourselves about our international relations, and, perhaps, it is true for the present that there is no danger of a war which can in any way seriously affect the whole United States. But our economists, our writers on social questions, all our thoughtful men,

recognize that for the United States, in the industrial world, there are questions coming to the front which may be of as great a source of trouble to us as are boundary lines to European nations.

Whether in Europe or in America historians will find many indications of the spirit of change. The institutions of the world have not yet become stable.

Hon. Frank H. Betton, State Labor Commissoner, will address the Seminary on Friday, February 5. His topic will be some subject in connection with the work of Bureaus of Labor Statistics.

The practice of gerrymandering is once more brought into prominence on account of the creation of the new congressional and legislative districts. This abominable practice has been resorted to by each of the great political parties, from time to time, and in every instance it brings with it shame and disgrace in the eyes of all fair minded people. The practice originated in the year 1812, after the memorable contest between the federalists and the democrats in the state of Massachusetts. The democrats succeeded in electing their governor with majorities in both houses of the legislature. In order to make the victory permanent, and secure the election of democratic United States senators in the future, the party in power proceeded to re-divide and arrange the senatorial districts, in order to make a democratic majority in each. They disregarded county lines and constitutional rights, but the law was passed and signed by Elbridge Gerry and became effective. The opposition papers denounced the action in severest language. Among the most bitter in exposing the fraud was Mr. Russell, then editor of the Boston *Sentinel.* To him is accredited the origin of the name "Gerrymander," referring, of course, to Elbridge Gerry. The story is as follows: It seems that Mr. Russell had taken a map of Essex county, on which was represented in particular colors the different towns that had been divided off in the most grotesque manner. Mr. Gilbert Stuart, the eminent painter, happened in the room one day and stood looking at the map. He finally said that the colored districts looked like some monstrous animal. Thereupon he took a pencil and drew head, wings, claws and tail to the supposed body. "There, said the artist, "that will do for a salamander." Mr. Russell looked up from his work and exclaimed: "Salamander! Call it a Gerrymander!" From that time on the notorious process was called gerrymandering. Since then there have been several noted practices of gerrymandering by different states and Elbridge Gerry's name has been handed down to posterity by being attached to a notorious system.

A paper before the writer contains a discussion of the question of gerrymandering lately practiced with so much success in Wisconsin. The paper is an able document by Mr. A. J. Turner, of Portage, Wis. Mr. Turner presents the constitutional and legal phases of the question, and shows graphically and conclusively that the people have been politically wronged. A diagram of Fond du Lac county shows the second assembly district, composed of three townships, completely enveloped by the first and second districts, together composed of eighteen townships. The average population of each assembly district was, in 1890, 16,868; while some districts had but six or seven thousand; one had over thirty-eight thousand. Mr. Turner sums up the results of the act as follows: "One hundred and sixty-eight thousand eight hundred and nine people who participated in the senatorial election in 1890 may vote for senators again in 1892. Two hundred and thirty-one thousand two hundred and eighteen people who voted for senators in 1888 will not have an opportunity to do so again until 1894. So, senators elected in 1890 will represent for two years 387,122 people who had no voice in their election. Or, 168,809 people will have two representatives from 1892 until 1894, and 231,218 people must go

entirely represented for the same period."

Other notable instances in Ohio, Pennsylvania and South Carolina clearly illustrate how the people may be defrauded of their rights by this process. It is to be hoped that the strong, vigorous words of Mr. McKinley, of Ohio, will be regarded by the coming legislature, and that any necessary division of districts will be carried on with the utmost fairness to all classes of the people. There are so many new congressional and legislative districts to establish since the last census, that it is to be hoped that a general policy of fairness will prevail. No good can come from such temporary robberies.

THE railroad question assumes new and interesting features every day. The trial ordered against the trans-Missouri Freight Association may result in disbanding the association. If it does it is interesting to see what will be the influence upon traffic associations in general. The case at Wichita was also won against the railroads and in favor of shippers to inland points. The decision in the case of the Maine railroad, in regard to the pass system, may be made universal in practice. These items all point toward the determination of the state and the federal governments to assume a more definite control of the railroad system. Each year witnesses some gain in this direction. Although we are far from an effective management of railroads by legal enactments, we may be encouraged to look forward to a time when the railway service of this country will be carried on in a harmonious and systematic manner, without detriment to shippers and passengers on the one side and without loss to the companies on the other.

THE eighth annual meeting of the American Historical Association was held in Washington December 29 to 31, 1891. Interesting papers were read by historical scholars from all parts of the United States. One of the most important papers was that by President Adams, of Cornell University, on Columbus. Of this paper, Prof. H. B. Adams, of Johns Hopkins, the secretary of the association, in a short account of its proceedings gave the following report:

"In view of coming events, which cast their Columbian shadows before, the historical paper which eclipsed all others in popular interest at the Washington meeting and in the Associated Press reports that flashed over the whole country, was President Charles Kendall Adams' account of 'Recent Discoveries Concerning Columbus.' Perhaps the best and fullest report was printed in the New York *Times* January 1, 1892, the morning after the original paper was read. This widespread popular report not only ushered in the Columbian year, but it was literally the first general announcement to the American people that Columbus landed from the *west* rather than from the east; that is to say, he sailed around Watling's Island and entered the New World on the Chicago rather than on the New York side.

"Besides this true view of the landfall of Columbus, President Adams gave his audience, and at the same time, the country at large, the latest and most authentic information regarding the recent discovery of the burial place and remains of the discoverer himself. It seems that those patriotic body-snatchers, who, in 1795, undertook to remove Columbus to Spanish Havana from San Domingo, which by the Treaty of Bâle had just become French territory, took the wrong coffin. Not until the years 1877 was the true Columbus rediscovered in another vault on the right hand of the altar in the cathedral at San Domingo. There has been much controversy between the Cubans and the San Domingoans upon the exact location of the holy sepulcher of the Western world; but Rudolf Cronan, a German traveler and historical critic, reviewed the whole question in 1891, and has now established the fact that the remains of the great discoverer are still lying in the cathedral at San Domingo."

President Adams has in preparation a short life of Columbus to be published in the series entitled "Makers of America."

The president of the association, elected for the ensuing year, is James B. Angell, of Michigan University. The next meeting is to be held in Chicago during the Columbian exposition.

The eminent Belgian economist and publicist, Emile de Laveleye, died at Liege on the 3d of January. Professor de Laveleye was, perhaps, more widely known than any other recent writer on economic subjects. He was born at Bruges in 1822, studied law at the University of Ghent, but has devoted himself principally to the study of political economy. Since 1864 he has been professor in the University of Liege. His published writings are very numerous and many of them have been translated into English and German. The books best known in English translation are a "Manual of Political Economy," widely used as a text-book in colleges, "Socialism of To-day," a summary of socialistic theories, and "Primitive Property," perhaps his most important work. Prof. de Laveleye belonged to the ethical school of economists, but in much of his work approached closely the methods of the historical school. In his own country he has always exerted great influence, notwithstanding the fact that he was a Protestant among Catholics.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

A. Lovell & Co., No. 3 East 14th St., New York, have begun the publication of a series of "American History Leaflets," to be edited by Profs. Hart and Channing, of Harvard University. The plan is similar to that of the "Old South Leaflets," which is to reprint in each number some important historical document and in this way to encourage the study of history, as far as circumstances permit, at first hand. The first number, just received, contains the letter of Columbus to Santangel and an extract from his journal, both describing his discovery. The "Leaflets" are to be bi-monthly. The remaining numbers for the year will contain the Ostend Manifesto, extracts from the Sagas describing voyages of the Northmen, extracts from official declarations embodying the Monroe Doctrine, documents relating to the treaty of 1763, and extracts from papers relating to the Behring Sea controversy. The "Leaflets" will be very useful to students and teachers in both schools and colleges. The price is thirty cents for the year, or five cents per copy.

Macy's "Our Government," (Ginn & Co., Boston,) is a new and revised edition of a text-book already widely and favorably known. The author claims that the governmental institutions of our system are so related that no one of them can be thoroughly understood without a knowledge of all. Accordingly the discussion of local, state and national governments is not entirely separated, but so united as to present a view of them as a whole. Upon this plan Part I. traces the origin of local institutions, then the origin of the states and their union in the nation, and compares the state and national governments. Similarly Part III., on the administration of justice, treats first of state and then of the federal courts. Part II. discusses "Matters chiefly local," and Parts IV. and V. treat of "Matters chiefly federal." The strong point of the book is its skillful union of historical and expository material. We think that no other text-book on the subject traces so carefully and clearly the origin and development of our institutions. Throughout the style is interesting.

"Political History of Europe," is the title of a book recently received from Longmans, Green & Co. It was written by Ernest Lavisse, and was translated from the French by Charles Gross, Ph. D., of Harvard University. In the translator's preface we notice that recognition is made of assistance rendered by Prof. A. G. Canfield, of K. S. U.

The book does not attempt to give in detail specific causes or results of historical events. The purpose is evidently to describe in general the formation and political development of the states of Europe, and to state clearly and simply their present condition and mutual relations. In this the author has succeeded admirably, although in some places the book may prove somewhat difficult reading to any one not thoroughly acquainted with the facts of history. The author's five pages of "conclusion" are full of suggestive ideas with regard to the future of both Europe and America.

COURSES OF STUDY

IN

HISTORY AND SOCIOLOGY.

FOR 1891-2.

F. W. BLACKMAR, PH. D.
F. H. HODDER, A. M.
E. D. ADAMS, PH. D.

Instruction in this department is given by means of lectures, recitations, reports, discussions, and personal direction in study and research. As the library is an indispensable aid in the pursuit of the following courses, students are expected to become acquainted with the best methods of collecting and classifying materials and of writing and presenting papers on special topics. All lectures are supplemented by required reading and class exercises.

Facts are essential to all historic study; yet the aim is to take the student beyond the mere details of events—to inquire into the origin and development of society and the philosophy of institutions. While the study of the past is carried on with interest and thoroughness, the most important part of history—that which lies about us—is kept constantly in view. The history of other nations, other political systems and other forms of administration, are studied, that we may better understand our own. To understand present social and political institutions, and to give an intelligent solution of present problems, is the chief aim of instruction in historical science.

THE WORK OF THE DEPARTMENT

Now embraces European History, American History and Civil Government, the History of Institutions, Sociology, and Political Economy. The work in American History will be continued with enthusiasm and thoroughness. Classes having begun this work will continue without a break. The importance of this work needs no comment. The preparation for good citizenship demands, among other things, a thorough knowledge of the growth of nationality, and the history of our industrial, social and political development. These, with financial experiments and national diplomacy, receive marked attention. The text of the Constitution and Constitutional Law occupy a prominent place in the study of this branch.

OUTLINE OF COURSES.

FIRST TERM.

1. **English History.** Daily. Descriptive history. A careful study of the English people, including race elements, social and political institutions, and national growth.

2. **The History of Civilization.** Lectures daily, embracing ancient society, and the intellectual development of Europe to the twelfth century. Special attention is given to the influence of Greek philosophy, the Christian church, the relation of learning to liberal government, and to the rise of modern nationalities.

3. **Political Economy.** Daily. The fundamental principles are discussed and elaborated by descriptive and historical methods. All principles and theories are illustrated by examples from present economic society. A brief history of Political Economy may be given at the close of the course.

4. **French and German History.** Daily. Descriptive history; including race elements, social and political institutions, and national growth. Especial attention given to French politics.

5. **Historical Method and Criticism.** One hour each week. Examination and classification of sources and authorities; analysis of the works of the best historians; collection and use of materials, and notes and bibliography.

6. **Statistics.** Two hours each week. Supplementary to all studies in economics and sociology. The method of using statistics is taught by actual investigation of political and social problems. The history and theory of statistics receives due attention.

7. **Journalism.** Lectures three hours each week. Laboratory and library work. *Legal and Historical.*—Ten lectures by Prof. E. D. Adams. *English.*—Twenty-five lectures by Profs. Dunlap and Hopkins. *Newspaper Bureau, Magazines, and Special Phases of Journalism.*—Prof. Adams.

The course was prepared especially for those students who expect to enter journalism as a profession. Although the instructors have no desire to create a special School of Journalism for the purpose of turning out fully-equipped journalists, they believe that this course will be very helpful to those who in the future may enter the profession. The course will be found highly beneficial to stu

dents who want a special study in magazines and newspapers as a means of general culture. The course is under the direction of this Department, but the professors named above have kindly and generously consented to assist in certain phases of the work, which occur more particularly in their respective departments.

8. American History. Instruction is given daily for two years in American History. The course embraces Colonial History and the Local Government of the Colonies, the Constitutional and Political History of the Union from 1789 to the present time, the formation of the Constitution, and an analysis of the text of the constitution itself.

9. Local Administration and Law. Three conferences each week during the first term, covering the Management of Public Affairs in districts, townships, counties, cities, and States. This course is intended to increase the sense of the importance of home government, as well as to give instruction in its practical details.

10. Public Finance and Banking. Two conferences each week during the first term, on National, State, andMunicipal Financiering; and on Theoretical and Practical Banking, with the details of bank management.

SECOND TERM.

11. English Constitutional History. Two hours each week. A special study in the principles and growth of the English Constitution. This course may be taken as a continuation of number one. As it is a special study of Constitutional History, students ought to have some preparation for it.

12. Renaissance and Reformation. Lectures two hours each week, with required reading and investigation. This course may be taken as a continuation of number two. It includes the Revival of Learning throughout Europe, with especial attention to the Italian Renaissance; a careful inquiry into the causes, course, and results of the Reformation. The course embraces the best phases of the intellectual development of Europe.

13. Advanced Political Economy. Three hours each week, consisting of (*a*) lectures on Applied Economics, (*b*) Practical Observation and Investigation, and (*c*) Methods of Research, with papers by the students on special topics. This is a continuation of number three.

14. Institutional History. Lectures three hours each week on Comparative Politics and Administration. Greek, Roman and Germanic institutions are compared. The historical significance of Roman law is traced in mediæval institutions. A short study in Prussian Administration is given at the close of the course.

15. The Rise of Democracy. Lectures two hours each week on the Rise of Popular Power, and the Growth of Political Liberty in Europe. A comparison of ancient and modern democracy, a study of Switzerland, the Italian Republics, the Dutch Republic, and the French Revolution, constitute the principal part of the work. Students will read May's Democracy in Europe.

16. Elements of Sociology. Lectures three hours each week on the Evolution of Social Institutions from the Primitive Unit, the Family; including a discussion of the laws and conditions which tend to organize society. The later part of the course is devoted to modern social problems and socialistic Utopias.

17. Charities and Corrections. Two hours each week. Various methods of treatment of the poor. Scientific charity. Treatment of the helpless. Prison reform. State reformatories. This course is supplementary to number sixteen. Special efforts will be made towards a practical study of Kansas institutions.

18. Land and Land Tenures. Lectures two hours each week. This course treats of Primitive Property, the Village Community, Feudal Tenures of France and England, and Modern Land-holding in Great Britain and Ireland and the United States. Reports are made on other countries, and on recent agrarian theories and legislation This is an excellent preparation for the study of the Law of Real Property,

19. The Political History of Modern Europe. Two hours each week, including the Napoleonic wars, German Federation, the Rise of Prussia, the Unification of Italy, the Revolution of 1848, the Third Republic, the Russian problem, etc.

20. Constitutional Law. Three conferences each week during the second term, on the Constitution of the United States; with brief sketches of the institutions and events that preceded its adoption, and with special attention to the sources and methods of its interpretation.

21. International Law and Diplomacy. Class work twice each week during the second term; using Davis on the Rise and Growth of

International Law, and Schuyler on the History of American Diplomacy.

22. The Status of Woman in the United States. Three conferences each week during the second term, on the Status of Woman in all countries and times; with special investigation of the present legal, political, industrial, and professional position of women in the different States of the American Union.

23. The Histories and Methods of Legislative Assemblies. Two conferences each week during the second term on the Rise and Growth of Legislative assemblies, their rules of order and methods of business.

24. Mediæval History. Two-fifths of the last term of the Freshman year. For all students whose admission papers show that they have had Elementary Physics, Hygiene, and Chemistry. The course includes a study of the fall of the Western Empire, the Teutonic Races, and the rise of new nationalities.

25. Seminary. Two hours each week throughout the year.

New Courses. Other courses may be given in Political Philosophy, Modern Municipal Government, Roman Law, the South American Republics, and Comparative administration.

Graduate Courses. To those desiring them special courses for post-graduate students will be given in the following subjects: The History of Institutions, American History and Civil Government, Sociology, Political Economy.

Newspaper Bureau. In connection with the work of the Department a Newspaper Bureau is maintained. In this the leading cities of the United States are represented by some twenty daily and weekly newspapers. The principal object of the Bureau is to enable students to form habits of systematic reading, to keep informed on the current topics of the day, to study the best types of modern journalism, to learn to discriminate between articles of temporary value only and those of more permanent worth, to make a comparative study of editorial work, to master for the time being the current thought on any particular subject, and to preserve by clippings properly filed and indexed, important materials for the study of current history and public life—to *make* history, by the arrangement and classification of present historical matter.

Preparation for Entrance to the University.—The time spent in the high schools in the study of history is necessarily limited. For this reason it is essential that the greatest care be exercised in preparing students for entrance into the University. At present very little history is required in the Freshman and Sophomore years, and the students enter upon the study of the Junior and Senior years without thorough preparation for the work. It would seem that the aim should be for all those who contemplate entering the University to learn the story of nations pretty thoroughly. A general outline of the world's history with a special study of the United States history and government represents the field. But this outline should be something more than a mere skeleton of facts and dates. It should be well rounded with the political, social and economic life of the people. Students will find a general text-book, such as Myer's or Sheldon's indispensable; but the work of preparation ought not to stop here. Such works as Fyffe's Greece, Creighton's Rome, Seebohm's Era of Protestant Revolution, Cox's Greece, and others in the Primer, Epoch, and Stories of Nations, series ought to be read. The object of this reading is to familiarize the student with the political and social life of the principal nations of the world. For this purpose everything should be as interesting as possible. Such an interest should be aroused that the student would not be puzzled over dates and threadbare facts, but would seize and hold those things that are useful on account of the interest his mind has in them. That history which is gained by a bare memory of events is soon lost. It grows too dim for use and consequently leads to confusion. With the story of the nations well learned the student comes to the University prepared for the higher scientific study of history and its kindred topics, He is then ready for investigation, comparison and analysis. He then takes up the real investigation of the philosophy of institutions and of national development. He is then ready for the science of Sociology, Institutional History, Political Economy, the Science of Government, Statistics or Political Economy. Students who enter the University without this preparation find it necessary to make up for it by the perusal of books, such as those mentioned above.

STUDENTS' LIBRARIES.

Every student in the University should lay the foundation of a good working library. Such libraries are not "made to order" at some given time, under specially favorable financial conditions—but are the result of considerable sacrifice, and are of slow growth. The wise expenditure of even ten dollars in each term will bring together books which if thoroughly mastered will be of great assistance in all later life. Room-mates, or members of the same fraternity, by combining their libraries and avoiding the purchase of duplicates, can soon be in possession of a most valuable collection of authors. Assistance in selecting and in purchasing will be given upon application.

The prices named below are the list prices of the publishers.

Any book in the list below can be had of Field & Hargis, Booksellers and Stationers.

Students are required to purchase books marked with an asterisk.

American Book Company, Chicago.

*Manual of the Constitution, Andrews ... $ 1.00
Analysis of Civil Government. Townsend ... 1.00
Civil Government, Peterman ... .60
History of England, Thalheimer ... 1.00
Mediæval and Modern History, Thalheimer ... 1.60
Outlines of History. Fisher ... 2.40
General History of the World, Barnes ... 1.60
Political Economy, Gregory ... 1.20
Lessons in Political Economy, Champlin ... .90

Ginn & Co., Boston and Chicago.

Ancient History. Myers & Allen ... $ 1.50
Mediæval and Modern History, Myers ... 1.50
Political Science and Comparative Law, Burgess ... 5.00
Macy's Our Government ... .75
*General History, Myers ... 1.50
Leading facts in English History, Montgomery ... 1.12
Philosophy of Wealth, Clark ... 1.00
Political Science Quarterly, Yearly ... 3.00
Washington and His Country, Fiske ... 1.00

Harpers, New York.

*History of Germany, Lewis ... 1.50
*International Law, Davis ... 2.50
*Political History of Modern Times, Muller ... 2.00
*Short English History, Green ... 1.75
Civil Policy of America, Draper ... 2.50
History of English People, Green, 4 vols ... 10.00
History of United States, Hildreth, 6 vols ... 12.00
The Constitution. Story ... 1.00

Holt & Co., New York.

*American Politics, Johnston ... $ 1.00
American Colonies, Doyle, 3 vols ... 9.00
American Currency, Sumner ... 2.50
Civil Service in United States, Comstock ... 2.00
History of Modern Europe, Fyffe, 3 vols ... 7.50
Political Economy, Roscher, 2 vols ... 7.00
Political Economy, Walker ... 2.25

Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

*Civil Government in United States. Fiske ... $ 1.00
American Commonwealths, 13 vols., each ... 1.25
American Statesmen, 24 vols., each ... 1.25
American Revolution, Fisk. 2 vols ... 4.00
Critical Period of American History. Fisk ... 2.00
Emancipation of Massachusetts. Adams ... 1.50
Epitome of History, Ploetz ... 3.00
War of Secession. Johnson ... 2.50

Appleton, New York.

Dynamic Sociology, Ward. 2 vols ... $ 5.00
History of Civilization. Guizot ... 1.25
Political Economy. Mill. 2 vols ... 6.00

Cranston & Stowe, Chicago.

*Political Economy. Ely ... $ 1.00

MacMillan, New York.

Constitutional History, England, Stubbs. 3 vols. $10.00
Principles of Economics, Marshall, vol. I ... 4.00

Armstrong, New York.

*Democracy in Europe, May, 2 vols ... $ 2.50

G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London.

*American Citizen's Manual, Ford ... $ 1.25
Unwritten Constitution of the U. S., Tiedeman ... 1.00
History of Political Economy, Blanqui ... 3.00
Introduction to Eng. Econon. Hist. and Theory, Ashley ... 1.50
Indust. and Com. Supremacy of Eng., Rogers ... 3.00
Economic Interpretations of History, Rogers ... 3.00
Constitutional History of the U. S., Sterne ... 1.25
*Tariff History of the United States, Taussig ... 1.25
The Story of Nations, 34 vols., each ... 1.50
Heroes of the Nations, 12 vols., each ... 1.50
American Orations, ed. by Johnston, 3 vols., each 1.25

Callaghan & Co., Chicago.

Constitutional History of U. S., Von Holst, 6 vol $20.00
Constitutional Law of U. S., Von Holst ... 2.00

Crowell, New York.

*History of France, Duruy ... $ 2.00
Labor Movement in America, Ely ... 1.50
Life of Washington, pop. ed., Irving, 2 vols ... 2.50
Problems of To-day, Ely ... 1.50

Little, Brown & Co., Boston.

History of Greece, Grote. 10 vols ... $17.50
History of the United States, Bancroft, 6 vols ... 13.50
Rise of the Republic, Frothingham ... 1.75

Longmans, Green & Co., New York.

Epochs of Ancient History, each vol ... $ 1.00
Epochs of Modern History, each vol ... 1.00
Political Economy, pop. ed., Mill ... 1.75
The Crusades, Cox ... 1.00

Scribners, New York.

*American Diplomacy, Schuyler ... $ 2.00
History of Rome, Mommsen, 4 vols ... 8.00
Lombard Street, Bagehot ... 1.25
*Silent South, Cable ... 1.00

Silver Burdett & Co., Boston.

*Historical Atlas, Labberton ... $1.50 or $ 2.00
*Historical Geography of U. S., MacCoun ... 1.00
*Institutes of Economics, Andrews ... 1.50
Institues of General History, Andrews ... 2.00

Morrison, Washington.

History of United States, Schouler, 4 vols ... $ 9.00

D. C. Heath & Co., Boston.

*The State, Woodrow Wilson ... $ 2.00
Principles of Political Economy, Gide ... 2.00
Methods of Teaching History, Hall ... 1.50
General History, Sheldon ... 1.60
*Old South Leaflets, 22 Nos., each ... .05
History Topics, Allen ... 25
State and Fed. Governments of the U. S., Wilson 50
The American Citizen, Dole ... .90
Comparative View of Governments, Wenzel ... .20
Studies in American History, Sheldon—Barnes ...

SEMINARY NOTES.

STATE UNIVERSITY—LAWRENCE, KANSAS.

VOL. I. MARCH, 1892. No. 6.

SEMINARY OF HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCE.

All students connected with the department of History and Sociology are, by virtue of such connection, members of the Seminary. All students having two or more studies under the instructors of the department are required to take the work of the Seminary as part of their work in course.

The meetings of the Seminary are held every Friday, in Room 15, University Building. Public meetings will be held from time to time, after due announcement.

The work of the Seminary consists of special papers and discussions, on topics connected with the Department mentioned;' prepared as far as possible from consultation of original sources and from practical investigation of existing conditions, under the personal direction of the officers of the Seminary.

Special assistance in choice of themes, authorities, etc., is given members of the Seminary who have written work due in the department of History and Sociology, or in the Department of English, or in any of the literary societies or other similar organizations in the University; on condition that the results of such work shall be presented to the Seminary if so required.

In connection with the work of the Seminary, a Newspaper bureau is maintained. In this the leading cities of the United States are represented by some twenty daily and weekly newspapers. The principal object of the Bureau is to enable students to form habits of systematic reading, to keep informed on the current topics of the day, to study the best types of modern Journalism, to learn to discriminate between articles of temporary value only and those of more permanent worth, to make a comparative study of editorial work, to master for the time being the current thought on any particular subject, and to preserve by clippings properly filed and indexed, important materials for the study of current history and public life—to *make* history by the arrangement and classification of present historical matter.

Special investigation and study will be undertaken during each year, bearing on some one or more phases of the administration of public affairs in this State; the purpose being to combine service to the State with the regular work of professional and student life. In this special work the advice and cooperation of State and local officials and of prominent men of affairs is constantly sought, thus bringing to students the experience and judgment of the world about them.

Graduates of our own University, or other persons of known scholarly habits, who have more than a passing interest in such work as the Seminary undertakes, and who are willing to contribute some time and thought to its success, are invited to become corresponding members of the Seminary. The only condition attached to such membership is, that each corresponding member shall prepare during each University year one paper, of not *less* than two thousand five hundred words, on some subject within the scope of the Seminary; and present the same in person at such time as may be mutually agreed upon by the writer and the officers of the Seminary, or in writing if it be found impossible to attend a meeting of the Seminary.

The library of the University and the time of the officers of the Seminary are at the service of corresponding members, in connection with Seminary work—within reasonable limits.

More than twenty gentlemen, prominent in official and professional circles, have already connected themselves with the Seminary, and have rendered very acceptable service during past years.

The officers and members of the Seminary will gladly render all possible assistance ot any public officials who may desire to collect special statistics or secure definite information on such lines of public work as are properly within the sphere of the Seminary.

Any citizen of Kansas interested in this work is invited to correspond with the Seminary, and to be present at its meetings when possible.

FRANK W. BLACKMAR,
DIRECTOR.
FRANK H. HODDER,
VICE-DIRECTOR.
EPHRAIM D. ADAMS,
SECRETARY.

THE WORK OF BUREAUS OF LABOR STATISTICS.

I FEEL that I owe an apology to the Seminary for not having more carefully prepared this paper, but my time of late has been fully occupied, and my impression was that the 15th, instead of the 5th, was my date, until only a few days ago when I received Professor Blackmar's notice.

The method of work pursued by the labor bureaus is a subject rather too extensive to be handled in a brief paper, and I feel my inability to properly present it; but I will do the best I can.

At the last annual National Convention of the Officers of Bureaus of Labor Statistics, held at Philadelphia, in May, the president of the convention, who is the commissioner of the National department of labor, stated that part of his work at present was an analytical examination of the 150 different volumes of the labor reports issued by the several states, and the preparation of a complete topical index of their contents. The work, which he proposes to soon issue, will consist of some 400 pages, and will be so arranged that the reader can see at a glance what subjects have been treated by each state, and how far it has carried the work. For instance, if the examiner desires to know what has been done regarding child labor, he looks up that title in the index, and there he will find what states have treated the matter, and how they have treated it—whether in text form or statistically, the extent of their treatment as to the number of pages, etc. While in the other part of the volume he will find an analytical index to all the material in this vast collection of industrial information. The president said that with this volume the student would be able to obtain, if not the particular book he desired, at least the information he sought, by applying to the state bureau issuing the report. He said further, that while this volume might show that the reports of any particular state covered only a limited range of subjects, still when "all the reports of all the states" are taken together the examiner would find that the work of the bureaus had been "simply stupendous." He said that he had been induced to prepare this book chiefly through the earnest solicitation of students of economic subjects of not only this, but largely of other countries.

The text of the bill creating the Massachusetts bureau defined its duties in the following words: "To collect, assort, arrange and present in annual reports to the general court statistical details relative to all departments of labor in the Commonwealth, especially in relation to the commercial, industrial, social, educational and sanitary condition of the laboring classes." These words used in defining the duties of the pioneer labor bureau practically of the world, as long ago as 1869, have been almost literally followed by nearly all of the legislatures subsequently creating bureaus of a similar character. The Kansas bureau was the fifteenth in date of creation (including the National bureau), and its duties are defined as follows: "to collect, assort, systematize and present in annual reports to the governor, to be by him biennially transmitted to the legislature, statistical details relating to all departments of labor and industrial pursuits in the state, especially in their relation to the commercial, industrial, social, educational and sanitary condition of the laboring classes." Now you will observe that while the language is preserved intact, the addition of the words "industrial pursuits" gives the Kansas bureau a wider range and makes it a bureau for the collection of industrial as well as of labor statistics, and the law empowers the commissioner "to submit interrogatories

to any person, company, or the proper officer of any corporation, and require full and complete answers to be made thereto and returned under oath." The title of the Massachusetts bureau is "Bureau of Statistics of Labor," while that of Kansas is "Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics." Still the Massachusetts bureau has found its power sufficient to enable it to submit interrogatories to the manufacturing establishments of the state, and while for a time the results were far from satisfactory, its reports today are used as text books by the large manufacturing corporations of the Commonwealth. And in this connection it may be proper to say that the majority of the bureaus find their power sufficient to enable them to investigate the same range of subjects. Yet while the main duties of the several bureaus are practically the same in all of the states, they vary when details are considered. Thus in some states, like Illinois, Missouri and others, they have the supervision of the inspectors of mines; while in the newer states the duties of factory inspection are in some instances added—this is the case in Kansas, although no law has yet been enacted looking to the regulation of work shops and factories, and the commissioner is only empowered to report as to their condition. I am gratified to be able to state that thus far I have found the sanitary conditions of the establishments visited fairly good, especially where any considerable number of persons were employed.

It would be impossible in a brief paper like this to enumerate the various subjects which have engaged the attention of the labor bureaus during the last few years. The Massachusetts bureau in 1890 published an index to its twenty annual reports, ending with that of 1889. From this index I find that during the twenty years the bureau made 138 investigations—many, however, pertained to the same subject. Grouped under general heads, such as "Arbitration and Conciliation," "Condition of Employes in Their Homes and Employments," "Co-operation and Profit Sharing," etc., they number seventeen. The whole number of pages in the twenty reports are 8,559, of which "Wages," "Prices" and "Cost of Living," occupy more than one-fifth of the entire space. In the fall of 1883 agents of the Massachusetts bureau were sent to Great Britain for the purpose of making as thorough an examination as possible of the rate of wages paid, the sanitary surroundings of the working people both in their homes and their work shops, and the cost of living; the result was eminently satisfactory and is given in great detail in the report of 1884. The agents were permitted to examine the pay rolls of the great manufacturing establishments and the official wage lists agreed upon between employers and the representatives of the English trades unions. The agents were also given every facility to inspect both the shop and the home surroundings of thousands of operatives. In summing up the commissioner found that in the year 1883 the general average weekly wage was 77 per cent. higher while the cost of living (aside from rent, which was 11½ per cent. higher), was only 5¾ per cent. more in Massachusetts than in Great Britain. A showing in favor of the Massachusetts workman of 71 per cent. I am inclined to think that this conclusion requires a little explanation to make it thoroughly intelligible. In Massachusetts twenty-four leading occupations, representing about 75 per cent. of the total value of the manufactured product of the state, were considered, in compariso n with the same industries in Great Britain. While the net cost of living in Massachusetts, when reduced to the same scale, was about 6 per cent. higher, (making the net earning power of the Massachusetts workman 71 per cent. greater, as stated), the tables show that the Massachusetts workman expends 48½ per cent. more for the support of his family than does the workman of Great Britain. Of this 48½ per cent. about 6 per cent. was expended by the

American workman for articles which could be bought 6 per cent. cheaper in Great Britain; nearly 12 per cent. was paid extra to secure more and larger rooms and more air space than the workman in Great Britain enjoyed; while the remaining 30½ per cent. was expended by the Massachusetts workman to secure better home surroundings and to maintain a higher standard of living. Reduced to percentages the standard of living among these working people is as practically one and one-half to one in favor of Massachusetts. Suppose the British workman to earn $1 per day and to expend it all; the Massachusetts workman earns $1.75 and expends $1.42. In a table of selected budgets (nineteen in Massachusetts and sixteen in Great Britain) it is shown that the Massachusetts families expended 93.89 per cent. of their total incomes, and the British 98.24; one lot had a surplus of 6.11 per cent. and the other of 1.76 per cent.

Last year a friend of mine who had lived for twenty years in Kansas visited his mother, living in Biddeford, England, and at my request sent me a statement regarding prices and wages. He said that farm laborers were paid from $2.48 to $3.36 per week, they boarding and lodging themselves; a good all-round farm hand getting $5.76 per month and board. An A1 blacksmith earned $7.20 per week; machinists $8.40; carpenters $6; masons $4.80, and masons' helpers 60 cents per day. A men's cuff and collar factory, employing several hundred men, women and children, paid from $1.20 to $6 per week—some of the operatives working twelve and fourteen hours per day. Butter cost 38 cents per pound, eggs 36 cents per dozen, bacon 10 to 12 cents, cheese 16 to 20 cents, American flour 4 cents per pound, and English 3 cents, (this is the only American article out-quoting the English). Raisins, sugar and tea were cheaper, (this was before our era of cheap sugar). Clothing, such as a business man in America would wear, was much cheaper, but boots and shoes were 20 per cent. dearer; while calicos ranged from 6 to 10 cents per yard. A house with four 9x9 rooms, with scullery attached, but with no yard, garden or ground, rented for $40 per year, but the tenant paid 54 cents on the pound poor-rate tax, or $4.32, which with water rates, etc. brought his rent up to between $50 and $60. The use of a four-wheel spring vehicle pays $5 tax, but if a man is content to ride on two wheels he pays only $3.60. These four 9x9 rooms are what the Massachusetts bureau refers to when it states that the Massachusetts workman has 12 per cent. better housing.

After his return, my friend, who is a first-class blacksmith, owning a shop in Cawker City, told me that as time hung heavily on his hands, he applied to a local blacksmith for work, and actually worked a week for 60 cents a day. He was offered a raise to $1.25 if he would stay on, but he told the boss that he was only engaged in a little "personal experience" work, and he guessed he would quit. It is needless to say that my friend is now blowing his bellows at Cawker City. But it is about time that I returned to my subject.

I think that the tendency of the bureaus is toward more thorough investigation of the subjects undertaken, and to a reduction in the number simultaneously attempted; especially is this the case where there have been few, if any, changes in the management and where the commissioner has had time to familiarize himself with his work, for it must be remembered that as each succeeding state wheels into line, and enacts a law creating a labor bureau, the commissioner appointed soon finds that he has no ready-furnished house to move into, but will have to clear the site and build his own domicile from the ground up. It may not be a very attractive structure, at first, but if he takes an interest in his work he is constantly striving to improve it, and I am inclined to think that as a rule he is succeeding.

The average commissioner is coming to

see more and more clearly that his way lies in a purely statistical direction, that his work is to investigate as thoroughly as the means at his command will permit, primarily by personal visitation and examination, if possible, and secondly through the mails; to collect all the information obtainable and then to compile and to present a thorough analyzation of his subjects with very little comment. His report should be a text book, and it should contain facts as clear cut as he is able to present them. It is for others to use the information thus collected, and it *is* used in many directions, most efficiently probably, so far as direct influence upon public opinion is concerned, by the press, either directly from the reports themselves, or indirectly through criticisms of books published by "labor reformers" pure and simple, or by more conservative writers upon economic subjects, who are using reports more and more extensively each year as standard authorities. In an address before our last convention Mr. J. A. Price, of Scranton, Pennsylvania, vice-president of the National Board of Trade, made this statement: "They have strained affairs abroad the same as we have here, and they are looking to the facts that you are collecting as being one of the greatest stepping stones to safety in this country. The Financial Reform association of Liverpool sent to me some time ago for the reports of the various bureaus of this country. I suppose some of you gentlemen will remember that I interviewed you by letter in order to get your results to send to that association for use in their work on the other side. Men like Lord Derby, Sir John Lubbock and others are keeping their eyes upon the work that you are doing."

Caroll D. Wright at the same session said; "It is a matter of constant congratulation to my mind that these gentlemen abroad are seeking the work of the American bureaus, not only for standards for their own work, but as guides, indications and suggestions as to what they should do themselves."

During the present week I have received through the State Department at Washington, from the newly appointed French Commissioner of Labor requests for, and have forwarded to Paris, copies of all my Reports remaining, together with such other information as I have been able to impart.

The Labor Bureau is distinctly of American inception, and as I have already stated, Massachusetts leads the world. Col. Wright said at Philadelphia, "There is no bureau in the old world that can accomplish what the most poorly-equipped bureau in our convention can accomplish. England created a few years ago a Correspondent of Labor, connected with the Board of Trade, one of the cabinet offices of the British government. Mr. Burnett, the incumbent of that position, is doing the best he can with poor equipment. There is not an office represented here to-day so poorly equipped as is that which stands for the Bureau of Labor of Great Britain. Belgium has established a Bureau of Labor which is doing most excellent work, but *it* also lacks equipment."

The Belgium reports are the best foreign reports received by the Kansas Bureau of Labor, and are of great service to us. Col. Wright speaks of the probability of the French government creating a Bureau, and predicts that it "will accomplish more than either of the other creations of Europe." A prediction I am inclined to endorse, as in addition to the communications which I have, directly from the new French Bureau, I, a day or two ago, received a letter from M. Brewaert, the French Consul at Chicago, who had previously corresponded quite extensively with me, upon the subject, advising me that the French government had sent M. Paul Deschanel, a former member of the Chamber of Deputies, who is now in New York, charged with the duty of thoroughly investigating the methods of our American Labor Bureaus. M. Deschanel submitted through M. Brewaert, a series of interrogatories which we answered to the best of our ability.

Following the plan adopted by the Massachusetts Bureau, in submitting its "Index to Reports," I might say that the whole number of pages in the sixth annual report published by the Kansas Bureau, is 2,126, or an average to each of 359, against 428 pages for Massachusetts. Of these pages, wages, cost of living, earnings and expenses, occupy 490, or including organized labor, treated in the last report, (135 pages) it makes a total of 625. Working women, 46 pages; child labor, 52; miners and mines, 139; views of working men, 123; labor and education, 9; "Exodusters," etc., 13; strikes, boycotts, and blacklists, 94; chattel mortgages, 10; profit sharing, 10; pauperism, 40, state charitable institutions, 6; convict labor, 7; conciliation and arbitration, 17; industrial education, 31; building and loan associations, 18; newspaper statistics, 66; labor bureaus and conventions, 92; labor laws, 28; and proceedings of the convention of the State Federation of Labor, 18.

Manufacturing statistics occupy a total of 250 pages, flouring mills, which are treated separately, 97; and railroads, including street railways, cover 142 pages.

It required the collection of a large amount of material from which to compile the tables and to obtain the results found in these six reports. Although we were forced to depend upon the mails for a large portion of this material, we have always obtained the most satisfactory results from personal interviews, and to the extent of our ability we have followed that method.

In the chief cities of the state we for three years collected monthly statements from upwards of a hundred workmen, representing all of the principal occupations, visiting them at their homes and in the workshops for this purpose.

At the request of the Topeka Trades and Labor Assembly I, last year, undertook the collection of information regarding the condition of organized labor in the state, with very satisfactory results, as will be seen by an examination of our sixth report. This information was obtained chiefly through blanks furnished to railway organizations, trades unions and local assemblies of the Knights of Labor.

Anxious, however, to examine the advantages, if any, derived by the workman by reason of his "union," I determined, for the purpose of comparison, to investigate the condition of the non-union workman. This I could only do through personal interviews, and the agents of the bureau succeeded in securing reports from 504 workmen who belong to no trade organization, and who represented some forty different employments. These reports—union and non-union—were published in double column tables, as will be seen by examining the report.

Another investigation made last year, was in regard to child labor. This was accomplished by personal interviews with children, and by blanks sent to employers. No law regulating the labor of children has yet been passed by our legislature, except in the case of boys working in mines. The evil of child labor has not yet become very extensive in Kansas, but it is on the increase, and children are being permanently employed in some of our large establishments who are not over 12 or 13 years of age.

While the law creating the bureau authorizes the Commissioner to submit interrogatories to employers, and to require that they be answered and returned under oath, I have sought to obtain only voluntary information, and I desire to say, that, with very few exceptions, I have met with nothing but courtesy, and a professed willingness to comply with my requests. It must be remembered that the information sought by our bureaus is something that employers of labor have never before been asked to give. To many it seems an impertinent prying into private affairs on the part of the state; and that to answer the questions would be to completely "give away" their business. The result is that the information from employers,

thus far collected, is not as complete as it should be; still in essentials, such as aggregate capital, value of products, number of employes and amount of wages paid, the tables are substantially correct. I have in many cases, by personal interviews, succeeded in removing this feeling of distrust in a measure, and each year finds it easier for the bureau to obtain the information sought. This favorable tendency seems to be the experience of most of the other bureaus, growing more pronounced as the years pass. The Massachusetts Commissioner, Mr. Wadlin, stated at our last convention that he had recently completed an investigation embracing about 6,000 returns, and representing more than 70 per cent. of the entire manufacturing product of the state, and that in not more than a dozen cases had he met with any objection on the part of the manufacturers to supply the required information. This readiness to comply with the bureau's request is in marked contrast to its earlier efforts, when a very small proportion of the manufacturers' blanks were properly returned. The experience of the Massachusetts Bureau has been that practically of most of the others, and the manufacturing statistics which these reports contain are yearly growing more complete.

My report for 1890 contained no manufacturing statistics, for the reason that the United States was engaged extensively in that line, it being the census year, and this gave me more time to devote to special investigations which I desired to undertake. The 1891 report, upon which we are now at work, will contain special statistics regarding the lead and zinc industry of the state: and during the present year some other leading industry will be investigated. We have during the past year also collected from the railroad engineers and conductors a large amount of information regarding their hours of labor, time on duty for which they receive no pay, etc. Some 5,000 trips are represented by the reports sent into our office. These reports we are now thoroughly analyzing and they will form a prominent feature in our report for the year 1891. This work was undertaken at the request of the legislative session of 1891. In procuring this information I had 200 books prepared, each containing schedules sufficient to cover the records of a month, and numbered consecutively from 1 to 200. These numbers were registered, together with the name and address of the engineer or conductor to whom the schedule was sent. We kept in constant correspondence with the persons having the books, and in addition personally visited a number of them. Many filled them more or less completely, and a large number, at our suggestion, sent us the stubs of their trip books, which contained the information we sought, and which we carefully copied. We are in receipt, also, of many valuable suggestions which will be embodied in our report. We are striving, too, to learn through the county and city clerks to what extent the eight-hour law, passed by the late legislature, is being observed.

But I feel that I have talked long enough, and regret that I have not been able to more profitably entertain you. I assure you that the crudities in this paper can not be attributed to want of inclination, however much they may be to lack of ability.

F. H. Betton.

THE STUDY OF HISTORY IN HIGH SCHOOLS.

THERE are two distinct classes of students in every high school, and the line of demarcation between them is so plain and decided that a course of study satisfying the demands of each can not be arranged without much difficulty. To the first class belongs the general high school pupil who does not intend to enter college. To the second class belong all preparatory students. Although in many respects, as in the case of history and mathematics, the ground covered by each class of students is practically the same yet they differ widely upon the subjects of language and science. It will also be observed that the requirements in history and science for admission to the University are limited, compared with those in language and literature, and while it would undoubtedly be profitable for the general student to know something of the languages, as a rule they are influenced in other directions. On the other hand the preparatory student cannot afford to spend his valuable time in taking an elementary course in science when it would be of no particular value to him in entering college.

It is well to note these conditions before attempting to map out a line of work in any department of a preparatory course of study. Down to the present time it has been impossible to unite these two elements into one class. They exist in every high school and will continue to exist because their needs are essentially different. We can only bring them as near together as possible, making abundant provision always for the greater number. The object of this article is to suggest, very briefly, a course in history for the average high school.

It seems to me that this department has always been set aside until the others were fully developed. Not often has it received deserved attention in the high school curriculum. It has always been gauged by the requirements for admission to college, which are in most cases low, while the needs of the much larger number who never enter college have been left entirely out of the question. We must, therefore, endeavor to prepare this latter class for a more intelligent citizenship by bringing within its reach more thorough instruction.

A certain amount of preparation is usually accomplished in the grades below the high school. This may be made to include "United States History" in outline; noting in general the events and dominant principles of the different epochs; emphasizing the relation of Geography to History; and finally sketching the characters of the great men who have occupied prominent places in the history of our country, Another subject which has not yet found a permanent place in the programme seems, from its very nature, to belong to the grades also, namely: local government. Although it is very often assigned to the opening or closing chapters of civil government, its proper place is among the earliest lessons in history. With this preparation the high school work properly begins.

For convenience it may be well to divide the subject into three parts—junior, middle and senior years.

The first years work is not a change of subject but rather a change in methods of study. In former lessons particular stress has been laid upon events alone, with minute descriptions as to movements and location, while in the more advanced grade the relation of one event to another and the remote or immediate cause or effect of an event, are emphasized.

The student begins to search and research for himself and while he is preparing to pass the entrance examinations, he is at the same time acquiring the

University methods of study. Such a book as Johnston's "History of Politics" is an excellent text for this special purpose.

Following this, with some light supplementary reading, would come the regular course in civil government, and with the "History of Politics" occupy the first term of the junior year.

With such a knowledge of the political history of our country and the practical working of our government, the student at the beginning of the middle year ought to be well qualified to take up the history of other countries and other governments. In fact this is the most important part of his preparatory course, for at this time he will acquire a taste for historical research which will determine his fitness for this line of work.

English history is the field for the scond year. At least one term can be devoted to the study of such texts as Montgomery's or Gardener's "History of England" with Green's "History of the English People" for a reference book.

To the third or senior year belongs the subject of General history, which can be divided into two parts—the first covering the period of Oriental, the second that of Greek and Roman history.

The character of the work done in this part will depend altogether upon the time allotted to it. If the study can be pursued through the year the "Story of Nations" series will be found indispensable as supplementary reading for the first part of the work, while for the second part there are many books that will answer the same purpose. A more limited time would of course exclude everything beyond the mere outline of the two periods.

Without giving the details of the work in a three years' course of history in high schools I have endeavored to bring into prominence a few thoughts, which may be of some value. The first is the necessity of more thorough preparation in the history and government of our country.

In the second place some history should be taught in each year of the high school course. Although in many cases time will not admit of this in the ordinary manner of daily recitations, yet perhaps it might be possible to devote one or two days in the week to the discussion of topics assigned. Again, each year should be devoted to a special line of work—first year, United States, second English and the third Ancient history—and each period should have a suitable course of reading which may be pursued during the year under the direction of the teacher. This course of reading is a very important feature. Probably as much of the work can be accomplished by it alone as by the ordinary recitation. Two hours per week will do much if properly used. It has not been my intention to appropriate any time which belongs to any of the other departments, but on the other hand, to find the time, place and amount of history in the high school course of study. It has certainly been crowded out for some reason, while it is worthy of more attention today than at any previous time.

Prin. W. H Johnson,
Lawrence High School.

SEMINARY REPORTS.

THE LABOR BUREAUS.

THE Seminary met on February 5th to hear a paper by Hon. F. H. Betton, State Labor Commissioner of Kansas, on "The Work of the Bureaus of Labor Statistics."

Massachusetts, the speaker said, has led the world in this work. Her bureau was established in 1869 and Kansas, which was the fifteenth to wheel into line, has already produced six annual reports. So vast has this work become that the President of the National Association is preparing an analytical index of the one hundred and fifty vloumes thus far issued, and this index is to consist of four hundred pages of carefully classified matter. By its use the student may find where, how and to what extent any economical subject has been treated.

The Kansas bureau was established "to collect, assort, systematize and present in annual reports to the governor, to be by him biennially transmitted to the legislature, statistical details relating to all departments of labor and industrial pursuits in the State, especially in their relation to the commercial, industrial, social, educational, and sanitary condition of the laboring classes." Nearly all the bureaus in the United States are modelled after the Massachusetts board though Kansas has "industrial pursuits" added and also lays upon her Commissioner the duty of supervising mines and factory inspection. Mr. Betton has found the condition of Kansas factories "fairly good."

The Massachusetts department has issued twenty volumes, consisting of 8,339 pages, of which wages, prices, and cost of living, occupy more than one fifth. An agent was sent to Great Britain in 1883, and after a very careful and full examination in shops and homes found that in Massachusetts the general weekly wage was 77 per cent. higher, rent 11½ per cent. higher and cost of living exclusive of rent 5¾ per cent. higher than in England. This gives the American 71 per cent in his favor, most of which was spent for the better support of the families. A friend of the speaker who visited England found wages much lower and provisions much higher than in Kansas. Clothing was cheaper but boots and shoes higher and even the wagons had a special tax.

Mr. Betton thinks the experienced commissioners are tending more and more to thoroughness in the presentation of clear cut facts for the use of others. Other countries regard our work in this line as a means of safety and are copying us as shown by the fact that the French have sent a man to America for the purpose of investigation in this line, though no foreign bureau can compete with the poorest American bureau. England and Belgium have both made a start.

The Kansas department has published six annual reports consisting of 2126 pages in which "Wages," "Cost of Living," "Railroads," and kindred subjects are treated. Special investigations have been recently made concerning child labor, railroad employes, the zinc industry, the eight hour law, and the union as compared with the non-union workingmen.

This information has been gleaned by the aid of the mail and through personal visits. The commissioner has sought voluntary information only, though the law empowers him to demand information under oath. It has been his experience and that of most of the bureaus that prejudice against them gradually declines.

Mr. Betton was asked if he thought there had been any decline in Kansas farm wages the past few years and answered no. The question was also raised whether or not wages differed materially in northern and southern England, but it remained unsettled. Mr. Betton certainly

gave in his paper some good illustrations of the proper use of statistics and it was especially appreciated by those pursuing statistical studies.

D. E. Potter, *Reporter*.

Paper Money.

At a regular meeting of the Seminary, on February 19th, the subject of Paper Money was taken up and discussed by the students.

Mr. Miller read a paper on the History of Paper Money in the United States. The chief points emphasized by him were: In 1690 the colonies were preparing an expedition against Canada, and money was needed to carry on the campaign. To provide the necessary funds, the issue of £7,000 in paper money was made, the first bills of credit ever issued in America. By partial redemption and by promises of complete payment in the future, the currency was kept at par for twenty years. Encouraged by this success, the colonies began the issue of bills of credit in large quantities. Depreciation set in, and the money became worthless. In 1721 the English Parliament passed an act prohibiting the further issue of paper money in the colonies. The French and Indian war brought more of these notes into circulation, and Parliament repeated its action in 1765.

The needs resulting from the Revolution forced the colonies to take recourse again to paper currency. Immense amounts of continental money were put out, but soon became worthless, despite the efforts of the continental congress.

In 1862 congress again authorized the issue of notes on the credit of the government, and declared them legal tender. They soon depreciated in value, but the limited number of them put in circulation saved them from sinking into complete worthlessness.

In 1869 congress passed an act promising to pay in coin all out-standing notes. A bill of 1874 provided that, after 1879, all legal tender notes should be redeemed in coin. Greenbacks soon rose to par value, at which they have since remained.

Mr. Raymond next read a paper on the Sub-Treasury Loan Scheme. He said the late movement of the People's Party has set the farmers to thinking as never before, but it has caused them to develop extreme ideas. It has taught them to criticise all existing institutions. The University, even, has not been free from their criticism, being actually accused of refusing admittance to the literature of the people's party. The University always welcomes either party papers or documents which set forth new ideas or theories.

The platform of the Cincinnati convention states that there is not enough money in circulation to transact business; that money is not a measure of value. Whether it be gold, silver or paper, it is the stamp of the government which makes it money; therefore congress should issue sufficient currency to allow free transaction of business. The establishment of a bureau, under the supervision of the Comptroller of the Treasury, is demanded. There shall be sub-agencies in the various states, through which money is to be loaned on real estate, not to exceed two-thirds the value of the property, at one per cent. per annum. This one per cent. would be sufficient to pay the government for the expense of the agencies. Storehouses shall be erected at the expense of the government, in which non-perishable goods may be stored and money borrowed on them at two per cent. By this means the government would absorb a large part of the loan business, and would force the rate of interest to decrease.

Mr. Noble read a paper on credit, the substance of which is: Wealth is power in exchange. There is no such thing as absolute wealth, since demand alone makes it. Credit is the belief in future ability to pay. A debt is not money owed, but a moral bond to pay money in the future. It does not represent goods but obligation. It is wealth so long as it has power in exchange, and when it yields profit it be-

comes capital. Credit is a circulating medium as well as money. Gold is not wealth in the mines, but becomes wealth only after it has been brought out and coined. Credit, when it is used, is the same as gold, and is wealth as long as it is good.

Capital is an economic quantity used for profit. Value is the ratio in which wealth exchanges. Demand for produce, not labor, gives value; that cost of production is the cause of value is to be rejected. Money represents purchase value. It is credit in as much as at it has purchase value. That money represents commodities, however, has been disproven. The issue of paper money is always dangerous, and when carried to excess, is disastrous in its results.

After the papers, a spirited discussion took place, in which all of the papers received some sharp criticism. The subject was evidently one which aroused the interest of Kansas students, and likewise a subject upon which every student had an opinion. At the close of hour the Seminary adjourned to meet in one week.

WALTER TRUITT, *Reporter.*

THE GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF BRAINS.

THE Seminary was called to order February 26, by Professor Blackmar. After the reading of the minutes of the last meeting and a few introductory remarks, Hon. B. W. Woodward was introduced and read a paper on "The Geographic Distribution of Brains." He said: "The object of this paper surely comes within the confines of the Seminary. The 'Distribution of Wealth' has always been a favorite topic of political economy, and certainly brains are a more or less important factor in the production of wealth, as well as literature, art and a great many other things. A great painter once observed that he 'mixed his colors with brains.' Brains, for instance, are certainly to be ranked among the three essentials of a university. Beside the minor adjuncts there are at least three indispensables towards success, viz.: an endowment, Greek letter societies, and brains.

"In the discussion of this theme I shall have the advantage of the work of Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts, in a kindred topic, 'The Distribution of Ability in the United States.' The subject, however, is not original with Mr. Lodge, as he has followed a writer in the nineteenth century, who estimated the distribution of ability by counties throughout England.

'A time there was ere England's woes began
When every rood of earth maintained its man.'

"This assertion has been controverted and it may also be possible that Mr. Lodge and the nineteenth century writer may also not be infallible. Of course the first thing that strikes me as peculiar to this inquiry, is that ability is something tangible; something entirely definite and tangible, something that can be bought and sold. Most people who possess it have bought ability through education and experience, and it scarce came as an inheritance or at any stated time in their history.

"According to Mr. Lodge there is always a place where you can find ability, and that is in Appleton's biographical dictionary. There are the men who possessed it within the era of American history and their number is just 14,243. What is ability, anyway? Shall we say it is capacity put in action? It is either native or acquired—the result of heredity or environment. If of heredity, then by Mr. Lodge's definition the native state of the forefather should own the credit thereof rather than that of the man himself. But which was the native state of the ancestor? But if the ability was acquired then the state in which he acquired it should perhaps have the credit rather than that of his accidental nativity."

These quotations, taken from portions of the paper, will suffice to indicate the interesting manner in which the subject matter was disposed of. The reporter found himself unable to condense Mr. Woodward's terse statements, and has therefore preferred to give a few quotations. The paper criticised thoroughly the idea that there is any good statistical proof of a marked geographic distribution of brains, and the speaker thoroughly convinced his hearers of their own possible greatness.

E. W. PALMER, *Reporter.*

THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE.

THE approach of each presidential election revives the discussion of our method of electing a president. There is a wide-spread feeling that some change in this matter is desirable. But we are much like the Irishman in the story who could not mend his roof when it rained and would not when the weather was fine. Every four years we discuss the necessity of change and, as soon as an election is over, drop the subject.

The electoral college prescribed by the constitution was adopted after long debate. Six methods of choosing the president were discussed: 1st, by the people at large; 2d, by the state legislatures; 3d, by the state governors; 4th, by the national legislature; 5th, by electors chosen by lot, and 6th, by electors chosen in such manner as the legislature of each state may direct. Direct election by the people and election by the legislature were the methods most discussed, as was natural, since these were the methods prescribed at the time by the state constitutions for the choice of the state governors. But neither plan satisfied the convention, and the suggestion of an electoral college was adopted late in the session as a happy solution of the problem. In advocating the ratification of the constitution, Hamilton remarked in the "Federalist," that the provision for choosing the chief magistrate was almost the only part of the instrument favorably received by those opposed to its adoption. Strangely enough this provision, so favorably received by all parties, proved in practice to be its most conspicuous failure. The idea that no one man could be well enough known to the people was thought to be a decisive objection to popular election. The plan was that each state should choose as electors men entitled to their confidence and that they should act upon their individual judgments in the choice of a president. Almost from the outset the plan failed. The electors were expected to register the choice of the people in their respective states and the college became a superfluous piece of machinery. It is as a general rule that a constitution is to be construed with a view to the intention of its framers. The above facts have been recounted in support of the opinion that this rule does not apply in the present instance. The intention of the framers cannot by any possibility be carried out. It is therefore open to us to adopt such methods as are most expedient under our present circumstances. To avoid the difficult process of amendment, it is only necessary that such change be brought within the letter of the law.

The constitution left many of the details of the presidential election undecided. The legislature of each state was to determine the method of choosing the electors. In a very few states they were elected by the legislature itself. South Carolina clung to this method for special reasons until the war. Colorado exercised it in 1876 for want of time to call an election. It was probably not the intention of the framers, as they rejected the proposal that the state legislature should elect directly and it is therefore not probable that the state legislature should elect directly and it is therefore not probable that they expected them to do so indirectly. The plan has never met with popular favor. So far as the constitution implies anything, it implies that choice of electors shall be by the people of each state and nearly all the states acted upon this supposition. More than half a dozen states provided for elections by districts, so that the vote of the state could be divided and the

minority given a voice, and this plan was not abandoned until 1832. Benton strenuously advocated general adoption of this system. But the larger number of states provided for choice of electors on general ticket, so that the vote of each state is cast as a unit, and this plan has secured general adoption.

The constitution made no provision for nomination because no such thing was contemplated. During the first decades of the century a right to nominate was assumed by a congressional caucus. The system violated the spirit of the constitution, for, since senators and representatives could not be electors, it was inconsistent that they should name the candidates. It was unpopular because it limited the choice by the people. After a time the convention system, intended to voice the popular will, became established. These provisions for the choice of electors and the nomination of candidates indicate that the people mean to secure to themselves the election of the president. The problem would therefore seem to be under what conditions can this best be done under existing provisions of the constitution and, if it cannot be done as the constitution now stands, what amendment is desirable?

Elections, as now carried on, turn upon the vote of a few pivotal states. Undue importance is given these states and candidates are nominated solely because it is expected they can carry them. Roughly a vote in one state should count for as much as a vote in another. Under the present system, a single vote may nullify those of half a million in one state while in an adjoining one a majority of 100,000 counts for no more than a majority of one. In a word, in this governmentof the people, the nomination to the highest office is dictated and the election decided by the vote of a single city, mashalled by a corrupt machine and debauched by an immense municipal patronage.

What is the remedy? That nearest at hand and easiest of adoption would seem to be the return to the earlier system of choosing electors by districts. This step has recently been taken in Michigan. Adopted in a single or a few states, the effect is to divide the vote of those states and lessen their importance in the electoral college. Adopted in all the states the effect would be to give to the same number of votes wherever cast an equal weight, to destroy undue importance now attaching to particular states, to purify elections by removing the temptation to resort to fraud and bribery in a few places, to elevate the presidency by calling for nominations that would command the respect of the whole country.

- SEMINARY - NOTES. -

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Frank W. Blackmar.
Frank H. Hodder,
Ephraim D. Adams, - - - - *Editors.*

Terms, Ten Cents a Number, - Fifty Cents a Year

THE purpose of this publication is to increase the interest in the study of historical science in the University and throughout the State, to afford means of regular communication with corresponding members of the Seminary and with the general public—especially with the Alumni of the University, and to preserve at least the outlines of carefully prepared papers and addresses. The number of pages in each issue will be increased as rapidly as the subscription list will warrant. The entire revenue of the publication will be applied to its maintenance.

Address all subscriptions and communications to

F. W. BLACKMAR,
Lawrence, Kansas.

THE article which appears in this number of SEMINARY NOTES on the work of Bureaus of Labor Statistics was read by Hon. Frank H. Betton before the Seminary, and was listened to with much interest. Mr. Betton was the first commissioner of the Kansas bureau, and the high position held by Kansas publications on labor questions is due almost entirely to his energy and persistence.

AT a meeting of the Seminary on February 26, Hon. B. W. Woodward presented a paper on the "Geographic Distribution of Brains," which was both entertaining and instructive. On account of lack of space the paper could not be printed in full in this number. A report of it is to be found under the heading "Seminary Reports," and the paper itself will probably appear in our next issue.

THE article which appears in this number on the study of history in high schools contains many valuable suggestions, and the NOTES would be glad to hear from any of our Kansas teachers who have further suggestions to offer upon this subject. At present the requirements in history for entrance to our universities in the United States are somewhat low, but they must remain so just so long as our high schools are regarded as independent factors in education. Every year, however brings a more complete realization of the idea that the universities hold the same relations to the high schools which the latter hold to the grammar schools. The essential elements of at least general history should be taught before entrance into any university. The great difficulty at present seems to be the one stated by Mr. Johnson, of harmonizing history courses for students who are preparing for university work and for those who intend to cease study upon leaving the high school. Another difficulty, until the last few years, lay in the fact that it was hard to get text-books suited for high school work. It was difficult to find a book in which the style was simple, yet not childish, and which presented a judicious selection of important dates and facts, while at the same time being so written as to awaken thought in the mind of the scholar. Most of our book firms have, however, recognized the necessity for such books, and have met the difficulty in recent publications. The editors of the NOTES repeat that they will welcome any suggestions which Kansas teachers may make upon this subject.

THE latest thing in European politics comes in the shape of reports of rioting in the streets of Berlin and speculations as to the probable effect these riots will have upon the attitude of the government toward the socialist party. The present government, following the young Emperor's curious combination policy of absolutism and liberalism, has been much more lenient with the extremists than was the government of Bismarck. It remains to be seen whether repressive measures will

follow. From the reports in the papers it would seem that the riots were largely the result of a temporary unusual lack of work in the cities, and that the regular workingmen were not the leaders in the trouble. Such a cause might lead to a serious attack upon the government in other countries perhaps, but it is hardly to be believed that the time has come for it in Germany. The spirit of national pride is too strong as yet to permit Germany as a whole to attempt the overthrow of the institutions of the fatherland. Of course the followers of Bismarck point to these riots as the result of the new policy.

The suddenness of Bismarck's fall from power and the ease with which he seems to have passed from our view as a political possibility, is a curious commentary upon the wisdom of those politico-historical writers who are wont to decide future history for us by an analysis of the character of individuals. Such a writer may be successful in forecasting some unexpected event or succession of events, or on the other hand the probability which he, as well as others, feel sure of, may utterly fail to materialize. One of the most interesting illustrations of this was Sir Charles Dilke's estimate, as given in a series of articles published in the *Fortnightly Review* in 1887, of two noted men in France and Germany respectively, General Boulanger and Prince Bismarck.

Sir Charles Dilke has been regarded for many years as one of the first authorities on European relations, even surpassing Edward Freeman in his intimate knowledge of men and parties of all nations. In making a statement with regard to the future policy and position of France, he asserted that there was in France no man so likely, or so able, to assume the position of Dictator, in the event of a successful war with Germany, as General Boulanger, and also that, in the event of continued peace, there was no man so likely to attempt to defeat the government and to establish himself in power by constitutional means as General Boulanger. In the latter event the prophecy was made that the attempt would fail. Now it is to be remembered that although General Boulanger at this time held the position of minister of war, he was just beginning to excite attention, and that in France, among politicians, the mention of his name was "attended with a smile." His attempt, his failure, and his recent suicide are still fresh in the minds of all, and there is no necessity for comment to indicate the remarkable insight of Sir Charles Dilke into both the character of the man, and the temper of the French nation.

On the other hand, in discussing the future policy of Germany, the same writer expressed most positively the opinion that so long as Bismarck lived the policy of Germany would be the policy of Bismarck, and that in the event of his death, the power would pass into the hands of his son. Moreover, he was of the opinion that, in case the then ruling Emperor William I should die, the Crown Prince, athough generally supposed to be somewhat anti-Bismarckian, would retain the services of so able a minister as Bismarck, while in the event of his death, and the accession to the throne of his son (the present Emperor) Bismarck would undoubtedly be retained in power, inasmuch as the young Prince was his most devoted admirer. From this Sir Charles drew the conclusion that the policy of Germany could be counted on as a certainty in considering the future relations of European nations. Just the reverse has happened. The Prince of "pronounced Bismarckian tendency" has become Emperor; Bismarck has been deprived of power; and it is the uncertain policy of Germany to-day that is so anxiously watched by other nations.

That the expulsion of the Jews from Russia is likely to have some bearing on international relations is rapidly being

realized throughout Europe. England, for example, although at first posing as a haven for an oppressed race, is beginning to feel somewhat toward the Jews as does the United States toward the subject of "assisted" immigration. Another phase of the question which has just come out is that Austria regards the expulsion of the Jews by Russia as a possible threat directed at her. It is a well known fact that the Jews of the border land between Austro-Hungarian and Russian provinces have been the most effective of Austrian spies upon Russian military manoeuvres, and Russian plans for frontier protection. Prince Bismarck once said that the Polish Jews were created by heaven for the express and sole purpose of serving as spies on Russia. Austria imagines, therefore, that among the reasons for the expulsion of the Jews there is the desire on the part of Russia to get rid of a population, a portion of which has been betraying her plans to a probable rival for the territories of Turkey, the "sick man" of Europe.

It is perhaps true that Russia still holds to the belief that "the road to Constantinople leads through Vienna," but it will hardly be accepted as probable that she had any such thought in determining upon the expulsion of the Jews.

THE February number of the *Magazine of American History* prints a minority report of the electoral commission which has never before been made public. It was prepared by Judge Josiah G. Abbot, of Massachusetts, but not issued as the minority decided not to appeal from the decision of the majority. It will be remembered that the commission consisted of five justices of the supreme court, five senators and five members of the house of representatives. The commission thus constituted consisted of seven democrats and eight republicans and nearly all questions were decided by a strict party vote. Judge Abbott was one of the democratic members from the house. His report is not a judicial review of the findings of the majority but a protest, not altogether calm and temperate in language, addressed "To the people of the United States." It is fortunate the document was not issued at the time of its preparation. It might have prevented popular acceptance of the decision of the commission, which was surely the only peaceful solution of the problem possible. As historical material the document is important as showing the line of action proposed, though not adopted, by the defeated party.

IN the January number of the *Annals of the American Academy*, Leo. S. Rowe has contributed an article on "Instruction in French Universities." The writer calls particular attention to the instruction given in Public Law and Economics in the law faculties, and informs us that it is only within the last few years that Political Economy has been thought worthy of a place in the state institutions, although French economists have always been among the foremost writers on the subject.

Incidentally he gives some interesting historical information with regard to the condition of universities under the first Napoleon. All faculties of learning were then considered as organs of the government, one of whose main objects was to support the administration, as is illustrated by one of Napoleon's decrees, which reads:

"All the schools of the Imperial University will take as the basis of their instruction:

"1st. The precepts of the Catholic religion.

"2d. Fidelity to the Emperor, to the Imperial Monarchy, depository of the happiness of the people, and the Napoleonic Dynasty, guardian of the unity of France and of the liberal ideas proclaimed by the constitution.

"3d. Obedience to the academic statutes, whose object is to insure the uniformity of instruction, and which tend to create citizens attached to their sovereign, to their country, and to their family."

Perhaps there is nothing in this which demands more than a spreading of the

sentiment of loyalty or of patriotism, but to the American the insistence upon the idea of Napoleon and the Monarchy as being the "depository of the happiness of the people," seems curious indeed. To the student of history it is only one more point in evidence of that constant surveillance which Napoleon kept upon all phases of life and action. It is a credit to him that he recognized the immense power of learning. He wished to direct the channels in which it should flow.

Perhaps the most famous evidence of the will of Napoleon to control thought and opinion is that so frequently given by the newspapers as the worst example of what censorship of the press used to be. In 1805 he told the editor of the *Moniteur* that the only way to avoid supervision by censors was "to avoid the publication of any news unfavorable to the government until the truth of it was so well established that the publication became needless."

RECENTLY the announcement has been made that Prof. Richard T. Ely has resigned his professorship of Political Economy in Johns Hopkins University and has accepted a position in the University of Wisconsin at Madison. He is to be at the head of a new school of political science, and will be assisted by the able teachers already at Madison, as well as by some instructors to be brought with him from Johns Hopkins.

According to a Baltimore letter the new school is to cover a greatly enlarged field. Training and preparation will be given to those who desire to enter the civil service. Lawyers and journalists are to study the economic bearing of practical every day subjects; administrative and legislative questions are to be examined in the state legislature which meets at Madison. At the same time the usual theoretical work is not to be neglected; indeed under Prof. Ely it is certain that the union of the theoretic and practical work will reach a high grade of efficiency.

Dr. Ely, although still a young man, has published numerous books and pamphlets upon economic subjects, and is well known as a writer, both in this country and abroad. He is perhaps best known by his "Labor Movement in America" and by his writings on taxation in American states and cities.

It is evidently a fact that the movement of the last year has been toward the transfer of noted teachers from the east to the west. Scholars are wondering who will be asked to fill Dr. Ely's place at Johns Hopkins.

DURING the month of February Volume IX of *Studies in Historical and Political Science*, published by Johns Hopkins University, was received at the library. It contains monographs by W. W. Willoughby and W. F. Willoughby, on "Government and Administration of the United States;" by D. C. Steiner on "University Education in Maryland," with a sketch of Johns Hopkins University by Pres. D. C. Gilman; by W. K. Williams on "The Communes of Lombardy from the VI to the X Century;" by Andrew Stephenson on "Public Lands and Agrarian Laws of the Roman Republic;" by Toyokiche Iyenoga on "Constitutional Development of Japan;" by J. H. T. McPherson on "History of Liberia;" and by F. J. Turner, on "The Character and Influence of the Indian Trade in Wisconsin." Perhaps the most interesting of these for students of classes in history for the present term are the monographs on Roman Public Land, and on the Communes of Lombardy. The former will be found by the members of the class in Land Tenures to contain all and more than is given in the class-room lectures upon the period of the Roman Republic; while the latter cannot fail to be of interest to the class in Rise of Democracy as a part of the subject studied under the Italian Republics.

ONE of the principal objects of college training is to learn how to use books to advantage. No student can be expected to be familiar with all the details of his

subject, but he should know where information upon any particular topic is to be found and to be able to find it at a moment's notice. In the same way a lawyer cannot know all the details of the law but he must be able to find immediately the provisions of the statutes or the decisions of the courts touching any particular point. It should therefore be the business of every student of the university to master the arrangement of the library and learn to make the most of its resources. A few words upon this subject, by way of suggestion, may not be out of place.

The University library is classified upon what is called, from the name of its author, the Dewey system. All the books are divided into nine general classes, as follows: general works, philosophy, religion, sociology, natural science, useful arts, fine arts, literature and history. Each of these general classes is subdivided and each of the subdivisions further divided into classes. It is not necessary to explain the system in detail as it can best be mastered by reference to Dewey's "Tables and Index of the Decimal Classification" and the librarian is ready to assist any student who may desire information.

The most important single aid in the use of the library is the general card catalogue. The object of this catalogue is to show what the library has by a given author or on a given subject or, in case the student is looking for a particular book, to inform him whether it is to be found in the library, if he knows either the name of the author, the title of the book or the subject of which it treats. In order to secure this end, each book is catalogued upon at least three cards. The author card gives first the name of the author and under it the exact title of the book, the number and size of volumes and any other matter that may be necessary for a complete description. Books are entered in the same way under the names of editors, compilers and translators, so that if these be remembered they may be found as easily as by the name of the author. The rules followed in the entry of names, pseudonyms and the like are those prescribed in C. A. Cutter's "Rules for a Dictionary Catalogue," and any question that may arise as to how a name is entered may be answered by referring to that book. Names preceded by a prefix are entered under the prefix if they are English, e. g. De Quincey and Van Buren and if they are French and the prefix is or contains an article, e. g. Le Sage and Du Camp. In French if the prefix is a preposition and in the remaining languages, whatever the prefix, entry is made under the word following the prefix, e. g. De Toqueville under Toqueville and von Holst under Holst. Names beginning with M', Mc, St., Ste., are entered as if spelled Mac, Saint and Sainte. After a few such simple rules are learned there can be no trouble in the use of the author cards. The title cards make it easy to find a book, if the title be known and the author's name has been forgotten or the book is anonymous. For these cards the leading word of the title is taken as a catch word. If there be two or more words that may reasonably be taken as leading words, a card is made out for each. Then in addition there are the subject cards. By means of them all the books treating of a given subject are classed together. As far as possible, the subject cards are arranged under the names of countries and persons. If for example, the student desires to find what the library contains on the subject of German literature, the student has only to look for Germany, literature of, and for the names of particular writers. All of these cards, author, title and subject, are filed together in their alphabetical order.

Unfortunately the general catalogue is not yet complete. Work was only begun upon it this year, when Miss Sutliff was appointed cataloguer, but it is being pushed as rapidly as possible to completion. So far the books coming under the general head of religion have been catalogued.

Under literature, German, English and American works have been listed and under natural science all works on botany and zoology. Books on sociology are now being listed and the catalogue under this head will soon be complete. There are several very useful supplementary catalogues. One of these on general history and sociology is divided into two parts, a subject and an author catalogue. A special catalogue of American history gives extended and careful references chronologically by periods, giving colonial history first, then the revolution and confederation and the presidential administrations in their order. There are also special catalogues on civil engineering, chemistry and pharmacy, which are useful to students interested in those subjects. References to articles in periodicals upon all subjects may be found in Poole's "Index to Periodical Literature" which comes down to 1882, and references to articles since that date may be found in the quarterly continuations of that work. Very often information upon subjects may be found here, when nowhere else. The first step in learning how to use a library is to master its system of classification and the catalogues provided to facilitate its use.

It is a subject of congratulation that the students of the University have recently organized among themselves a mock senate for the discussion of public questions. Similar organizations exist in other colleges and do good work. Cornell has a congress organized upon the plan of the house of representatives. Johns Hopkins has a house of commons, and there are very probably other clubs of this kind elsewhere. Anything that evinces interest in current public questions and promotes their intelligent discussion is deserving of all possible encouragement. It is a truth that connot be too often repeated that no form of government depends so much for its safety upon the virtue and intelligence of its citizens as a republic. The first object of education should be to make good men and good citizens. You can make the first without making the second. A man may be well meaning and honest but lack sufficient information to enable him to form an intelligent and independent opinion upon intricate public questions. But you cannot make the second without the first. We have plenty of intelligent men who cannot be trusted, and they do more harm than any other class. President Low said not long ago that, though it was a hard thing to say, it was the simple truth that the most difficult thing to get in city government was common honesty. The requisites of a good citizen, then, are honesty and intelligence, and honesty here means not merely that honesty that will not steal but that other kind which gives a man the courage of his opinions, whatever they are and whatever may be the consequences.

There are plenty of public questions that the mock senate may discuss, such as the currency, the tariff, the civil service, prohibition and license, the relations of labor and capital, public railroads and telegraphs, and all of them are difficult problems calling for careful thought and study. Common sense is good as far as it goes but it alone will not solve them. They call for a knowledge of history, sociology and law. And right here a suggestion may not be out of place. If the students who take part in this senate divide themselves according to preconceived ideas into parties and take the stand upon each question that their respective parties are supposed to require they will lose the greater part of the good to be derived from the discussion. Their object will be to win the debate and not to discover the truth, and each one will end by convincing himself of the strength of the position he decides in advance to take. Under these circumstances the senate may give its members readiness in debate and practice in parliamentary law but it will fail in what ought to be its prime object, which is a careful and unprejudiced study of public questions. Let each question be taken independently and upon its merits. Preparation for the discussion will be necessary to make it profitable but prepared speeches will be out of place.

COURSES OF STUDY

IN

HISTORY AND SOCIOLOGY.

FOR 1891-2.

F. W. BLACKMAR, PH. D.
F. H. HODDER, A. M.
E. D. ADAMS, PH. D.

Instruction in this department is given by means of lectures, recitations, reports, discussions, and personal direction in study and research. As the library is an indispensable aid in the pursuit of the following courses, students are expected to become acquainted with the best methods of collecting and classifying materials and of writing and presenting papers on special topics. All lectures are supplemented by required reading and class exercises.

Facts are essential to all historic study; yet the aim is to take the student beyond the mere details of events—to inquire into the origin and development of society and the philosophy of institutions. While the study of the past is carried on with interest and thoroughness, the most important part of history—that which lies about us—is kept constantly in view. The history of other nations, other political systems and other forms of administration, are studied, that we may better understand our own. To understand present social and political institutions, and to give an intelligent solution of present problems, is the chief aim of instruction in historical science.

THE WORK OF THE DEPARTMENT

Now embraces European History, American History and Civil Government, the History of Institutions, Sociology, and Political Economy. The work in American History will be continued with enthusiasm and thoroughness. Classes having begun this work will continue without a break. The importance of this work needs no comment. The preparation for good citizenship demands, among other things, a thorough knowledge of the growth of nationality, and the history of our industrial, social and political development. These, with financial experiments and national diplomacy, receive marked attention. The text of the Constitution and Constitutional Law occupy a prominent place in the study of this branch.

OUTLINE OF COURSES.

FIRST TERM.

1. English History. Daily. Descriptive history. A careful study of the English people, including race elements, social and political institutions, and national growth.

2. The History of Civilization. Lectures daily, embracing ancient society, and the intellectual development of Europe to the twelfth century. Special attention is given to the influence of Greek philosophy, the Christian church, the relation of learning to liberal government, and to the rise of modern nationalities.

3. Political Economy. Daily. The fundamental principles are discussed and elaborated by descriptive and historical methods. All principles and theories are illustrated by examples from present economic society. A brief history of Political Economy may be given at the close of the course.

4. French and German History. Daily. Descriptive history; including race elements, social and political institutions, and national growth. Especial attention given to French politics.

5. Historical Method and Criticism. One hour each week. Examination and classification of sources and authorities; analysis of the works of the best historians; collection and use of materials, and notes and bibliography.

6. Statistics. Two hours each week. Supplementary to all studies in economics and sociology. The method of using statistics is taught by actual investigation of political and social problems. The history and theory of statistics receives due attention.

7. Journalism. Lectures three hours each week. Laboratory and library work. *Legal and Historical.*—Ten lectures by Prof. E. D. Adams. *English.*—Twenty-five lectures by Profs. Dunlap and Hopkins. *Newspaper Bureau, Magazines, and Special Phases of Journalism.*—Prof. Adams.

The course was prepared especially for those students who expect to enter journalism as a profession. Although the instructors have no desire to create a special School of Journalism for the purpose of turning out fully-equipped journalists, they believe that this course will be very helpful to those who in the future may enter the profession. The course will be found highly beneficial to stu-

dents who want a special study in magazines and newspapers as a means of general culture. The course is under the direction of this Department, but the professors named above have kindly and generously consented to assist in certain phases of the work, which occur more particularly in their respective departments.

8. American History. Instruction is given daily for two years in American History. The course embraces Colonial History and the Local Government of the Colonies, the Constitutional and Political History of the Union from 1789 to the present time, the formation of the Constitution, and an analysis of the text of the constitution itself.

9. Local Administration and Law. Three conferences each week during the first term, covering the Management of Public Affairs in districts, townships, counties, cities, and States. This course is intended to increase the sense of the importance of home government, as well as to give instruction in its practical details.

10. Public Finance and Banking. Two conferences each week during the first term, on National, State, andMunicipal Financiering; and on Theoretical and Practical Banking, with the details of bank management.

SECOND TERM.

11. English Constitutional History. Two hours each week. A special study in the principles and growth of the English Constitution. This course may be taken as a continuation of number one. As it is a special study of Constitutional History, students ought to have some preparation for it.

12. Renaissance and Reformation. Lectures two hours each week, with required reading and investigation. This course may be taken as a continuation of number two. It includes the Revival of Learning throughout Europe, with especial attention to the Italian Renaissance; a careful inquiry into the causes, course, and results of the Reformation. The course embraces the best phases of the intellectual development of Europe.

13. Advanced Political Economy. Three hours each week, consisting of (*a*) lectures on Applied Economics, (*b*) Practical Observation and Investigation, and (*c*) Methods of Research, with papers by the students on special topics. This is a continuation of number three.

14. Institutional History. Lectures three hours each week on Comparative Politics and Administration. Greek, Roman and Germanic institutions are compared. The historical significance of Roman law is traced in mediæval institutions. A short study in Prussian Administration is given at the close of the course.

15. The Rise of Democracy. Lectures two hours each week on the Rise of Popular Power, and the Growth of Political Liberty in Europe. A comparison of ancient and modern democracy, a study of Switzerland, the Italian Republics, the Dutch Republic, and the French Revolution, constitute the principal part of the work, Students will read May's Democracy in Europe.

16. Elements of Sociology. Lectures three hours each week on the Evolution of Social Institutions from the Primitive Unit, the Family; including a discussion of the laws and conditions which tend to organize society. The later part of the course is devoted to modern social problems and socialistic Utopias.

17. Charities and Corrections. Two hours each week. Various methods of treatment of the poor. Scientific charity. Treatment of the helpless. Prison reform. State reformatories. This course is supplementary to number sixteen. Special efforts will be made towards a practical study of Kansas institutions.

18. Land and Land Tenures. Lectures two hours each week. This course treats of Primitive Property, the Village Community, Feudal Tenures of France and England, and Modern Land-holding in Great Britain and Ireland and the United States. Reports are made on other countries, and on recent agrarian theories and legislation This is an excellent preparation for the study of the Law of Real Property,

19. The Political History of Modern Europe. Two hours each week, including the Napoleonic wars, German Federation, the Rise of Prussia, the Unification of Italy, the Revolution of 1848, the Third Republic, the Russian problem, etc.

20. Constitutional Law. Three conferences each week during the second term, on the Constitution of the United States; with brief sketches of the institutions and events that preceded its adoption, and with special attention to the sources and methods of its interpretation.

21. International Law and Diplomacy. Class work twice each week during the second term; using Davis on the Rise and Growth of

International Law, and Schuyler on the History of American Diplomacy.

22. The Status of Woman in the United States. Three conferences each week during the second term, on the Status of Woman in all countries and times; with special investigation of the present legal, political, industrial, and professional position of women in the different States of the American Union.

23. The Histories and Methods of Legislative Assemblies. Two conferences each week during the second term on the Rise and Growth of Legislative assemblies, their rules of order and methods of business.

24. Mediæval History. Two-fifths of the last term of the Freshman year. For all students whose admission papers show that they have had Elementary Physics, Hygiene, and Chemistry. The course includes a study of the fall of the Western Empire, the Teutonic Races, and the rise of new nationalities.

25. Seminary. Two hours each week throughout the year.

New Courses. Other courses may be given in Political Philosophy, Modern Municipal Government, Roman Law, the South American Republics, and Comparative administration.

Graduate Courses. To those desiring them special courses for post-graduate students will be given in the following subjects: The History of Institutions, American History and Civil Government, Sociology, Political Economy.

Newspaper Bureau. In connection with the work of the Department a Newspaper Bureau is maintained. In this the leading cities of the United States are represented by some twenty daily and weekly newspapers. The principal object of the Bureau is to enable students to form habits of systematic reading, to keep informed on the current topics of the day, to study the best types of modern journalism, to learn to discriminate between articles of temporary value only and those of more permanent worth, to make a comparative study of editorial work, to master for the time being the current thought on any particular subject, and to preserve by clippings properly filed and indexed, important materials for the study of current history and public life—to *make* history, by the arrangement and classification of present historical matter.

Preparation for Entrance to the University.—The time spent in the high schools in the study of history is necessarily limited. For this reason it is essential that the greatest care be exercised in preparing students for entrance into the University. At present very little history is required in the Freshman and Sophomore years, and the students enter upon the study of the Junior and Senior years without thorough preparation for the work. It would seem that the aim should be for all those who contemplate entering the University to learn the story of nations pretty thoroughly. A general outline of the world's history with a special study of the United States history and government represents the field. But this outline should be something more than a mere skeleton of facts and dates It should be well rounded with the political, social and economic life of the people. Students will find a general text-book, such as Myer's or Sheldon's indispensable; but the work of preparation ought not to stop here. Such works as Fyffe's Greece, Creighton's Rome, Seebohm's Era of Protestant Revolution, Cox's Greece, and others in the Primer, Epoch, and Stories of Nations, series ought to be read. The object of this reading is to familiarize the student with the political and social life of the principal nations of the world. For this purpose everything should be as interesting as possible. Such an interest should be aroused that the student would not be puzzled over dates and threadbare facts, but would seize and hold those things that are useful on account of the interest his mind has in them. That history which is gained by a bare memory of events is soon lost. It grows too dim for use and consequently leads to confusion. With the story of the nations well learned the student comes to the University prepared for the higher scientific study of history and its kindred topics, He is then ready for investigation, comparison and analysis. He then takes up the real investigation of the philosophy of institutions and of national development. He is then ready for the science of Sociology, Institutional History, Political Economy, the Science of Government, Statistics or Political Economy. Students who enter the University without this preparation find it necessary to make up for it by the perusal of books, such as those mentioned above.

STUDENTS' LIBRARIES.

Every student in the University should lay the foundation of a good working library. Such libraries are not "made to order" at some given time, under specially favorable financial conditions—but are the result of considerable sacrifice, and are of slow growth. The wise expenditure of even ten dollars in each term will bring together books which if thoroughly mastered will be of great assistance in all later life. Room-mates, or members of the same fraternity, by combining their libraries and avoiding the purchase of duplicates, can soon be in possession of a most valuable collection of authors. Assistance in selecting and in purchasing will be given upon application.

The prices named below are the list prices of the publishers.

Any book in the list below can be had of Field & Hargis, Booksellers and Stationers.

Students are required to purchase books marked with an asterisk.

American Book Company, Chicago.

*Manual of the Constitution, Andrews .... $ 1.00
Analysis of Civil Government, Townsend 1.00
Civil Government, Peterman .... .60
History of England, Thalheimer 1.00
Mediæval and Modern History, Thalheimer 1.60
Outlines of History, Fisher 2.40
General History of the World, Barnes 1.60
Political Economy, Gregory 1.20
Lessons in Political Economy, Champlin .... .90

Ginn & Co., Boston and Chicago.

Ancient History, Myers & Allen .... $ 1.50
Mediæval and Modern History, Myers 1.50
Political Science and Comparative Law, Burgess, 5.00
Macy's Our Government .... .75
*General History, Myers 1.50
Leading facts in English History, Montgomery 1.12
Philosophy of Wealth, Clark 1.00
Political Science Quarterly, Yearly 3.00
Washington and His Country, Fiske 1.00

Harpers, New York.

*History of Germany, Lewis 1.50
*International Law, Davis 2.50
*Political History of Modern Times, Muller 2.00
*Short English History, Green 1.75
Civil Policy of America, Draper 2.50
History of English People, Green, 4 vols 10.00
History of United States, Hildreth, 6 vols 12.00
The Constitution, Story 1.00

Holt & Co., New York.

*American Politics, Johnston .... $ 1.00
American Colonies, Doyle, 3 vols 9.00
American Currency, Sumner 2.50
Civil Service in United States, Comstock 2.00
History of Modern Europe, Fyffe, 3 vols 7.50
Political Economy, Roscher, 2 vols 7.00
Political Economy, Walker 2.25

Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

*Civil Government in United States, Fiske .... $ 1.00
American Commonwealths, 13 vols., each 1.25
American Statesmen, 24 vols., each 1.25
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SEMINARY NOTES.

State University—Lawrence, Kansas.

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SEMINARY OF HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCE.

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THE GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF BRAINS IN THE UNITED STATES.

IN the consideration of this theme, the Geographic Distribution of Brains in the United States, I shall have the advantage of a paper on a collateral subject of inquiry—the "Distribution of Ability in the United States," by Henry Cabot Lodge, a distinguished statistician, statesman, politician and member of congress from Massachusetts. His article appeared in the "Century" magazine a few months ago. While such an attempt of measurement struck me at first as rather novel, I found it was not original with Mr. Lodge, but that he had followed in turn a writer in the "Nineteenth Century," who had made an effort to estimate the Distribution of ability, by counties, throughout England.

"A time there was ere England's griefs began.
When every rood of ground maintained its man."

This assertion of Mr. Goldsmith has been controverted. It is extremely doubtful indeed that "this sceptred isle," "set in the silver sea," "this other Eden, demi-Paradise," ever maintained 2560 people to the square mile. And if Mr. Goldsmith was so mistaken, it may be just as possible that the "Nineteenth Century" writer and Mr. Cabot Lodge, in the statistical task which they have assigned themselves, (the distribution of ability to the square mile) may unconsciously incorporate some element of fallibility in their calculation.

Of course the first thing that strikes one as peculiar in this inquiry is the idea that ability is something entirely definite and tangible—an *entity*, like the doorplate of Thompson (whose name was spelled with a p), and something "handy to have in the house,"—a species or variety of what Dickens' Wemmick was wont to term "portable property," and only not liable indeed to be assessed and taxed as other "personal property," on the "exemption" plea that it reflected a large usufruct of credit back upon the State that primarily produced it. Most people who possess it have bought "ability" through education—experience,—and it scarce came wholly as an inheritance, or at any one stated date in their history.

"In all the troubles of life there is always a place where you may find sympathy," quoth the colored moralist, and then gave out the answer to the conundrum, viz: "In the dictionary." So, according to Mr. Lodge, there is always a place where you can find,—and weigh and measure—"ability," and it is also "in the dictionary"—"Appleton's Biographical Dictionary!" There are the men who have possessed it within the era of American history, to the total number of 14,243.

"Their names their years spelled by the *lettered* muse."

of Appleton.

"The place of fame and eulogy supply."

The secret of perennial preservation of "ability" is to have it embalmed in Appleton's Biographical Dictionary!

I am always beset with a lingering doubt whether true ability is to be determined by the compilers of a biographical dictionary who picked the fruit perchance solely from the sunny topmost boughs of popular appreciation. Who are the ablest men?—those who get talked about the the most? Not invariably, and yet these are apt to come to the front in biographic mention. Just as likely as not it was the manifestation of spasmodic, lopsided ability that made the man remarkable and got him chronicled in the biography. In fact that may have been the only remarkable thing about him, while the well-rounded self-poised man, "rich in saving common sense, went steadily and quietly

about his business, ably doing his part as a good citizen; benefiting the community possibly ten times as much as the noisy politician, who got into the caucus and fixed it into the convention and "ran it," into the legislature, into congress perhaps or a good fat office, and finally into the biographical dictionary.

Mr. Lodge has evidently bestowed a good deal of labor on his tabulation of the Cyclopedia of Biography, and is proportionally satisfied that the results exhibited are of the greatest historical value. Possibly he is not the first man who has fallen in love with his own statistics, and fondly deduced important results therefrom. His method of classification shows (he claims) what communities have produced the men who have governed the country and fought its battles, who have produced its literature, art and science, or made the inventions which in some instances have affected the history of the United States, and of mankind.

There may be something in this, and Mr. Lodge's statistics may locate exactly not only the distribution of brains to the square mile, but the particular state, or county, if needs be, which are naturally most fertile in the production of ability, but before assenting to all his conclusions based upon Appleton's Cyclopedia, we should need be well assured that the data are invariably correct. "Figures will not lie," it is said, but that depends upon the person who furnishes or manipulates the figures. Who made the compiler of Appleton's omniscient of ability? Who provided him the guage, and the meter to measure and determine its quality? If his judgment be fallible his facts will be apochryphal, and the conclusions of Mr. Lodge, based thereon, become extremely hypothetical. Of course there were a certain number of eminent Americans whose ability would be universally recognized. They should go into any and every such biographical dictionary. Possibly their [illegible] would fall somewhat short of [illegible]. There would be another list on which opinions might honestly differ as to degree, and finally there might be an indefinite residuum that would in the matured opinions of a later generation be relegated to an entirely different limbo. The Encyclopedia Brittanica follows implicitly the old injunction "Call no man great until he is dead." The Art Museum of the Louvre extends the probation further, and admits the work of no artist until he has left this world ten years behind him. Evidently the datum of greatness depends largely upon specific dates. If the Appleton had been compiled when a great man was busy tanning at Galena, or later, hauling chips into St. Louis at $1 per load, do you think that Grant's name would have had the fortune to be enshrined therein? Or, Sherman at the date when he lost that little law suit before a pettifogging justice of the peace over here in Jefferson county, just before the war broke out? If there haply exist any such element of fallibility, in the dictionary, then Mr. Lodge's exact determination of the soils that possess the chemical elements favorable to ability may share in that fallibility.

An enthusiastic writer once announced from a careful study of conditions and statistics based thereon, the deduction that Shakespeare, the greatest man of all time, could have been born at no other era than the latter half of the Sixteenth Century, in no other country than England, and no other county than Warwickshire. And now other wise statisticians and crypto-grammatists assure us that Shakespeare as a playwriter was but a myth and a fraud, that his plays were perpetrated by a man named Bacon, born at York House in the Strand.

* * * * * * *

But whether wholly infallible or not Mr. Lodge goes on to tabulate for us, giving us the distribution of ability as to states (according to place of birth), by race, (through the single patronymic line), and the professi'on or employment. His first table classifies by states and you note, at

once, as a Kansan, that you are entirely ruled out. Kansas has no ability, so far. Texas enumerates just one man, the lone star of the "Lone Star State;" Arkansas three (of whom *one*, of course, was the famous "traveler"); Iowa five; California the same; and then you jump to Wisconsin and Florida with a dozen each for the lands of pine and pine-apples. From these you ascend rapidly through Alabama 34, Missouri 39, Michigan 44, Illinois 59, Louisiana 68, District of Columbia 75, to Indiana and little Delaware, of 115 each. Having now passed the one hundred limit the plot, and the ability, begins to thicken. You progress to Tennesee 136, Georgia 202, "Little Rhody" 291, North Carolina with an even 300 able "Tar-heelers," Kentucky 320, Vermont 359, Ohio 364, South Carolina 398, with Calhoun the original and many other able "seceders," Maine 414, New Jersey 474, New Hampshire 510, Maryland 512. From this on we climb rapidly to the frozen summit of ability, with gigantic strides. Virginia 1038, Connecticut 1196, Pennsylvania 1827, New York 2605 MASSACHUSETTS 2686!

Now you imagine you perceive just where this leads on! To the state that had the honor of giving birth to Cabot Lodge apparently. Not so, for he tells you (and might readily prove it by figures) that proportioned to population (but why not estimate by *area* indeed) *Connecticut* leads every other state in its volume of ability. Of course the older states have had, he admits, some advantage in this classification. It might certainly appear so, for Kansas, Nebraska and Minnesota are literally "nowhere" in the race, with the still newer states inevitably in the same unfortunate category. Unhappily nobody was born in Kansas, except "Indians not taxed"—with ability—until about 37 years ago, and of these even, while some young sprouts of ability may have shot up, none of these scions have yet got themselves haply transplanted into the botanic garden of biography kept by Appleton and carefully watched and watered by Henry Cabot Lodge.

But while our statistician intimates that relative population should properly be taken into account, he makes no figures to apply it in the estimate, and indeed it is a little difficult to determine at just what period the population should be taken. Not on the census of 1890 evidently, for the dictionary takes in results of the whole period of American history, including colonial. Men of ability are chronicled therein who flourished and died a full century before our western states were born, hence that test would not be fair in any case. I think Mr. Lodge would be compelled to bring in his law of averages, and as he has failed to do so, I cheerfully supply his omission. I have taken three periods, at a venture, the censuses of 1800, 1830 and 1860 respectively. The first is early enough to gather in the most of the old-time fellows, and the last being now 30 years agone, would allow its average population to ripen to that mature age when ability is bound to assert itself, if ever. Then I average the census of these three periods, and strike a per centage of the whole for each state. Then I make also a percentage of "ability" for each state from Mr. Lodge's figures and here is the result, comparatively exhibited:

	Pc. of Pop.	Pc. Ability.
Massachusetts,	4.33	19. —
New York,	14.62	18. +
Pennsylvania,	9.70	13. —
Connecticut,	2.00	8.25
Virginia,	7.37–av.	7.3 —
Maryland,	3.00	3.6
New Hampshire,	1.56	3.6
New Jersey,	2.40	3.33
Maine,	2.44	2.9
South Carolina,	3.3	2.8
Ohio,	6.76	2.56
Vermont,	1.85	2.5
Kentucky,	4.10	2.25
North Carolina,	4.27	2.1
Rhode Island,	.48	2. +
Georgia,	3.50	1.4 +
Tennessee,	3.80	1.
Delaware,	.50	.80
Indiana,	3.40	.8
Louisiana,	1.85	.5 —

	Pc. of Pop.	Pc. Ability.
Illinois,	3.75	.4 +
Michigan,	1.56	.3 +
Missouri,	2.45	.27
Alabama,	2.60	.24
Mississippi,	1.58	.2 —
Florida,	.35	.1 —
Wisconsin,	1.60	.1 —
California,	.20	.03
Iowa,	1.35	.03+
Arkansas,	1.30	.02-+
Texas,	1.20	. —

TOTALS.

	Pc. of Pop.	Pc. Ability
New England,	12.5	38.3
Middle States,	27.26	35.25
Southern States,	38.5	21.94
Western States,	21.74	4.51

Judging by these statistics, therefore, you will perceive that ability prevails relatively threefold to populrtion in New England, and about one and one-third to one in the middle states, while with little more than *one-half* to the unit of population in the southern, and scarce more than *one-fifth* in that broad section which claims our rising generation, the western states. And to bring the comparison as close as state boundaries, we must credit Connecticut and Rhode Island full four to one, and Massachusetts almost five to one, which intimates that Mr. Lodge must have had in mind a different basis of computation from mine, and probably that of present population. New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Vermont exhibit ratios of ability to population, each one and one-third to one, with New Hampshire full two to one, while Maine is but little more than even, and Virginia, the ancient mother of statesmen, just "holds her own" relatively to the number of her sons. Living in a state that owns just no ability at all, except the "young crowd," which though in the "lexicon of youth" has not yet achieved that of biography, it is some little consolotion to find that Ohio, an early western state, possessed of fortunate politicians, has had nearly three times as many people as brain demonstrations. Indiana and Illinois naturally came in further down in the order of development, the former with less than *one-fourth*, and the latter with but *one-ninth* of its quota of brains that have made any show in the world—of Appleton's Cyclopedia and Cabot Lodge's tabulations. We might chase these ratios a good deal further, but is it really worth while?

Turn now to another branch of this important subject, the special avenues or channels which ability has adopted in which to exhibit itself. The statistics here are quite full. Naturally we find that the "learned professions together with politics" and war are largely the *open sesames* to fame in connection with a full page portrait. Here is the tabulation:

Statesmen	2190
Clergy	2164
Soldiers	1892
The Navy	482
Lawyers	1500
Physicians	859
Literature	2051
Art	462
Science	564
Education	586
Business	559
Philanthropy	221
Pioneers and Explorers	183
Inventors	169
Engineers	174
Architects	43
Musicians	82
Actors	102
Total	14243

Without taking up your time in detailed analysis, let me call your attention to a few remarkable data in this tabulation of first quality of brain in action. The "learned professions" alone—lawyers, doctors and the clergy, have supplied almost one-third of the whole ability of the nation, and if you reckon with these "them literary fellers," with the "educational" contingent you have just one-half, without classifying the "scientists" in the category. Again, the statesmen class furnishes a full one-seventh, aud the army and navy combined another equal share. Then comes the "business" interest with less than four per cent.—to do business on, followed by "philanthropy" with

hardly one-half so many, which goes to prove that this proves hardly so good a business as "business" itself. The artists, architects, actors and musicians, even if lumped together with all their oddly developed brains aggregate only about two per cent. of the whole. But now, the most curious thing about it is that of all the farmers, who embrace a goodly share of the population of this country, famed for its generally diversified intelligence, there is not a single, solitary example of "ability"—according to Mr. Lodge. In view of this fact, it is no wonder that they have begun to exhibit restlessness, and organize "alliances." It was about time that, having no individual ability, they should band themselves together to utilize the fractional ability of an exceedingly large denominator by massing the numerators until they should amount to an appreciable value. It would be only human that they should object to this unconscionable monopoly of brains. And then again, the mechanics and craftsmen of all kinds, with the exception of a few "inventors," who may indeed be no "craftsmen" at all, is it possible that this large class has owned no demonstrated ability, no "knights" of "labor," not even any captains of industry? Taking the farmers, the mechanics, and the manfacturing industries all together, and we have perhaps over *three-fourths* of the entire population of the country, and no ability whatever, while the few thousand "statesmen, scholars, heroes and divines" possess it all. Verily this proves too much. The great majority of the forefathers of these "elect" came from the farm and the workshop, and if there be anything at all in the common ideas of heredity some of this "ability" must have descended from such hornyhanded progenitors.

And now in drawing toward a close, let me confess that I do not have any great confidence in the geographic distribution of brains, or rather, I do have confidence in their *general* distribution, and very little in the idea that they are mainly monopolized by any favored first-families, or restricted to any confined area or even section of our country. "Ability" which is possibly the product of culture and the result of favoring conditions may perhaps find its habitat oftenest near the chosen seat of that culture. It might not be well for me even to attempt the controversion of Mr. Lodge's theory in this regard. But let us differentiate a little. The above law may hold good for ability but will scarce apply to brains, though you may term them the raw material of which *ability* is the the finished product. Brains are the indigenous plant, the volunteer wheat, springing up apparently where it had not been sown except by the wind of heaven, or dropped except by the birds of the air. *Ability* is the corn that has been drilled in and cultivated. Brains are to be cultivated for the sake of the possessor and the world about their owner—not with the expectation that any extraordinary endowment or acquired enhancement shall certainly be transmitted. From the extreme optimistic theory of biologic evolution formerly prevailing, the belief that heredity has been and is the great factor, that "like always produces its like" plus all the modified structure and personally acquired characteristics of the parent, we have now swing around to the other extremity of the arc, and stand doubting whether the acquired characteristic of the parent is ever transmitted to the child.

Brains in the mass are undoubtedly the "unearned increment" of heredity, but what they are or shall be in the individual it is almost impossible to determine or even prophesy, from the mollusk to a Milton or a Michael Angelo, the great gulf that has somehow been safely crossed evidences the immense energy of development though exercised through countless eons of time. But where are now the Miltons, the Goethes, the Washingtons, that shall carry forward the achievement of their ancestors. No children, or weak descendants of greatness, seems to be a general law. In the plan of heredity, what

has been transmitted of that restless energy and power of brain that compassed the "Waverly" romances, and how much of the Byronic poetic faculty descended through

"Ada, sole daughter of my house and heart."

It would seem that the human race is so constituted that great mentality cannot long be continued in one family. It may last for a few generations, but like the soil which exhausts through continued cropping it becomes inevitable that it shall lie fallow for a season, if it ever gather again the elements of fertility.

It has long been remarked that great brains have a tendency to "run out" (as the phrase goes)—to sink down and flow into hidden recesses of unmarked descent; or to lapse and merge into the broad sea of undistinguished humanity. Through all the ages past the great names of history have been rising like mountain peaks from that sea of obscurity, only to sink again and be submerged through their descendants. It is a law of nature that these cannot stay permanently glorified solely through the virtues of their ancestors:

" What can ennoble fools, or knaves, or cowards?
Alas! not all the blood of all the Howards,"

But greatness, though not perpetuated through heredity shall not be wholly lost to the world in any age:

Like must come from its like. Well then.
From whence spring the world's surprises?
From the lowermost strata of men.
A Shakespeare, or Lincoln uprises.

Imperfect! Yes tainted with earth.
As humanity may be and must
Yet bearing, with lowliest birth.
A spark of divine from the dust.

Lowell says "it is rather to be noted how little is known of the parentage of the men of the first magnitude, how often they seem in some way foundlings, and how early an apparently adverse destiny begins the culture of those who are to master great intellectual or spiritual exeriences." And so the eternal cycle keeps its round !

And though heredity be not the direct and ready road that men have imagined, yet civilization advances, man improves in knowledge, power, worth. It is no "hop, skip and jump" gymnastic progress however; it is the slow, steady advance of the beating, and receding, wave upon the shore; it is the persistent, conquering step of the mighty army through the unknown forests and guarded defiles of an enemy's country; now marching, now fighting, now falling back awhile upon its reserves, but always ultimately slowly winning its way onward, onward.

B. W. WOODWARD.

LABOR IN THE OLD WORLD.

IN this essay I purpose to speak only of such forms of labor as have fallen under my observation while passing through different countries across the Atlantic and Mediterranean. Neither will I permit my pen to do more than dwell upon that aspect of labor which is commonly understood by that word,—that of the working classes,—those who till the soil or pursue mechanical or industrial employments.

Among the first impressions one receives while traveling abroad is the poverty of the laboring classes. Accustomed in this country, as we are, to see the laborers well housed, well clad, with wholesome tables and owning gardens filled with nutritious vegetables, and with short days of severe work, the sight of men and women toiling from rosy dawn to the shadows of night, from twelve to sixteen hours hard work, living, many of them, in

cheerless, one-roomed houses, with hard bread, no meat, scant clothing, saving bits of twigs for fuel, only suggests painful contrasts. Take this picture of poverty by a recent English writer. "Perusal of the evidence given to the labor commission before the sweating commission would be of incalculable value to those who do not realize the great depth of poverty in which the people are steeped, the poverty that narrows and degrades the lives of all the people subject to these low conditions." The English writer thus outlines the misery of his land. "In picturing the poverty of England, I would suggest to my readers to imagine all the poverty of the country to be gathered together in a great city of five millions of men and women, weltering in the slums of life, a seething mass of humanity, without hope on earth, without hope of heaven; to imagine for a moment a city like London, without its banks, buildings, magnificent streets and houses, its wealth, its splendor, without all these things, but with a low straggling city of slum streets filled with ragged children, disheartened men, disheartened women, where disease and suffering and pestilence are bred, and childhood, youth, manhood, and womanhood all pass without a ray of divine light, without nobleness, without comfort. To imagine such a disconsolate city must move the heart of all thinkers, and yet in our little island such a great number of human beings are existing in this state. To imagine it in the aggregate, to imagine our beautiful London as a city of all this misery; then men may measure, men may understand, the extent of this great social fester, robbing heaven of men and women, robbing the earth of men and women, for no life can be developed in the fullness of its meaning while it breathes in this putrid atmosphere, and is narrowed in by bare walls, where hunger is faced every day, and empty cupboards, bare backs and bare bones is the heritage of the submerged seventh. Even this does not picture, neither does it represent the full extent of our national degradation." Standing in Trafalgar square, or at nightfall watching the hungry faces that peer into the shop windows filled with bread, and cakes on the stand, one can see how utterly woeful is the lot of hundreds of men and women who throng the streets of London, or gather in its public squares.

On the continent the conditions are not much improved, and in the streets of Constantinople, Smyrna, Damascus, Jerusalem, and Cairo, scenes of want and beggary harrow the feeling and sadden the heart. Next to the aspect of general want one is surprised to see the vast numbers of women engaged in hard, laborious work; especially is this observable on the continent of Europe. In Egypt there is an absence of women from the fields quite as marked as is their presence among the toilers north of the Mediterranean. At Munich I saw women working with shovel, pick and hoe on the railroad track. In Berne Women saw wood and do all sorts of heavy drudgery. It is a common sight in Dresden to see women helping their dogs to haul carts laden with produce to the market. In Italy the cultivation of crops, hoeing corn and potatoes, hauling grain and other laborious work is done by women, while in parts of Germany, during harvest time, two women to one man are seen in the fields. In Palestine nearly all the severe work seemed to be done by the females of the families. They carry immense jars of water on their heads from the wells or springs, sometimes more than one-half a mile, to their houses, while the men sit in sun and smoke their nargiles. But at the hotels, the waiters and servants are all men.

Another strange sight to an American is the large number of persons employed to do any work. On the plain of Esdraelon I stopped my horse and counted over one hundred ox teams drawing plows, while an army of women and children were in sight, pulling up thorns and noxious weeds.

Squads of from ten to twenty harvesters may be seen in Saxony in small fields, where in this country only the reaper and two or more men to shock the golden sheaves would be noticed. There is a strange absence of all labor-saving machines. On the banks of the Tiber I passed a field of grain in which over seventy-five prisoners under guard of armed mounted soldiers were gathering the over-ripe wheat. In Andalusia and on the banks of Guadalquivir hundreds of women were busy cutting the grain, hauling it on primitive carts to the smooth earth threshing floors, where numerous spans of mules were being driven over the straw, tramping out the wheat; the process cuts the straw into chaff, which is tossed in the wind, and then the berries are separated. In Goshen, of ancient as well as present fertility, the same plethora of workmen is seen. The alfalfa is cut with a bent knife,—a sort of small sickle,—a handful at a time, and the laborer is down on his knees while pursuing his task.

Another thing that attracts the attention in Europe is the perfect roads, and the narrow space they occupy. They are straight, macadamized, lined on either side by trees. Generally the eucalyptus is the variety, as it is supposed to be antimalarial, while spruce and cypress some times overshadow the highways. The average width of the road is not over fifteen feet, and every blade of grass clear up to the macadam is cut and saved. The Kansas road, forty or more feet wide, would amaze a Frenchman or German. In Spain the roads are much poorer, often nothing more than a trail, and in Egypt there are no highways for vehicles outside the cities, and one fine road from Cairo to the pyramid of Gizeh. This road was built by the Khedive on the visit of the Prince of Wales, so that he could ride to the hoary wonder in a carriage. But generally camel and donkey trails are all one sees in the way of roads in the land of the Pharaoh; and on camel and donkey back are carried to market sugar cane, alfalfa, huge bags of straw and chaff, poultry and young goats. This much in the way of general observations.

As it will be impossible in this paper to deal with the conditions of labor in the various countries I visited, I select a few of more than passing interest. Tangiers is the seaport and principal town of Morocco. In its streets are motley crowds from Fez, Soudan, and various places in the interior. I was there on market day, and the incoming crowds bringing with them the products of the gardens and fields gave a very good idea of the character of these swarthy producers. The market place was outside the city walls which run down to the sea. There were foot-sore, small, stunted beeves, puny calves, ill-conditioned sheep and lambs, and poultry in large coops. The grain for sale was in small bags, and the varieties of produce were quite numerous—beans, peas, lettuce, lentils, dates and figs, small potatoes and poor vegetables. The workmen of the place are of a stolid type. We stopped at a shop to see the process of shoeing a donkey. One man held the animal by the head, another held the foot on a block, while a third, sitting on a stool, leisurely nailed on the iron plate. The workman's tools were clumsy, the nails large and heavy, and the shoe very awkwardly hammered out. The civilization of the place, its industries, and its modes of life carry one back a good many centuries. Perhaps the most interesting thing in the market was the snake charmers. The power of these men over the long, slim, reptiles, which they carry in bags and let out one at a time, was very remarkable. There were a good many slight-of-hand tricksters, with crowds gathered around them, and it was plain that not one-half of the people who were poorly clad, only enough rags upon them to cover their persons, were doing more than exist. The country manufactures exposed for sale—saddles, bridles, ox yokes, were all of the rudest and most primitive sort.

There was a large negro from Soudan, with a physique of great dimensions, who lived only on dates. And this simplicity of food, the warm climate and the possibility of living with little work reduces the labor problem to its smallest size. These people upon whom we have been looking for a moment are far down in the scale of civilization, hence their wants are few and easily supplied.

In the east, on the banks of the Nile, we find the laboring classes somewhat more advanced, and their daily toils are not quite so primitive as in Morocco. The fellahin of Egypt are a patient, plodding race. They seem to belong to the soil; are dark, swarthy, rather slim, and have astonishing endurance. They are ignorant; there were no schools for them, until recently, under the English rule, a step in that direction has been taken. The lands of the Delta, adapted to cotton and sugar-cane are worth about two hundred dollars per acre, while other lands not so easily irrigated are worth about seventy-five dollars per acre. Some of these lands are still owned in small patches by the peasantry, but immense tracts of the most fertile soil are in the ownership of government officials or foreigners. The tillage, of course, of these great estates and that of the small holdings differs, the former being more modern and more systematic. Much of the time of the peasantry is consumed in irrigating the land. This is a great work. The over-flow of the Nile would be of little service were not its alluvial-freighted waters retained in long canals and small ponds. The receding waters are held in check by head-gates, or banks of earth. It is these supplies that are trailed out over the plains by the fellahin. A very picturesque sight to the stranger is the process of raising the water to the level of the plain. The peasants, with only a single garment on their persons, bare footed, bare legged, lift the water by means of a water-tight basket from one pool to another above it until the proper height is attained, thence it is carried in small earth ditches which continually branch out until the water touches and fructifies each part of the field. There are two methods of lifting the water that are quite simple, yet interesting. Two fellahin hold the opposite ends of a rope, in the center of which is a water-tight willow basket, holding several gallons of water. They swing this basket by a dexterous movement into the waters of the canal, and empty the basket into a pool or opening in the bank. Another couple of fellahin in like manner swing the water up another height, and this process is repeated until the level above is reached. The swinging of the basket goes on in a sort of rythmic motion very pleasing to behold. Then, too, there is the old fashioned well sweep, which is easier for the peasant, but not so rapid as the other. These laborious operations give the common laborers of the country plenty to do. The tilling of the soil is often picturesque also. A camel may be seen drawing the small plows of the country—a tool as primitive as those used in Mexico or Centarl America. Sometimes a yoke of buffalo perform the same service. These buffalo are not much like our wild droves of the prairie, they are black, almost hairless, ill-shaped, and have hard, flat horns that lie back on their necks. They are a useful animal wherever there is muddy land to plow or till. I found them in the wet places of the Delta, and on the banks of Lake Merom. They are very docile and easily managed. These animals, for plowing, and donkeys for riding, are the farmers' best friends.

The climate of Egypt permits the sowing and ripening of grain to go on the year around. There were fields of alfalfa in blossom and others just opening their leaves. No sooner is one crop matured than another is planted. On the edge of the Lybian desert, where the winds are often fierce, the young maize, cucumbers, onions and other vegetables are protected by rows of thickly planted stocks of cane.

The same mode of protection may be seen in parts of France. One of the favorite articles of food among the fellahin is what they call the cucumber; but it is much larger than ours, has a downy skin, no thorns, and is quite dry. The natives eat it raw, and also cooked, and when so prepared it tastes like our squash. The maize of the country resembles our sorghum, and the kernels are found in a bushy top, and are of the size of rice. Curds and a black bread form most of the food of men who toil from dawn till dark. They rarely eat meat, though they have cattle, sheep, goats, and poultry; but these are mostly for the market. Many of the peasants rent land from the government,—small patches, at an annual rental of about five dollars per acre; but the severe and oppressive taxation levied on all they raise brings the rental much higher. The English rule is doing much for these helpless people. Forced labor on the canals and public works is abolished. Formerly the Khedive would call for so many laborers from a hamlet to work on his estates, or to clear out the water courses, and they had to go and labor without pay, and support and care for themselves. Hundreds of these poor people were thus called on at a time and compelled to work for weeks.

The region between Cairo and the pyramids is full of charming scenes. The groups and throngs of laborers, plowing, planting, hoeing, cutting grain, tethering out the buffalo or camels, trailing water to their tiny patches of vegetables or grain, catch the eye on every side. To look down on the Delta from the pyramids as the sun buries itself in the Lybian sands fastens on the mind a never-to-be-forgotten picture. The busy fellahin turn from their toil into the paths that converge in their hamlets,—some leading camels, others driving sheep or goats, others with bundles of alfalfa or freshly cut grain in their arms. The plain seems to be alive with moving forms of men and beasts. Shadows creep over landscapes and a tremulous golden twilight rivets the eye long after distant forms have vanished. Many of these peasants find employment on the mysterious Nile. There are islands of considerable size which they till entirely by hand, no camels or buffalo being seen there. But it is as sailors on the Dahbeyea, either spreading the sails, or more often in towing the boat by means of long ropes against the current, that the river gives employment. It is not uncommon to see a dozen men at the edge of a stream in the water well up to their waists, forcing the craft up the stream.

Of all the lands whose record runs back into the last centuries, Egypt is the most hoary, and most interesting. The pain taken by its primeval people to perpetuate their lives and deeds in paintings on stone walls, in a climate where mildew and rain rairly appear, has sent down to us an unerring record, from which we depict the customs and occupations, the modes of agriculture and mechanical arts, and pursuits of these remote ages. These pictures were often accompanied by short inscriptions significant of the scene presented. For centuries, as these inscriptions were in the hieroglyphic language of a forgotten era, there was no means of telling what they meant. It chanced a few years ago that a flat, black stone, about twelve inches square, was found near Rosetta, at one of the old openings of the Nile into the sea. It was on one side covered with three parallel inscriptions, each telling the same thing, one in the ancient priestly hieroglyphics, the second in the popular language of that day, and the third in Greek. This gave a key to the numerous inscriptions in the walls. The mastaba or tomb house of Ti in the necropolis of old Memphis dates back forty-five centuries, being erected in the 5th Egyptian dynasty. It stands among black sands which the fierce gales toss into angry billows. The desert is even with the roof of the tomb house, and not a sign of vegetation is found for miles in

any direction. The zeal and wealth of a Frenchman, Mariette, a few years ago lifted the sands from the building and now it is open to the traveler. Three entrances lead down to the outer chamber, and from it a long passage way opens on an inner room without window or light. On the outer court, passage ways and dark room is the story of the life, and the deeds of this great prime minister of the ruling king. From these paintings and sculptures, and the accompanying inscriptions, we gain a clear idea of life in Egypt forty-five hundred years ago. The exact purpose of these decorations of the tomb of the dead prince is not clear, but the view they give of his great estates and the pursuits there carried on are vivid presentations. Every trade and mechanical occupation carried on among men in those remote periods, all branches of husbandry and domestic life are there portrayed. From them we learn that the Nile boat, the Dahbeyeh of to-day, is just what it was when they bore to Memphis the products of Lisertatis, hundreds of miles up the mysterious river. The plow then used has not been improved in the four thousand years that have flown away. Among the throngs of servants and workmen that start out of these walls we see what we do not find in Egyptian fields now, women hard at work. In addition to the domestic animals now found in the Delta we note the presence of antelopes as tame as the sheep and goats with which they feed. How immobile and fixed the Egyptian life has been through all the historic periods is revealed in these walls whose story was written there twenty-five centuries before christianity dawned on the world. Animal life as here portrayed was as perfect then as now. The art of snaring the great river horse, the leviathan of the bible, was then known. The plow, the shadoof, and the rude hoe of Ti's estates are now in use by the people who look like the groops of servants or laborers on the mural decorations of this desert tomb.

Passing from this strange land with its types of laborers as unchanged as the stony gaze of its weird sphynx, we find on the famed plains of Sharon and Esdræelon much of the same stolid adherence to old methods of labor. The thorns that spring up and choke the seeds of the sower are there now as then, and hundreds of women of children can be seen the live long day plucking up these thorns, as did their prototypes. Abraham's plow is still the favorite implement for stirring the soil. The open threshing floor on the bare earth, the noisome underground granaries, the diminutive oxen and the flocks of sheep and goats, the black tents of the wandering Bedouin, and the women gathering at the wells or springs to bear thence water in great jugs placed on their heads to their homes in villages nestled on high points of land; these meet the eye of the traveler everywhere, and tell him how the far away past in the Orient is reproduced in the scenes of to-day. The homes of the peasantry of Syria are, if possible, more completely uncomfortable, gloomy, and cheerless, than are those of the same class in Egypt. At one of our lunch places there was a small village of stone huts. It was not laid out on any street or square, no trees bloomed about it. The best house in the hamlet had neither window, floor, or ceiling. The mistress of the place showed us her abode with an evident pride of possession. To one conversant with the comfort and cheer of our American laborers' home, the squalor and misery of these Syrian villages is very depressing. Children nearly naked, men and women with bare feet, poorly clothed with scanty dresses, small patches of very stony garden, hungry faces, lizards darting in and out of the chinks of their poorly-built stone huts, fires made of desiccated droppings of the camel or ox,—surely no one need envy the lot of the laborer in Egypt or Palestine.

S. O. Thacher.

THE STUDY OF HISTORY IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

EVERY subject but history has its beginning and its end. History is continuous; forming in peace and in war, ever increasing in volume. In earlier years attention was paid more particularly to man and his development than to the influences which surrounded him, but as the study of history has developed all the outside influences of soil, climate, food, intercourse with other peoples and all those matters which so materially affect mankind are to be carefully noted. It is only as we study any subject in its relations to man that we rise to the full appreciation of it and only then that it becomes worthy of a lifetime of study. The importance of history in its relation to other subjects and how it is to be brought into its true position in our courses of study should be constantly before the mind of every teacher.

Our universities are arranging courses and developing the work in history rapidly but as yet are far behind the ideal course in history, still on the other hand they are ahead of the majority of students who enter the regular course. Our professors may work and toil but the results reached will not be satisfactory. It is a well known fact that history is not taught as it should be in our common and high schools, and in many instances the attempt at teaching it only causes a distaste for the study. In my opinion the greatest reason for this unsuccessful work and lack of interest is that the study of history is not commenced soon enough. Reading, writing and arithmetic monopolize the time of a majority of our pupils until they are through the common school course and then they either go into active life or enter special lines of work and the best opportunity for beginning the study of history has passed. The stories that we remember best were told us when we were children on our mother's knee, and that early teaching should be followed by stories from history in the primary grades, historical readers in the grammar grades and regular work in history from the eighth grade through the high school, and, as far as possible, with other work through life. Stories told by the teacher in the primary grades, read by the pupils in intermediate grades, and related or given in essay form by pupils of higher grades during general exercises, will create a desire and love for the study of history. Then it will not be considered dry, uninteresting, and be thrown aside for other work as children grow older. Pupils should be shown the relation history bears to other studies, and especially to geography and literature. This is an easy matter as places, people and events are spoken of in reading lessons, language work, or are referred to in general conversation. The reading of books and giving synopsis of stories contained, the writing of biographical sketches concerning prominent men and women; the comparison of people of the present with historical characters of the past; the noting of events, inventions, discoveries, new scientific facts and many other things of interest, may be introduced in a manner suitable to the grade of work, and the breadth of vision thus given will never be lost but will tend to expand while the pupil at the same time is gathering from all fields of knowledge.

The problem is not so much how shall history be taught in our high schools and universities as how shall the foundation be laid. When the foundation is laid and the work carried up to the high school the demand from the pupils will cause a place to be provided in the course of study there, and the number studying history will fill that department in the universities until greater facilities will be needed. As indicated above, give history its true place

and prominence through all the grades of our common schools, and you will in the main have solved the question of "The Study of History in our High Schools and Universities." Far the greater proportion of our pupils leave school before entering the high school, and in order to reach the masses, to lift up the whole, we must begin at the bottom and build up. Universities and high schools are farther removed from the people than the common schools, consequently the support any particular departmentment may receive will depend upon the interest created among the people, and there is no factor so potent to-day as the common school in forming future public opinion. Our professors may prepare lectures for "University Extension" audiences, and lose sleep in midnight rides in order to enlighten the people, but their work will be patchwork—simply trying to remedy what has not been done in school. They cannot reach any great number of people in that way. Literature, history, local government, the elements of science and other subjects may properly be introduced into graded work. Without geography and history our reading lessons are not well understood, and good literature requires a knowledge of these as well as other subjects. It may be urged that it is not possible to teach all of these subjects, and it is true that a full knowledge cannot be obtained in the graded school, but general information may be gained even if less work is done in other lines. Every field of work should receive its due share of attention in the beginning and as pupils advance and become able to judge for themselves they will be prepared to take up that special work which inclination prompts them to choose. We need *specialists* in every line of work in our graded schools in order that the pupils may have thorough teaching in the elements of learning. The specialists will be better for having received their general information under specialists.

We would only ask for history the place that it deserves in relation to other subjects, and let it be borne in mind that our laws and the welfare of our country depend upon the degree of knowledge, concerning mankind and his environments, that is possessed by our people. The noblest work of God is man, his history, here, is from the cradle to the grave, and his study of self and his fellow man should begin with the cradle and only end with the grave.

H. A. PEAIRS.

SEMINARY REPORTS.

THE SINGLE TAX.

THE Seminary met March 25th. Mr. Simmons read a paper on the Single Tax. His remarks were in substance as follows:

The advocates of the single tax theory are opposed, and in some measure justly, to all existing forms of taxation. The personal property tax is objected to on account of the impossibility of levying it justly. Even if an accurate list of property is obtained, a man worth \$100 is obviously less able to pay a \$10 tax than a man worth \$1000 is to pay a \$100 tax. The injustice arising here is repeated in a per capita tax. A tax on real estate falls on prices, and does not touch those it is designed to reach. The advocate of the Single Tax argues that rent is an income arising without the owners exertion, that it arises through society. It is then just to apply it to the advantage of society. The idea is that the earth belongs to the people, and that its products should go to

the people. This will be accomplished by the confiscation or appropriation of rents.

The arguments pro and con turn upon the question "In whom is the title to land vested?" Individual ownership has long been the rule, and the individual, of course, defends the established custom. Land is held by the individual for the general welfare of all, he says. Yet no one questions that the state has some control over land. It may take it for railways, roads, public buildings and like purposes.

The single tax advocate argues that in the earlier development land was held in common, and that the strong afterward took possession of the land by force. Hence he states that common ownership of land is a peace institution, and individual ownership a war institution, and he believes with Herbert Spencer that "Equity does not permit private ownership in land." Although the contingency is remote, it is a fact that the present system of holdings would permit a monopoly of land. Henry George says that if all land were taken up, every person coming afterward would have to pay for the privilege of living on the land of others. With the same idea in view, Laveleye believed that America and Australia should not dispose of their lands absolutely, but should let the use of them.

It is sometimes stated that rent, acting as a reserve fund, enables the landowning class to devote themselves to a higher development of their intellectual nature. True, says the single tax advocate; but there is danger that the increase in property will meanwhile force the masses to work for a recompense so small as to lower the general standard of mankind. The advocates of the single tax assert that the ideal distribution would give to society that which society has produced, to capital the reward justly accruing to it, and to labor what it earns. If it be granted that land should not belong to a class, a tax on rent would not be unjust. The cause of poverty lies in the injustice that denies to men their natural rights, and imposes taxes on thrift and industry, by a monopoly of land. Land and labor are the great factors in the production of wealth; and that civilization is the highest which affords to individuals the greatest opportunity to apply their efforts with adequate return. Some speculators have been more farseeing than laborers, and monopolize the field for the remunerative employment of labor, which must now submit to dictation.

"Tax that which you wish to suppress," says the single taxer, "monopolies are created by a monopoly of land, or by a favoring system of taxation. The single tax will do away with them." Taxes, at present, do not stay where they are put. A tax on the products of labor falls with redoubled severity on the consumer. Such taxes foster trusts. In some instances the match, cigar, and liquor combines have strenuously opposed a repeal of the taxes on their commodities. The single tax, falling only on such land as yields rent, would stay where it was put.

Some advantages claimed for the single tax are that it has no depressing effect on industry, that it does not raise prices, and that it stimulates production. The single taxer would not put land in the hands of the state, for he believes that long occupancy by a single owner is the best system. The partisans of the single tax would make taxes a form of consumption rather than a form of distribution.

The opponents of the single tax often involve themselves in inconsistencies. The force of some of Edward Atkinson's arguments is broken by a wrong view of rent. Another of his arguments is that land now pays about one-fifth of all taxes, and that five times the amount it now pays would exceed the total rent. This argument must remain unsubstantiated because we have no statistics of economic rent. Roscher inquires "Why tax the farmer and not the manufacturer." But the manufacturer, when he buys the pro-

ducts of the farm helps pay the tax.

The really valid arguments against the single tax are those based on its impracticability; and even these are often contradicted. Australia has a large party, out of power at present, in favor of the single tax. Its platform would require immediate cessation of the sale of public lands, and the repurchase of lands already sold. Even if the scheme were to succeed in Australia, the conditions of society as a whole are such as greatly to limit its possibilities. Its advocates claim that the single tax fulfils the conditions of a good system as laid down by the best Political Economists; but there are too many obstacles in its way. No large country could make the necessary classifications. Economic rent could not be accurately determined if a piece of land were never used for more than one purpose; and the problem would be utterly incapable of solution if land were used for more than one purpose, or changed from one use to another.

All monopolies would have to be owned by the state or the single tax would benefit and foster them. The whole question resolves itself into one between socialism and individualism, although the advocates of the single tax protest that they are not socialists. Socialistic aims can be realized only by slow individual growth, by the yielding of selfishness to benevolence.

In the discussion which followed, a number of points presented by the paper were gone over and emphasized.

So much time was consumed by the paper and discussion, that Mr. Stuart's paper on the "Fallacies of the Single Tax," was reserved for another occasion. The Seminary then adjourned.

THORNTON COOKE, *Reporter*.

PRE-HISTORIC TOPICS.

THE Seminary met in regular session March 11. Papers on pre-historic topics were read by students.

The first paper was on "Plato's Lost Atlantis," by R. D. O'Leary. Of the stories told to deprive Columbus of his place as discoverer of America, none is stranger than that told by Plato of a vast land in the Atlantic ocean. Plato's story is as follows: Solon, a great law-giver of Athens, traveling in Egypt, met an old priest who told him that eight or nine thousand years ago, a great war raged between the Greeks and the inhabitants of a large island in the Atlantic west of the column of Heracles. This island was larger than Asia and Libya together. It was called Atlantis. It had a strong government and was successful over its enemies, but the whole island was sunk beneath the waves in a single day and night by an earthquake, accompanied by a flood.

Whether Plato intended this as history or fiction will probably always remain unknown. The frequent mention by the classics of the land in the ocean west of Europe and Africa is an argument in favor of this story. Crantor, B. C. 300, said the Egyptian priest declared inscriptions of the destruction of Atlantis had been found on Egyptian pillars. Plutarch and Herodotus speak of islands in the Atlantic as known facts. Another and stronger proof of the truth of the Atlantis theory is the nature of the Atlantic sea bottom. It has a high ridge running north and south.

In reply to these arguments, the classics probably took Plato's narrative as their basis. They believed Plato wrote history not fiction? The many questions that must arise about this theory will perhaps forever baffle the patience and learning of historian, archaeologist, and critic.

W. D. Ross next read a paper on "The Mound Builders—Who were they?" America, though the youngest among nations, goes far back of the oldest nations in geological structure.

The magnitude and skill displayed in the erection of the mounds together with their great perfection in form, show that they are not the work of the Indians. The erection of these mounds must have

required industry, organization, a vast population, and a settled mode of life, which the Indians did not possess. Nor is it believed the Indians ever preferred the raising of beans and corn to hunting and fishing. The inherent laziness of the red man shows that the mounds are not products of his toil.

In conclusion we may say with Dr. Wilson that the mounds are structures erected to perpetuate the memory of the honored dead in ages utterly forgotten, and by a race of which they preserve almost the sole remaining vestiges.

J. D. Wine then read a paper on the other side of the question, "Who were the Mound Builders?" Since the Indians were the only known inhabitants of this country prior to the white settlers it is natural to presume they built the mounds.

De Soto and De Narvaez reported, after their explorations, that the Indians lived in towns surrounded by ditches and walls. The Indians are known to have built four kinds of mounds:—fortifications, enclosures, building tumuli and burial mounds. It is also known that several different tribes built mounds. There were periods of peace among the Indians which allowed dense agricultural populations to collect. These communities were broken up by wars and invasions in which the incipient civilization was lost.

To deny that the Indians were Mound Builders and accept its alternative is to reject a simple explanation for one that is far fetched.

The Seminary then adjourned.

KATE BLAIR, *Reporter.*

ORIGIN OF THE ARYANS.

THE Seminary met in regular session on Friday, March 18. After the reading of the report of the last meeting, Prof. F. H. Clark of Minneapolis, Kas., a corresponding member of the Seminary, was introduced and read a paper entitled "The Origin of the Aryans," the substance of which was as follows:

God uses the races of men not only as objects upon which, but as means with which, to work out his great designs, and the Aryan race has surely been one of his "chosen people." There was but one origin of the human race. The bible narrative is literally true. Authorities differ, but the trend of modern research is toward the view of but one primal creation, and that after the fall, man grew from a state painfully primitive—he began the battle not yet closed. Soon came the necessity of migration, and tribes went forth in all directions. Those going south, under different environments, became radically different from those migrating to the north. This resulted in two distinct types, the Negroid and Mongoloid. These two races, though occupying most of the earth, fortunately left a narrow strip between them vacant. Recent discoveries teach us that a superior race, the Caucasian, which was likely a derivation of primitive man, held possession of this fertile strip. The Caucasian possessed characteristics similar to both Negroid and Mongoloid, and may have developed from both races, but be that as it may he was evidently a fact.

The Mongolians drifted north and west, and, crossing with this intermediate race, produced the Aryans, who were located somewhere west of the Mongoloid and north of the home of the original man.

First they had the house father and his family, thence a clan ruled by the patriarch, thence a government by an assembly, and a chief was selected in case of war. From this grew more permanent organizations, limited monarchies, but never an absolutism. All this growth did not take place in ancient Arya. To a large extent it was made after their migrations. But the clan spirit has never been extinguished. They knew the art of plowing, constructed permanent houses, cooked their own food and acted under well defined and acknowledged customs and requirements. Purity and chastity of life was a virtue as highly esteemed among them as with us.

PEARL I. SMITH, *Reporter.*

- SEMINARY - NOTES. -

PUBLISHED ON THE FIRST DAY OF OCTOBER, NOVEMBER, DECEMBER, FEBRUARY, MARCH, APRIL AND MAY, BY THE SEMINARY OF HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCE. State University, Lawrence, Kansas.

Frank W. Blackmar, *Frank H. Hodder,* *Ephraim D. Adams,* - - - - *Editors.*

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THE purpose of this publication is to increase the interest in the study of historical science in the University and throughout the State, to afford means of regular communication with corresponding members of the Seminary and with the general public—especially with the Alumni of the University, and to preserve at least the outlines of carefully prepared papers and addresses. The number of pages in each issue will be increased as rapidly as the subscription list will warrant. The entire revenue of the publication will be applied to its maintenance.

Address all subscriptions and communications to

F. W. BLACKMAR,
Lawrence, Kansas.

THE NOTES for the month, follows up the article upon "History in Public Schools," by Principal Johnson in the March number, by an article upon the same subject from H. A. Peairs. These articles are just what are wanted; brief, sharp notes upon the theory and practice of the preparatory teaching of history. It is hoped that other workers in high schools or graded schools throughout the state will not hesitate to send suggestions upon this subject so that their views may be published and criticised in the NOTES.

SHORTLY before Prof. James H. Canfield left Kansas University to become Chancellor of Nebraska University, he announced that a new course of study would be offered in the ensuing year upon the "Status of Woman." Considerable interest was taken in this throughout the state, and a gentleman of Topeka, Mr. T. E. Bowman, generously contributed $100 as a nucleus for the purchase of reference books upon the subject. The gift was acknowledged both by Chancellor Snow and by Prof. Canfield, but in the unlooked for resignation of Prof. Canfield, the gift was lost sight of for the moment and has since lain in the Clerk's office until recently brought to light. The NOTES regrets that acknowledgement was not made earlier for this gift. The course in "Status of Woman" is now being given by Prof. Blackmar, and many reference books have been purchased for the study. Mr. Bowman's gift is, however, an addition, and more than that such gifts are always an encouragement to the instructors of the Historical department.

DURING the last month, a number of very interesting meetings of the Historical Seminary have been held. In addition to the regular student sessions, reports of which may be found in the foregoing pages, papers have been read by four of the corresponding members of the Seminary. Hon. B. W. Woodward's paper is published in part in this issue of the NOTES, lack of space making necessary the omission of a portion of it. While not dealing specifically with such subject matter as is usually brought before the Seminary, this paper was of great interest to the students and was warmly appreciated. Judge Thacher's address on "Labor in the Old World" was, according to the speaker, merely intended to consist of the casual observations of a traveler; but, to any one who heard the address, it was at once evident that in this instance the traveler was a very careful observer of what he comes in contact with. Probably a better picture was left upon the mind of the auditors, of the condition of life among those classes of people described than could have been by any arrangement or compilation of statistics on the subject. On the afternoon of March 18, Principal Clark of Minneapolis, Kans., read a paper on the Aryan question, and brought out more and sharper discussion from the students than has been obtained at any other meeting this year. The paper was

clear cut and positive and therefore offered opportunity for definite attack or defense. On the evening of the same day Chancellor Canfield, of Nebraska State University, delivered an address in the Chapel upon the "Rise and Growth of Individualism." This address was originally intended for the Historical Seminary simply, but when the speaker's friends and admirers in Lawrence heard of his coming, so many of them expressed a desire to hear him, that it was thought best to make a public address of it and hold the meeting in the evening,—Chancellor Canfield kindly consenting to such an arrangement. The audience was a large one, and the paper was both scholarly and entertaining. No report of it is given in this issue of the NOTES, but the editor hopes to be able to publish a good portion of it in the near future.

These addresses are encouraging evidence of the interest which men throughout the state are taking in the work of the Historical Seminary. When a business man or a professional man is willing to spend considerable time in the preparation of a careful paper on some given topic, and to come to our University to read that paper before a student body, it shows that he has something more than a passing interest in the work which has been undertaken by the Seminary. The members of the Seminary appreciate this perhaps more than anything else in connection with the organization. They feel that the subjects which they are studying are subjects of the greatest importance and interest in the eyes of the best men in the state. The presence of the corresponding members in the Seminary is both an incentive to earnest work and at the same time insures a careful consideration and examination of whatever may be brought up for study. The NOTES wishes to return thanks to the corresponding members.

LAST month, in discussing the use of the library, a word was said about the use of the card indexes. By way of continuation, a few suggestions in regard to the use of reference books may not be out of place. Horace Greeley, when interrupted by requests for information of all kinds, used to reply "look in Webster's Unabridged." The answer was a pertinent one. Very few fully appreciate the rerources of the large dictionaries. At least half the questions that arise in the course of ordinary reading may be answered by consulting them. Of the dictionaries the most generally useful is the new Webster's "International," the successor to the "Unabridged," Greeley referred to. Of all works of reference, this is perhaps the most important to have as a corner-stone to a student library. In the appendix, you have a full list of noted names of fiction, a dictionary of biography, and a gazeteer, so that the work is a dictionary of language, literature, geography and biography all in one. With some, Worcester or Stormonth is the preferred authority on pronunciation. Of still larger works there is the great "Century Dictionary," the method of compilation of which was described in a recent number of the "Century Magazine." Murray's "New English Dictionary" promises to be still larger. The former is a union of dictionary and cyclopædia; the latter emphasizes the philological side of a dictionary.

Next in order to dictionaries of language come the cyclopædias and special dictionaries. The careful student, in investigating a topic, will not rest content with information gleaned from a cyclopædia, but their articles are often convenient starting points, in that they give summaries of the subject in hand and often contain references to further sources of information. For ready reference "Johnsons Cyclopædia" is the best. Its articles are by leading authorities and have the great merit of being signed. A student in quoting a statement may know upon whose authority it is based. Appleton's "American Cyclopædia" covers much the same ground but its articles are un-

signed. The annual continuations of Appleton give the best summary of recent events. The great "Britannica" is not so much a work of ready reference as it is a collection of elaborate monographs. Many of these monographs have been reprinted separately and make books in themselves. Such are Ingram's excellent outline of "The History of Political Economy," Sidgwick's "Short History of Ethics," and Johnston's "United States." From its arrangement the "Britannica" is not easy of reference upon special points but its articles are often the best summary of general subjects. Of special Cyclopædias, Lalor's "Cyclopædia of Political Science" is the most important one in English for the field it covers. The best parts of it are the articles on American history by the late Alexander Johnston, which are made especially useful by the reference appendix to them. Taken together these articles furnish the best summary of American political history we have. In the field of political science, there is no cyclopædia in English at all comparable to the great "Handworterbuch der Staats wissenshaften," edited by Conrad and his associates, and now in course of publication. An English "Dictionary of Political Economy," edited by R. H. I. Palgrave, is now publishing. Of dictionaries of biography, Thomas is most convenient for ready reference. Allibonn's "Dictionary of Authors" gives English and American names and has recently been brought down to date by supplementary volumes. Leslie Stephen's "Dictionary of National Biography" gives very full notices of Englishmen but is only about half completed. Of dictionaries of history, Hayden's "Dictionary of Dates" farnishes a vast amount of information in a form easily accessible. Low and Pulling's "Dictionary of English History" is convenient in its field. A "Cyclopædia of American History" by Benson J. Lossing is published by Appleton. Ploetz's "Epitome of Universal History" is a chronological summary, most convenient to have ever at hand In this connection may be mentioned the "Statesman's Year-book," which gives annually an historical and statistical summary of all countries. For recent statistics and miscellaneous information the various almanacs are useful The treasury department publishes annually "A Statistical Abstract." For names of places consult Lippincott's "Pronouncing Gazetteer." Of historical atlases, Droysen's is the best in the University library. In using it Freeman's "Historical Geography of Europe" is of service. Small historical atlases are Labberton's and Longman's, and for the United States MacCoun's and Hart's.

It remains to mention bibliographies and reference lists. First in importance for students of history is Adams' "Manual of Historical Literature," which gives descriptions and criticisms of leading works in all departments of history, with suggestions for courses of reading. Some useful short lists have been printed under the title of "Economic Tracts," by the Society for Political Education. One of them, "The Reader's Guide," gives a classified bibliography of political and economic science. Two others, by Mr. W. E. Foster of the Providence Public Library, give useful reference lists on the American constitution and the history of presidential administrations. Most full references for American history may be found in the critical essays on sources of information in Winsor. Various bibliographies that appear from time to time are indexed in the Bulletin of the Library of Harvard University. Material in the Magazines is made accessible by Poole's "Index to Periodical Literature."

The first step in learning the use of a library is to learn the use of its catalogue, the second is to become familiar with its books of reference, bibliographies and the like. It is with a view of assisting any who may have neglected this work, that attention han been called to a few of the most useful of this class.

COURSES OF STUDY

IN

HISTORY AND SOCIOLOGY.

FOR 1891-2.

F. W. BLACKMAR, PH. D.
F. H. HODDER, A. M.
E. D. ADAMS, PH. D.

Instruction in this department is given by means of lectures, recitations, reports, discussions, and personal direction in study and research. As the library is an indispensable aid in the pursuit of the following courses, students are expected to become acquainted with the best methods of collecting and classifying materials and of writing and presenting papers on special topics. All lectures are supplemented by required reading and class exercises.

Facts are essential to all historic study; yet the aim is to take the student beyond the mere details of events—to inquire into the origin and development of society and the philosophy of institutions. While the study of the past is carried on with interest and thoroughness, the most important part of history—that which lies about us—is kept constantly in view. The history of other nations, other political systems and other forms of administration, are studied, that we may better understand our own. To understand present social and political institutions, and to give an intelligent solution of present problems, is the chief aim of instruction in historical science.

THE WORK OF THE DEPARTMENT

Now embraces European History, American History and Civil Government, the History of Institutions, Sociology, and Political Economy. The work in American History will be continued with enthusiasm and thoroughness. Classes having begun this work will continue without a break. The importance of this work needs no comment. The preparation for good citizenship demands, among other things, a thorough knowledge of the growth of nationality, and the history of our industrial, social and political development. These, with financial experiments and national diplomacy, receive marked attention. The text of the Constitution and Constitutional Law occupy a prominent place in the study of this branch.

OUTLINE OF COURSES.

FIRST TERM.

1. English History. Daily. Descriptive history. A careful study of the English people, including race elements, social and political institutions, and national growth.

2. The History of Civilization. Lectures daily, embracing ancient society, and the intellectual development of Europe to the twelfth century. Special attention is given to the influence of Greek philosophy, the Christian church, the relation of learning to liberal government, and to the rise of modern nationalities.

3. Political Economy. Daily. The fundamental principles are discussed and elaborated by descriptive and historical methods. All principles and theories are illustrated by examples from present economic society. A brief history of Political Economy may be given at the close of the course.

4. French and German History. Daily. Descriptive history; including race elements, social and political institutions, and national growth. Especial attention given to French politics.

5. Historical Method and Criticism. One hour each week. Examination and classification of sources and authorities; analysis of the works of the best historians; collection and use of materials, and notes and bibliography.

6. Statistics. Two hours each week. Supplementary to all studies in economics and sociology. The method of using statistics is taught by actual investigation of political and social problems. The history and theory of statistics receives due attention.

7. Journalism. Lectures three hours each week. Laboratory and library work. *Legal and Historical.*—Ten lectures by Prof. E. D. Adams. *English.*—Twenty-five lectures by Profs. Dunlap and Hopkins. *Newspaper Bureau, Magazines, and Special Phases of Journalism.*—Prof. Adams.

The course was prepared especially for those students who expect to enter journalism as a profession. Although the instructors have no desire to create a special School of Journalism for the purpose of turning out fully-equipped journalists, they believe that this course will be very helpful to those who in the future may enter the profession. The course will be found highly beneficial to stu

dents who want a special study in magazines and newspapers as a means of general culture. The course is under the direction of this Department, but the professors named above have kindly and generously consented to assist in certain phases of the work, which occur more particularly in their respective departments.

8. American History. Instruction is given daily for two years in American History. The course embraces Colonial History and the Local Government of the Colonies, the Constitutional and Political History of the Union from 1789 to the present time, the formation of the Constitution, and an analysis of the text of the constitution itself.

9. Local Administration and Law. Three conferences each week during the first term, covering the Management of Public Affairs in districts, townships, counties, cities, and States. This course is intended to increase the sense of the importance of home government, as well as to give instruction in its practical details.

10. Public Finance and Banking. Two conferences each week during the first term, on National, State, andMunicipal Financiering; and on Theoretical and Practical Banking, with the details of bank management.

SECOND TERM.

11. English Constitutional History. Two hours each week. A special study in the principles and growth of the English Constitution. This course may be taken as a continuation of number one. As it is a special study of Constitutional History, students ought to have some preparation for it.

12. Renaissance and Reformation. Lectures two hours each week, with required reading and investigation. This course may be taken as a continuation of number two. It includes the Revival of Learning throughout Europe, with especial attention to the Italian Renaissance; a careful inquiry into the causes, course, and results of the Reformation. The course embraces the best phases of the intellectual development of Europe.

13. Advanced Political Economy. Three hours each week, consisting of (*a*) lectures on Applied Economics, (*b*) Practical Observation and Investigation, and (*c*) Methods of Research, with papers by the students on special topics. This is a continuation of number three.

14. Institutional History. Lectures three hours each week on Comparative Politics and Administration. Greek, Roman and Germanic institutions are compared. The historical significance of Roman law is traced in mediæval institutions. A short study in Prussian Administration is given at the close of the course.

15. The Rise of Democracy. Lectures two hours each week on the Rise of Popular Power, and the Growth of Political Liberty in Europe. A comparison of ancient and modern democracy, a study of Switzerland, the Italian Republics, the Dutch Republic, and the French Revolution, constitute the principal part of the work, Students will read May's Democracy in Europe.

16. Elements of Sociology. Lectures three hours each week on the Evolution of Social Institutions from the Primitive Unit, the Family; including a discussion of the laws and conditions which tend to organize society. The later part of the course is devoted to modern social problems and socialistic Utopias.

17. Charities and Corrections. Two hours each week. Various methods of treatment of the poor. Scientific charity. Treatment of the helpless. Prison reform. State reformatories. This course is supplementary to number sixteen. Special efforts will be made towards a practical study of Kansas institutions.

18. Land and Land Tenures. Lectures two hours each week. This course treats of Primitive Property, the Village Community, Feudal Tenures of France and England, and Modern Land-holding in Great Britain and Ireland and the United States. Reports are made on other countries, and on recent agrarian theories and legislation This is an excellent preparation for the study of the Law of Real Property,

19. The Political History of Modern Europe. Two hours each week, including the Napoleonic wars, German Federation, the Rise of Prussia, the Unification of Italy, the Revolution of 1848, the Third Republic, the Russian problem, etc.

20. Constitutional Law. Three conferences each week during the second term, on the Constitution of the United States; with brief sketches of the institutions and events that preceded its adoption, and with special attention to the sources and methods of its interpretation.

21. International Law and Diplomacy. Class work twice each week during the second term; using Davis on the Rise and Growth of

International Law, and Schuyler on the History of American Diplomacy.

22. The Status of Woman in the United States. Three conferences each week during the second term, on the Status of Woman in all countries and times; with special investigation of the present legal, political, industrial, and professional position of women in the different States of the American Union.

23. The Histories and Methods of Legislative Assemblies. Two conferences each week during the second term on the Rise and Growth of Legislative assemblies, their rules of order and methods of business.

24. Mediæval History. Two-fifths of the last term of the Freshman year. For all students whose admission papers show that they have had Elementary Physics, Hygiene, and Chemistry. The course includes a study of the fall of the Western Empire, the Teutonic Races, and the rise of new nationalities.

25. Seminary. Two hours each week throughout the year.

New Courses. Other courses may be given in Political Philosophy, Modern Municipal Government, Roman Law, the South American Republics, and Comparative administration.

Graduate Courses. To those desiring them special courses for post-graduate students will be given in the following subjects: The History of Institutions, American History and Civil Government, Sociology, Political Economy.

Newspaper Bureau. In connection with the work of the Department a Newspaper Bureau is maintained. In this the leading cities of the United States are represented by some twenty daily and weekly newspapers. The principal object of the Bureau is to enable students to form habits of systematic reading, to keep informed on the current topics of the day, to study the best types of modern journalism, to learn to discriminate between articles of temporary value only and those of more permanent worth, to make a comparative study of editorial work, to master for the time being the current thought on any particular subject, and to preserve by clippings properly filed and indexed, important materials for the study of current history and public life—to *make* history, by the arrangement and classification of present historical matter.

Preparation for Entrance to the University. —The time spent in the high schools in the study of history is necessarily limited. For this reason it is essential that the greatest care be exercised in preparing students for entrance into the University. At present very little history is required in the Freshman and Sophomore years, and the students enter upon the study of the Junior and Senior years without thorough preparation for the work. It would seem that the aim should be for all those who contemplate entering the University to learn the story of nations pretty thoroughly. A general outline of the world's history with a special study of the United States history and government represents the field. But this outline should be something more than a mere skeleton of facts and dates It should be well rounded with the political, social and economic life of the people. Students will find a general text-book, such as Myer's, Sheldon's or Fisher's indispensable; but the work of preparation ought not to stop here. Such works as Fyffe's Greece, Creighton's Rome, Seebohm's Era of Protestant Revolution, Cox's Greece, and others in the Primer, Epoch, and Stories of Nations, series ought to be read. The object of this reading is to familiarize the student with the political and social life of the principal nations of the world. For this purpose everything should be as interesting as possible. Such an interest should be aroused that the student would not be puzzled over dates and threadbare facts, but would seize and hold those things that are useful on account of the interest his mind has in them. That history which is gained by a bare memory of events is soon lost. It grows too dim for use and consequently leads to confusion. With the story of the nations well learned the student comes to the University prepared for the higher scientific study of history and its kindred topics, He is then ready for investigation, comparison and analysis. He then takes up the real investigation of the philosophy of institutions and of national development. He is then ready for the science of Sociology, Institutional History, Political Economy, the Science of Government, Statistics or Political Economy. Students who enter the University without this preparation find it necessary to make up for it by the perusal of books, such as those mentioned above.

STUDENTS' LIBRARIES.

Every student in the University should lay the foundation of a good working library. Such libraries are not "made to order" at some given time, under specially favorable financial conditions—but are the result of considerable sacrifice, and are of slow growth. The wise expenditure of even ten dollars in each term will bring together books which if thoroughly mastered will be of great assistance in all later life. Room-mates, or members of the same fraternity, by combining their libraries and avoiding the purchase of duplicates, can soon be in possession of a most valuable collection of authors. Assistance in selecting and in purchasing will be given upon application.

The prices named below are the list prices of the publishers.

Any book in the list below can be had of Field & Gibb, Booksellers and Stationers.

Students are required to purchase books marked with an asterisk.

American Book Company, Chicago.

Manual of the Constitution, Andrews....$ 1.00
Analysis of Civil Government, Townsend.... 1.00
Civil Government, Peterman.... .60
History of England, Thalheimer.... 1.00
Mediæval and Modern History, Thalheimer.... 1.60
Outlines of History, Fisher.... 2.40
General History of the World, Barnes.... 1.60
Political Economy, Gregory.... 1.20
Lessons in Political Economy, Champlin.... .90

Ginn & Co., Boston and Chicago.

Ancient History, Myers & Allen....$ 1.50
Mediæval and Modern History, Myers.... 1.50
Political Science and Comparative Law, Burgess, 5.00
Macy's Our Government.... .75
*General History, Myers.... 1.50
Leading facts in English History, Montgomery... 1.12
Philosophy of Wealth, Clark.... 1.00
Political Science Quarterly, Yearly.... 3.00
Washington and His Country, Fiske.... 1.00

Harpers, New York.

*History of Germany, Lewis.... 1.50
*International Law, Davis.... 2.00
*Political History of Modern Times, Mueller.... 2.00
*Short English History, Green.... 1.20
Civil Policy of America, Draper.... 2.00
History of English People, Green, 4 vols.... 10.00
History of United States, Hildreth, 6 vols.... 12.00
The Constitution, Story.... .90

Holt & Co., New York.

*American Politics, Johnston....$ 1.00
American Colonies, Doyle, 3 vols.... 9.00
American Currency, Sumner.... 2.50
History of Modern Europe, Fyffe, 3 vols.... 7.50
Political Economy, Walker.... 2.25

Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

*Civil Government in United States. Fiske....$ 1.00
American Commonwealths, 13 vols., each.... 1.25
American Statesmen, 24 vols., each.... 1.25
American Revolution, Fisk, 2 vols.... 4.00
Critical Period of American History. Fisk.... 2.00
Emancipation of Massachusetts, Adams.... 1.50
Epitome of History, Ploetz.... 3.00
War of Secession, Johnson.... 2.50

Appleton, New York.

Dynamic Sociology, Ward, 2 vols....$ 5.00
History of Civilization, Guizot.... 1.25
Political Economy, Mill, 2 vols.... 6.00

Cranston & Stowe, Chicago.

*Political Economy, Ely....$ 1.00

Macmillan, New York.

Constitutional History, England, Stubbs, 3 vols..$ 7.80
Principles of Economics, Marshall, vol. I.... 3.00

Armstrong, New York.

*Democracy in Europe, May, 2 vols....$ 2.50

G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London.

*American Citizen's Manual, Ford....$ 1.25
Unwritten Constitution of the U. S., Tiedeman... 1.00
History of Political Economy, Blanqui.... 3.00
Introduction to Eng. Econon. Hist. and Theory, Ashley.... 1.50
Indust. and Com. Supremacy of Eng., Rogers.... 3.00
Economic Interpretations of History, Rogers.... 3.00
Constitutional History of the U. S., Sterne.... 1.25
*Tariff History of the United States, Taussig.... 1.25
The Story of Nations, 34 vols., each.... 1.50
Heroes of the Nations, 12 vols., each.... 1.50
American Orations, ed. by Johnston, 3 vols., each 1.25

Callaghan & Co., Chicago.

Constitutional History of U. S., Von Holst, 6 vol $20.00
Constitutional Law of U. S., Von Holst.... 2.00
Political Economy, Roscher, 2 vols.... 6.00

Crowell, New York.

*History of France, Duruy....$ 2.00
Labor Movement in America, Ely.... 1.50
Life of Washington, pop. ed., Irving, 2 vols.... 2.50
Problems of To-day, Ely.... 1.50

Little, Brown & Co., Boston.

History of Greece, Grote, 10 vols....$17.50
Parkman's Works, per vol.... 1.50
Rise of the Republic, Frothingham.... 3.50

Longmans, Green & Co., New York.

Epochs of Ancient History, each vol....$ 1.00
Epochs of Modern History, each vol.... 1.00
Political Economy, pop. ed., Mill.... 1.75
The Crusades, Cox.... 1.00

Scribners, New York.

*American Diplomacy, Schuyler....$ 2.50
History of Rome, Mommsen, 4 vols.... 8.00
Lombard Street, Bagehot.... 1.25
Silent South, Cable.... 1.00

Silver Burdett & Co., Boston.

*Historical Atlas, Labberton....$1.50 or $ 2.00
*Historical Geography of U. S., MacCoun.... 1.00
*Institutes of Economics, Andrews.... 1.50
Institues of General History, Andrews.... 2.00

Dodd, Mead & Co., New York.

History of United States, Schouler, 5 vols....$11.50

D. C. Heath & Co., Boston.

*The State, Woodrow Wilson....$ 2.00
Principles of Political Economy, Gide.... 2.00
Methods of Teaching History, Hall.... 1.50
General History, Sheldon.... 1.60
*Old South Leaflets, 22 Nos., each.... .05
History Topics, Allen.... 25
State and Fed. Governments of the U. S., Wilson 50
The American Citizen. Dole.... .90
Comparative View of Governments, Wenzel.... .20
Studies in American History, Sheldon—Barnes..

SEMINARY NOTES.

STATE UNIVERSITY—LAWRENCE, KANSAS.

VOL. I. MAY, 1892. No. 8.

SEMINARY OF HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCE.

All students connected with the department of History and Sociology are, by virtue of such connection, members of the Seminary. All students having two or more studies under the instructors of the department are required to take the work of the Seminary as part of their work in course.

The meetings of the Seminary are held every Friday, in Room 15, University Building. Public meetings will be held from time to time, after due announcement.

The work of the Seminary consists of special papers and discussions, on topics connected with the Department mentioned; prepared as far as possible from consultation of original sources and from practical investigation of existing conditions, under the personal direction of the officers of the Seminary.

Special assistance in choice of themes, authorities, etc., is given members of the Seminary who have written work due in the department of History and Sociology, or in the Department of English, or in any of the literary societies or other similar organizations in the University; on condition that the results of such work shall be presented to the Seminary if so required.

In connection with the work of the Seminary, a Newspaper bureau is maintained. In this the leading cities of the United States are represented by some twenty daily and weekly newspapers. The principal object of the Bureau is to enable students to form habits of systematic reading, to keep informed on the current topics of the day, to study the best types of modern Journalism, to learn to discriminate between articles of temporary value only and those of more permanent worth, to make a comparative study of editorial work, to master for the time being the current thought on any particular subject, and to preserve by clippings properly filed and indexed, important materials for the study of current history and public life—to *make* history by the arrangement and classification of present historical matter.

Special investigation and study will be undertaken during each year, bearing on some one or more phases of the administration of public affairs in this State; the purpose being to combine service to the State with the regular work of professional and student life. In this special work the advice and cooperation of State and local officials and of prominent men of affairs is constantly sought, thus bringing to students the experience and judgment of the world about them.

Graduates of our own University, or other persons of known scholarly habits, who have more than a passing interest in such work as the Seminary undertakes, and who are willing to contribute some time and thought to its success, are invited to become corresponding members of the Seminary. The only condition attached to such membership is, that each corresponding member shall prepare during each University year one paper, of not *less* than two thousand five hundred words, on some subject within the scope of the Seminary; and present the same in person at such time as may be mutually agreed upon by the writer and the officers of the Seminary, or in writing if it be found impossible to attend a meeting of the Seminary.

The library of the University and the time of the officers of the Seminary are at the service of corresponding members, in connection with Seminary work—within reasonable limits.

More than twenty gentlemen, prominent in official and professional circles, have already connected themselves with the Seminary, and have rendered very acceptable service during past years.

The officers and members of the Seminary will gladly render all possible assistance ot any public officials who may desire to collect special statistics or secure definite information on such lines of public work as are properly within the sphere of the Seminary.

Any citizen of Kansas interested in this work is invited to correspond with the Seminary, and to be present at its meetings when possible.

FRANK W. BLACKMAR,
DIRECTOR.
FRANK H. HODDER,
VICE-DIRECTOR.
EPHRAIM D. ADAMS,
SECRETARY.

RISE AND GROWTH OF INDIVIDUALISM.

The following is an abstract of Chancellor James H. Canfield's address before the Seminary on March 18th.

THE speaker's theme was the rise and growth of the idea of individual power, individual freedom and individual responsibility. After showing that these ideas were not known in early forms of national life, and tracing the history of the earlier peoples through the Hebrew republic, the Oriental monarchies, the Greek and Roman state, he referred to the so-called barbarians, the Teutonic race, the real ancestors of the pure American. These had within their grasp thoughts and puposes and principles, the germs of future beliefs and of future national life that were worth far more than Greece or Rome ever possessed. The grandest characteristics of modern life have come to us from the old Teutons. It was the fresh blood that gave new life to the world, as fresh blood always give new life. The southern tribes gradually disappeared before the northern, both uniting to form a race better than either, but with all the vigor and staying power of the northern. All instincts of modern life are Teutonic. All common law is of Germanic origin. The strength and intensity of purpose, the determination to lead a masterful existence, the virility and grip and grit of modern life—all these come from the Germans.

After the fall of the Roman empire, several forms of government struggled for the mastery in Europe. None was at any time wholly dominant. One of these forms, apparently very weak at first, but constantly gaining in strength, was that of democracy. Democracy is founded on the idea that each man is an accountable being; that he is not naturally under domination; that the working out of his destiny lies within himself. This thought if not instinctive with the earliest man is at least an instinct of civilization. In a democratic state men do not live for the government, but the government exists for man; there are no rulers, but public servants; the many are not on all-fours and saddled for the few to ride.

The first movement toward freedom and individualism that was really a great movement and had staying power was the Reformation. The old Teutonic element was well at the front again. It is impossible to think of the Reformation as beginning with the Latin race. The seeds of Protestanism had been with the Germans from the earliest day. No idolatry, no peculiarly consecrated place for worship, and the individual accountability of each person direct to God, with no intermediary—this was the great movement that touched all people alike, that ministered to and enlarged and quickened and made grand the common life of Christendom.

Then came the civil freedom of man. If he could question eternal things, he could certainly question temporal things. If he could determine his relations to God, he could certainly determine his relations to an earthly ruler. And so on every side and in every direction a civil law began to encroach upon the ecclesiastical law. This movement must follow the religious movement because it was intellectual while the religious was emotional—and the emotional nature is the first to move in such a young race as the Teutons. Following this legal advance came the advance to an independence in literature which began to reflect individual thought concerning those matters of deepest interest in individual life.

Then followed the advance in that wonderful century which just preceded the settlement of America. But individualism was not to win so easily. Brute force asserted itself and the people were again ignored and maltreated and then forgotten altogether. Then came the

French revolution. It was a destructive and disastrous explosion; but very few movements in the world's history have been freighted with greater blessings. It was in some senses on even a higher level than our own. It sprang out of the stupidity and oppression of the Bourbons, who were endowed by nature and perfected by grace with all that kings ought not to have or to be. The French people demanded recognition and right of way. That constituted the revolution. And with the revolution went all the traces of feudalism. The dead past disappeared —except the Bourbon family, which remained to curse all nations with its similitudes and counterparts even to this day. The French revolution was the beginning of constitutionalism, of regulated and restrained authority in Europe.

Our own struggle had been marked by the cool and conservative temper of the Anglo Saxon and of the Puritan. We erected a federal republic, not a pure democracy. It was a government marked by the distrust of the people, in which the so-called better class took to themselves all the power and all the responsibility, because the better class had no confidence in the people. But the democratic idea had taken root and grew so rapidly that by the end of the first twenty-five years we had thrown aside extreme federalism and were rapidly becoming the democratic republic of to-day. Yet the development of individualism was with us very one-sided from the start; because we had an aristocracy that must be gotten rid of; and because we ignored women.

The first time that a great moral question came up in this country woman pushed right to the front. She was met with derision and scandal and abuse and ecclesiastical and social excommunication, but she forged right along. Her great power lay in the general correctness and force of her moral instincts. Most women are instinctively right and righteous. Like the magnetic needle they are delicately poised and swerve readily, but they point true to the pole. Man, on the contrary, is generally and persistently and sullenly wrong. He has to be set by force of arms every morning to agree with the governor, like the weather cocks in New Amsterdam. He relies too much upon his own strength and arbitrarily sets aside the proper feeling of dependence and moral submission.

In attempting to make us see what a horrible thing human slavery was, a few men and women gave marvelous proof of personal power and of individualism. Such were usually far in advance of their age. I asked an English workman once what was the great inspiration of his class in his own country during the late American war. Said he: "I can tell you. I was at the meeting held at Hyde park, which was broken up by the soldiery. We were charged by cavalry and driven out of the enclosure. We marched back to London, 30,000 strong, and as we marched we sang the song of John Brown." So it happened that we who had set ourselves against fanatics suddenly found that they were right and that we were wrong. When the first gun was fired on Sumpter the people awoke to a keen and even painful sense of their personal and individual responsibility for the then condition of things. When it came to the necessity of going into the ranks it was an individual matter. There was no putting the question over into the next pew. The greatest lesson of the war was the lesson of the responsibility of every man and every woman for the state of society. A marvelous moral and intellectual activity grew out of it. The signs of it are everywhere—the very air is full of it. In education and in literature and in oratory individualism wins the day. No one is like any one else. The same fact is true in the industrial world. To-day competition is not lying about the other man, but showing individuality in meeting the demands of the market better than the other man. New forms and new designs and new adaptations are carrying

the day. A man cannot succeed along the old lines. He must have used his own brain to good purpose to meet the demand. This is the way that nations can hold the markets of the world; and in no other way. This is why all nations desire to come in contact with all other nations —that they may find out what is being done and how; that they may surpass it. Isolation and seclusiveness are unnatural, and both signs and causes of weakness and cowardice.. When there is common occupancy of common ground, then in all directions individuality asserts itself and gains the mastery of all forces.

Of course, there are some who are frightened at the individual freedom of to-day in thought and in action; who think that there is grave danger in this condition; who cannot see that it is the legitimate outcome of the past and that it is full of promise for the future; who utterly fail to realize that when one is working for himself and thinking for himself, life means more than it can otherwise mean of advancement and of strength; who do not at all understand that opinions are the stages that show advancement along the road, while formulae learned by rote and parrotted day after day only mark the way to second childhood or to the grave. It has always been thus; the new life and the better life of the world tugging in the collar, with conservatism and "vested rights" and Bourbonism and hunkerdom with foot on the brake. The heart of Pharaoh is ever so hardened that he will not let the Lord's children go that they may worship as they will; but they reach the promised land at last. The classicist moaned over the fall of an empire so corrupt that we wonder now that a righteous God permitted it to curse the earth so long; but upon its ruins rest the great free states of to-day. The church shrunk terror-stricken when a little monk nailed the theses on the cathedral door, but to that act we owe the religious strength and and freedom of Christendom. Men cried that all was lost when the hot flames of revolution licked up the refuse of the past in France; but a mighty republic is soaring upward on untiring wing. The Adamses and Hancocks and Hamiltons saw the cis-Atlantic nation already disintegrated and in the sere and yellow leaf because of the rising power of that "incarnation of infidelity, and Jacobin casuistery," Jefferson, but the people lifted our ark of the covenant and are carrying it in safety.

That there is a danger none can deny. Freedom unchains all the forces of society —bad as well as good. A government by the people is by the weak and ignorant people as well as by the wise and strong people. And this is inevitable. Some people will go better in leading strings than they will go alone. But it is better that all men should all go free and alone even though some fall never to rise, than that all men should go in leading strings. It is quite impossible for us to tell who may need the leading strings; and it is more impossible to tell who may hold the leading strings.

In closing, the speaker said that personal freedom and personal accountability compel us to seek the truth without regard to the results of our investigation either on ourselves or on our preconceived ideas or on the community. Only the truth thus sought and proclaimed will make us free. We cannot be free unless we thus accept the responsibility of our own actions and thoughts. It would be very pleasant to belong to a church in which the priest carried all our sins or to a government where the monarch carried all the care; but we all know that this is not accounted life to-day. We must be prepared for pain; for the most painful thing on earth is to grow and change. This is chiefly because others do not grow as you do; or in the direction in which you do; and then you find yourself cut off from father or mother or friends or from the entire community. It is hard to paddle your own canoe; especially to paddle it up stream. The easiest thing to

do is to agree with those around you and thereby win their friendship and applause. But without flinching think your own thoughts and work out your own salvation. Nothing in this world that is worth the having comes without a struggle. Change your position when you must or ought; put yourself in larger circles; even if you must turn your back on all that you have held dear. Not that he is the brightest and quickest who is always at variance with some one. But you should humbly and thoughtfully and painfully if needs be go about your own work in your own way. Be thankful for a day and age in which the individual is appreciated, in which all your faculties and powers can have full sway, in which you can think and live and speak for yourself, and in which you are all the more sure of a great and lasting reward.

> This is the thought I hold with firm persistance:
> The last result of wisdom stamps it true;
> He only earns his freedom and existence
> Who daily conquers them anew.

REFERENCES ON MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED STATES.

THE municipal reports of American cities form the original material for a study of their government. As there is no comprehensive work relating to the subject of our municipal institutions, it has been thought that a list of such literature as exists in the form of articles in periodicals and occasional lectures and addresses might be useful. A part of this list was printed in the Literary Bulletin of Cornell University for January, 1883. So much has been written upon the subject since then that the list is here reprinted with additions bringing it down to date.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT GENERALLY.

An outline sketch of local administration should precede the special study of city government.

Short accounts of the systems of local government of the principal countries of continental Europe are given in the Cobden Club Essays: Local Government and Taxation (London, 1875), edited by J. W. Probyn. See also F. Béchard's *De L'administration de la France* (2 v. Paris, 1851), with appendix on municipal organization in Europe.

The best short description of English local government is M. D. Chalmers's Local Government ("English Citizen" Series, London, 1883). See also Local Administration ("Imperial Parliament" Series, London, 1887) by Wm. Rathbone, Albert Pell and F. C. Montague. For still shorter account read chapter 15 of May's Constitutional History and article on "Local Government in England" by F. J. Goodnow in the Political Science Quarterly (Dec., 1887) vol. 2, pp. 338-65, and an article by the same writer on "The Local Government Bill" in the Political Science Quarterly (June, 1888), vol. 3, pp. 311-333. Supplement Chalmers with Cobden Club Essays: Local Government and Taxation in the United Kingdom (London, 1882), edited by J. W. Probyn. The most exhaustive work on English local offices is Rudolph Gneist's *Self Government: Communalverfassung u. Verwaltungsgerichte in England* (untranslated, 3d ed., 1876). For quite full bibliography see Gomme's Literature of Local Institutions (London, 1886).

The best short outline of local government in the United States is an article by S. A. Galpin on "Minor Political Divisions of the United States," in Gen. F. A. Walker's Statistical Atlas of the United States. The papers on the local institutions of several of the States in the Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science are especially valu-

able. Chas. M. Andrews has articles on Connecticut towns in the Johns Hopkins Studies, vol. 7, and in the Annals of the American Academy of Political Science (Oct., 1890), vol. 1, pp. 165-91. Especially important is Prof. Geo. E. Howard's Local Constitutional History of the United States, vol. 1.: "The Development of the Township, Hundred and Shire," printed as an extra volume in this series. John Fiske's lecture on "The Town Meeting," delivered at the Royal Institution, was printed in Harper's Magazine, vol. 70, pp. 265-272, and in his American Political Ideas (N. Y. 1885). A different view of the present importance of local institutions is taken by Prof. S. N. Patten in an article on the "Decay of State and Local Governments," in the first number of the Annals of the American Academy of Political Science. For comparison of American and foreign methods, read R. P. Porter's article "Local Government: at Home and Abroad," Princeton Review (July, 1879, N. S. vol. 4, p. 172), and reprinted separately. See two articles on "Local Government in Prussia," by F. J. Goodnow in the Political Science Quarterly, vol. 4, pp. 648-66, and vol. 5, pp. 124-58 (Dec., 1889, and March, 1890). For further reference on local self-government see W. F. Foster's Monthly Reference Lists, vol. 2, pp. 23-29, and his pamphlet of References on Political and Economic Topics, p. 24.

For Canada, see J. G. Bourinot's "Local Government in Canada: an historical study," in Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada for 1886, vol. 4, sec 2, pp. 42-70. Printed separately by the publishers, and reprinted, with a letter on the municipal system of Ontario, in the 5th series of the Johns Hopkins Studies. A paper on "The Ontario Township," by J. M. McEvoy, printed in 1889, forms No. 1 of the Toronto University Studies in Political Science.

EUROPEAN CITIES.

For the purpose of comparison, some study should be made of municipal government abroad. Dr. Albert Shaw gives a general view of "Municipal Govern-met in Great Britain," in Notes Supplementary to the Johns Hopkins Studies, No. 1 (Jan., 1889) and in the Political Quarterly, vol. 4, pp. 197-229 (June, 1886). Of larger works on English municipal history, mention may be made of J. R. S. Vine's "English Municipal Institutions; their Growth and Development from 1835 to 1879," London, 1879. Dr. Chas. Gross has printed a very complete "Classified List of Books relating to British Municipal History," Cambridge, 1891, as No. 43 of Bibliographical Contributions of Harvard University. Foreign experience is of very little assistance in the solution of the general problem of municipal government in the United States, but it may be useful in indicating improved methods of administration in particular departments of a city government. Several cities that illustrate different forms of municipal government may be taken as examples.

LONDON.

Specially excepted from the operation of the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835. For outline of government read Chalmers, chap. 10, For full description see J. F. B. Firth's Municipal London (1876) and his Reform of London Government and of City Guilds ("Imperial Parliament" Series, London, 1888). For history of the corporation consult W. J. Loftie's History of London (2d ed., 1884), and the same author's small work, London, published in 1887 in Freeman's series on "English Historic Towns." Both books are based on new material, part of it recently discovered by Bishop Stubbs. For additional references, see Gomme, pp. 122-134.

There have been a great many articles on the municipal government of London in recent periodical literature. Among them may be cited those by W. Newall, Contemporary Review, vol. 12, p. 73 (1873), and vol 25, p. 437 (1875); W. M. Torrens, Nineteenth Century (1880), vol

8, p. 766; Alderman Cotton, Benj. Scott, City Chamberlain, and Sir Arthur Hobhouse in Contemporary Review, vol. 41 (1882), pp. 72, 308, and 404 respectively; the Westminster Review, for January, 1887; Dr. Albert Shaw on "How London is governed" in the Century (Nov., 1890), vol. 41, pp. 132-47, and on "Municipal Problems of New York and London" in the Review of Reviews (April, 1892), vol. 5, p. 282; James Monro on "The London Police" in the North American Review (Nov., 1890), vol. 151, pp. 615-29, and Sir John Lubbock on "The Government of London" in the Fortnightly Review (Feb., 1892), vol. 51, p. 159. For a good review of the attempts since 1860 to regulate the London gas supply, see an article in the British Quarterly for January, 1879.

A Royal Commission on the City Livery Company reported May 28th, 1884. See the discussion by Sir R. A. Cross one of the dissenting members of the Commission, in the Nineteenth Century for 1884, vol. 16, p. 47, and by Sir Arthur Hobhouse in Contemporary Review for 1885, vol. 47, p. 1. The most important work on the London guilds is William Herbert's "History of the Twelve Great Companies of London" (London, 1837). The latest contribution to the subject is Price's "Description of the Guildhall" (London, 1887).

BERLIN.

An excellent short account of the government of Berlin is given by Dr. Rudolph Gneist, a member of the municipal council since 1848, in the Contemporary Review, vol. 46, p. 769, December, 1884. See also the report on the "Administration of the City of Berlin" in Foreign Relations for 1881, p. 487, made by Assistant-Secretary of Legation Coleman at the request of Hon. Andrew D. White, then Minister to Germany. Also the articles by Prof. R. T. Ely in the Nation for March 23 and 30, 1882, vol. 34, pp. 145 and 267. The same writer printed an article on street cleaning in Berlin in the Evening Post for April 6, 1881. Reference may be made to a lecture by E. Eberty entitled *Die Aufgaben der Berliner Communalverwaltung und die Erhœhung der stadtischen Steuern* (Berlin, 1878). The Magistracy publish reports at irregular intervals. The first, *Bericht ueber die Verwaltung der Stadt Berlin, in den Jahren 1829 bis incl. 1840* (Berlin, 1842), and the second, *in den Jahren 1841 bis incl. 1850* (Berlin, 1853), are of considerable importance. A third, published in 1863, covers the peried from 1851 to 1860, and a fourth, printed in 1882, covers the period from 1861 to 1876. The Director of the Statistical Bureau of the city publishes annually *Das Statistische Jahrbuch der Stadt Berlin.*

The present municipal system of Prussia dates from the reorganization of the municipalities by Stein and Hardenberg, Nov. 19, 1808. See Seeley's Life of Stein, part 5, chap. 3, and Meier's *Reform der Verwaltung-Organization unter Stein und Hardenberg* (Leipsig, 1881) The present "Municipal Corporation Act" (*Stædteordnung*) was passed May 30, 1853. See Kotze, *Die Preussischen Stædte Verfassungen* (Berlin, 1879); and Backoffner, *Die Stædteordnungen der Preussischen Monarchie* (Berlin, 1880). See also the articles on local government in Prussia above cited.

PARIS.

A sketch of the government by Yves Guyot, a member of the municipal council, may be found in the Contemporary Review (March, 1883), vol. 43, p. 439. Dr. Shaw gives an excellent short account in an article entitled "The Typical Modern City," in the Century (July, 1891), vol. 42, pp. 449-66. He cites as the principal authority on the subject Maxime Du Camp's *Paris, ses organes, ses fonctions, et sa vie dans la seconde moitie du dixneuvieme siecle.* An extended description is also given in a work entitled *Administration de la Ville de Paris,* written by Henri De Pontich under the direction of Maurice Block (Paris, Guillaumin, 1884).

The *Rapports et Documents* and *Procees-Verbaux* of the municipal council are printed yearly in three large quarto volumes, and the municipal bureau of statistics issues an annual report.

OTHER FOREIGN CITIES.

Statistics of all important German cities are given in Dr. M. Neefe's *Statistisches Jahrbuch Deutscher Stædte*, Erster Jahrgang, Breslau, 1890. Financial statistics of the great European cities are given in Joseph Kœrœsi's *Bulletin Annual der Finance des Grandes Villes*, Dixième Année, Budapest, 1890.

A short account of the municipal government of Vienna is given in a report by Mr. Kasson in Foreign Relations for 1879, p. 64, and an extended account in Dr. Felder's *Die Gemeinde-Verwaltung der Reichs-haupt und Residenzstadt Wien* (Vienna, 1872). Prof. F. G. Peabody gives a sketch of Dresden in an article entitled "A Case of Good City Government," in the Forum (April, 1892), vol. 13, p. 53.

The following relate to various British cities: Dr. Shaw's "Glasgow, a municipal study," in the Century (March, 1890), vol. 39, pp. 721-36; the same writer's, "Municipal Lodging Houses," in No. 1 of the Charities Review (Nov., 1891); Julian Ralph's "The Best Governed City in the World" (Birmingham) in Harper's Magazine, vol. 81, pp. 99-111 (1890), and Thos. H. Sherman's report on "Liverpool, its Pavements, Tramways, Sewers and Artisans's Dwellings," in Consular Reports (June, 1890), vol. 33, pp. 284-303.

AMERICAN CITIES.

LEGAL STATUS.

The comparison of the provisions of the state constitutions relating to municipal corporations see F. J. Stimson's American Statute Law (Boston, 1886), vol. 1, articles 34, 37 and 50. Note the classification of municipalities in Ohio. On the the relation of municipalities to the states consult the chapter on "The Grades of Municipal Government" in Judge T. M. Cooley's Constitutional Limitations (6th ed., Boston, 1890) and a short chapter at the close of the same author's Principles of Constitutional Law. Judge J. F. Dillon's Treatise on the Law of Municipal Corporations (4th ed., 2 vols., Boston, 1890) is the standard authority on the subject. Note the introductory historical sketch. A new text-book on the Law of Municipal Corporations by Chas. F. Beach, Jr., is announced as "in press" by Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Reference may may also be made to Judge Dillon's Law of Municipal Bonds (Chicago. 1877) and to A Treatise on Municipal Police Ordinances (Chicago, 1887) by N. T. Horr and A. A. Bemis, of the Cleveland bar. The authors of the last work say in their preface that "The necessity for it arises from the fact that, except in those cities and towns where the municipal council has the assistance of regularly employed legal advisers, the limits of lawful legislation are apt to be exceeded."

Numerous references to articles in law journals are given on pp. 386-388 of Jones's Index to Legal Periodical Literature (Boston, 1888). An article by J. R. Berryman on "Constitutional Restrictions upon Legislation about Municipal Corporations," in the American Law Review (May-June, 1888), vol. 22, p. 403.

STATISTICS.

The following Reports of the Tenth Census treat of this subject: vol. 1, Population; vol. 7, Valuation, Taxation and Indebtedness; vol. 18, Social Statistics of Cities: New England and Middle States (reviewed in the Nation, vol. 44. p. 256); vol. 19, Social Statistics of Cities: Southern and Western States.

Scribner's Statistical Atlas of the United States (N. Y., 1883), exhibits the figures of the census graphically (p. xlv, statistics of population). Plate 21 illustrates the growth of American cities since 1790. There were then only eight cities of eight thousand inhabitants, and the population of New York was 33,131. Plate 30 gives ratios of different nationalities to total population in the fifty largest cities.

Plate 76 gives net per capita debt in the one hundred largest cities.

The 11th census will give very full statistics of cities, but though some of the results have been announced in bulletins, none of the final reports have yet been issued. These results have been summarized by Hon. Carroll D. Wright in the Popular Science Monthly for 1892, vol. 40. On "Urban Population" see p. 459; on "Social Statistics of Cities" p. 607, and on "Rapid Transit" p. 785.

On movement of population see an article by B. G. Magie, Jr., in Scribner's Monthly (Jan., 1878), vol. 15, p. 418; Prof. Richmond Smith's "Statistics and Economics," p. 264 in vol. 3 of the Publications of the American Economic Association, and a study on the "Rise of American Cities" by Dr. A. B. Hart in the Quarterly Journal of Economics (Jan., 1890), vol. 4, pp. 129-157. Cf. work by E. Levasseur, entitled *Les Populations Urbaines en France, comparees a celles de l'Etranger* (Paris, 1887).

The Annual Statistician, published by L. P. McCarty, San Francisco, gives the following statistics for leading cities: number of votes registered and polled; number of voting precincts; strength of police; losses by fire and number of fire-engines and firemen; value and capacity of gas and water works; number and character of street lights; vital statistics; number of murders, suicides, and executions; length of street railroads and cost of motive power; telegraph and telephone mileage; number of saloons and cost of licenses; attendance and cost of schools; annual tax-rate, expenditure and the public debt.

Wm. W. Goodwin's Directory of the Gas Light Companies (N. Y., A. M. Callendar & Co.) and the same writer's paper on "Statistics regarding the Gas Companies of America," read at the Fourteenth Annual Meeting of the American Gas Light Association, held in Philadelphia in October, 1886, printed in the American Gas Light Journal for December 16, 1886, and reprinted separately, gives the number of gas companies, number of public lamps, price of gas, method of manufacture, &c.

The Manual of American Water Works, by M. M. Baker, has succeeded the Statistical Tables of American Water Works, by J. J. R. Croes, both published by the Engineering News Co., New York. These annuals give for each city the ownership and date when water works were built; the source and mode of supply; cost, debt, and rate of interest; annual expense and revenue from consumers and the public; the number of miles of pipe and kind of pipe for mains and services; the number of taps, meters, and hydrants; the ordinary and fire pressure and daily consumption. The first works in the United States for public supply were built at Bethlehem, Pa., in 1754. New York was first supplied in 1799, and Philadelphia in 1801. Water in both cities was pumped by steam engines and distributed through bored wooden logs.

FINANCE.

Vol. 7 of the Reports of the Tenth Census, compiled by Robert P. Porter, gives statistics of local taxation and indebtedness, and a summary of the provisions of the several state constitutions limiting the rate of taxation, the amount of municipal debts, and the purpose for which they may be contracted. See p. 674 for an analysis of the purposes for which the debt outstanding in 1880 was contracted. The eleventh census will give similar data. Mr. Porter published an article on municipal debts in the N. Y. Banker's Magazine for September, 1876, and another in Lalor's Cyclopædia of Political Science, vol. 1, p. 730. Cf. also his article in the Princeton Review, N. S., vol. 4, p. 172. For a further study of this subject, read Prof. H. C. Adams's Public Debts (N. Y., 1887), Part 3, chap. 3. See also G. W. Green's article on "Municipal Bonds" (Lalor's Cyclopædia, vol. 2, p. 920); Prof. S. N. Patten's "*Finanzwesen der Staaten und Stædte der Nordamerikanischen Union* (Jena., 1878);

C. Hale's "Debts of Cities" (Atlantic, vol. 38, p. 661) for the law of Massachusetts; D. L. Harris's "Municipal Economy" (Journal of Social Science, vol. 9, p. 149) for the experience of Springfield, Mass., and articles in Bradstreet's for February 10 and March 3, 1883, for a comparison with local debts in England, and H. B. Gardner's "Statistics of Municipal Finance" in the Publications of the American Statistical Association (June, 1889), vol. 1, pp. 254-67. On the debt of New York City see the paper by Wm. M. Ivins cited below. A Statement of Facts Concerning the Financial Affairs of the City of Elizabeth, N. J., which has the largest per capita debt in the United States, was published by some of the citizens of that place in January, 1886.

Municipal taxation is treated at length in Prof. R. T. Ely's Taxation in American States and Cities (New York, 1888). The Reports of the Commissioners Appointed to Revise the Laws for the Assessment and Collection of Taxes in New York (1871 and 1872) contains much valuable material. The members of the Commission were David A. Wells, Edwin Dodge, and George W. Cuyler. The first report was reprinted in New York by Harpers, and were both reprinted in England by the Cobden Club. Cf. also Wells's "Theory and Practice of Local Taxation in America," in the Atlantic Monthly for January, 1874; "Rational Principles of Taxation," a paper read in New York, May 20, 1874, (Journal of Social Science, vol. 6, p. 120); and his "Reform of Local Taxation" in the North American Review for April, 1876. On the evils of double taxation see a paper on "Local Taxation" by William Minot, Jr., read in Saratoga, September, 5, 1877, and printed in the Journal of Social Science, vol. 9, p. 67. See Report in 1876 of New Hampshire Tax Commission, composed of Geo. Y. Sawyer, H. R. Roberts, and Jonas Livingstone; and Report of the Michigan Commission (House Journal, February 23, 1882). A similar Commission, appointed by the City of Baltimore, reported in January, 1886. The Report contains, in addition to the recommendations of the Commission, a paper by Prof. R. T. Ely, entitled "Suggestions for an improved system of Taxation in Baltimore." A further article on "Municipal Finance" may be found in Scribner's Magazine (January, 1888), vol. 3. pp. 33-40.

GENERAL DISCUSSIONS.

The Report of the Commission to devise a Plan for the Government of Cities in the State of New York (Assembly Doc. vol. 6, No. 68, 1877) is very important. The Commission was appointed by Governor Tilden, with Wm. M. Evarts as chairman. The constitutional amendment proposed by the Commission was discussed by E. L. Godkin in the Nation, vol 26,. p. 108. See also the Report of the Commission to devise a Plan for the Government of Cities of the State of Pennsylvania (Harrisburg, 1878), and Governor Hartranft's message of January 4, 1876, advising the appointment of the Commission.

The following papers have been printed in the Johns Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science: "The City of Washington," by J. A. Porter, in vol 3; "The Town and City Government of New Haven," by Charles H. Levermore, in vol. 4; "City Government of Philadelphia," by Edward P. Allinson and Boies Penrose; "City Government of Boston," by James M. Bugbee; and "City Government of St. Louis," by Marshall S. Snow, in vol. 5; the "Municipal Government of San Francisco," by Bernard Moses, and the "Municipal Government of New Orleans," in vol. 7. Extra volume 1, of these Studies is The Republic of New Haven: A History of Municipal Evolution (Baltimore, 1886), by Charles H. Levermore. The paper on New Haven first mentioned is a reprint of chapter 8 and 9 of this work. Extra volume 2 is entitled Philadelphia, 1681-1887. A Study of Municipal Development (Phila., 1887), by Edward P. Allinson and Boies Penrose.

The study of Philadelphia before cited is a preliminary sketch of the larger volume. Vol. 2 of Prof. Geo. E. Howard's Local Constitutional History of the United States, to be printed in this series, will treat of the "Development of the City and Local Magistracies."

A number of articles relating to city government have appeared in the Forum: "The New York Aldermen," by E. S. Nadal (Sept., 1886); "Our Political Methods" relating to New York, by David Dudley Field (Nov., 1886); "Waste by Fire," by Clifford Thompson (Sept., 1886); "English and American Fire Services," by H. D. Purroy (Nov., 1886); "A Letter to the People of New York," by Howard Crosby (Dec., 1886); "A Letter to the People of Philadelphia," by Henry C. Lea (Jan., 1887); "Overgrown City Government," by James Parton (Feb., 1887); "Remedies for Municipal Misgovernment," by Amos K. Fiske (April, 1887); "The Congestion of Cities," by E. E. Hale (Jan., 1888); "Obstacles to Good City Government," by Pres. Seth Low (May, 1888), vol. 5, p. 260; "The Government of American Cities," by Andrew D. White (Dec., 1890), vol. 7, pp. 357-72; "One Remedy for Municipal Government," by Pres. C. W. Eliot (Oct., 1891), vol. 12, pp. 153-168, and "A Case of Good City Government" (Dresden), vol. 13, p. 53 (April, 1892).

Prof. James Bryce's well known work on The American Commonwealth (Lon. and N. Y., 1888) contains the following chapters on municipal government: chapters 50 and 51, "The Government of Cities;" chap. 52, "An American View of Municipal Government in the United States," by Pres. Seth Low; chap. 59-64 explain the working of party machinery; chap. 88, "The Tweed Ring in New York City," by F. J. Goodnow, and chap. 89, "The Philadelphia Gas Ring."

"Solid for Mulhooly," by Rufus E. Shapley, called out by the rule of the gas ring in Philadelphia, printed anonymously in 1881, and reprinted in vol. 1 of Spofford and Shapley's Library of Wit and Humor (Phila., 1884) is an excellent satire on machine methods in city politics.

Simon Sterne has an article on the "Administration of American Cities" in Lalor's Cyclopædia of Political Science, vol. 1, p. 460, and another with the same title in the International Review, vol. 4, p. 361. See also his Suffrage in Cities (No. 7, Putnam's "Economic Monographs," o. p.) and his Constitutional History of the United States (N. Y., 1882), pp. 257 and 266-274. Mr. Sterne was a member of the New York Commission. For other short accounts of municipal government see John Fiske's Civil Government in the United States, chap. 5, and W. C. Ford's American Citizen's Manual, Part 1, pp. 66-83.

Hon. Seth Low, formerly Mayor of Brooklyn and now President of Columbia University, has printed a speech on "Municipal Home Rule," delivered in Brooklyn, October 6, 1882; an address on "Municipal Government," delivered in Rochester, N. Y., February 19, 1885 (printed by the Municipal Reform League of Rochester); an address on "The Problem of Municipal Government," delivered before the Historical and Political Association of Cornell University, March 16, 1887 (printed by the University); "The Problem of City Government," reprinted from the Civil Service Reformer for April, 1889, as No. 4 of the Notes Supplementary to Johns Hopkins University Studies; "The Government of Cities in the United States," in the Century (Sept., 1891), vol. 42, pp. 730-36, and other papers cited above.

Wm. M. Ivins, Ex-Chamberlain of New York City, published an article on "Municipal Finance" in Harper's Magazine (Oct., 1884), vol. 69, pp. 779-87, and a pamphlet on The Municipal Debt and Sinking-Fund of the City of New York, containing an argument on hearing before the Governor, June 2, 1885, and an historical review of the funded debt and of the operations of the sinking-fund since

their foundation. In an article on "Municipal Government," Political Science Quarterly (June, 1887), he shows that the changes in municipal organization have been incident to the extension of the general functions of government and gives an analysis of the system of government in New York City. His Machine Politics and Money in Elections in New York City (Harper's "Handy Series," N. Y., 1887) describes the working of the election laws, and advocates the adoption of the essential features of the English system. For the English law in full, see Lely and Foulkes's Parliamentary Election Acts (London, 1885).

Prize Essays on Municipal Reform, written for the Cambridge Civil Service Reform Association (Cambridge, 1884), contain "The Selection of Municipal Officers: their Terms and Tenures," by T. H. Pease, of Chicago, Ill.; "The Appointment of Municipal Officers," by John Prentiss, of Keene, N. H.; and "The Selection and Tenure of Office of Municipal Officers," by Prof. H. T. Terry, of the University of Tokio, Japan.

Reference may be made to Franklin Ford's Delusive Methods of Municipal Financiering, a paper read before the Municipal Society of New York in the spring of 1879, and a pamphlet on The New York City Charter (N. Y., 1882), comprising a number of articles that had appeared in Bradstreet's Journal. Mr. Ford's papers on municipal government, read before the Social Science Association of Philadelphia and the American Association at Saratoga, have never been printed.

The revision in 1881 of the city charter of Newton, Mass., started a discussion of municipal methods. A majority of the Commission reported one plan, and a minority another. Francis J. Parker, one of the minority, published A Study of Municipal Government in Massachusetts (Boston, 1881), and the discussion of the subject was continued by Mr. Parker and Prof. W. F. Allen in the Nation, Sept., 1881, vol. 33, pp. 169 and 196.

The Massachusetts Society for Promoting Good Citizenship arranged a course of lectures on municipal government, which was delivered at the Old South Meeting House in Boston during the winter of 1889. The course was as follows: "The Trustworthy Citizen," by Rev. C. F. Dole; "The Rise of American Cities," Prof. A. B. Hart; "Birmingham," by Rev. John Cuckson; "Berlin, the Model City," by Sylvester Baxter; "The New Ballot System," by R. H. Dana; "The True School Board," by W. A. Mowry; "The Government of Boston," by Hon. Henry H. Sprague; "Josiah Quincy, the Great Mayor," by Hon. Mellen Chamberlain, and "The Possible Boston," by Rev. Edward E. Hale. An abstract of the lectures was published by the society and some of the lectures were printed in "Lend a Hand," a monthly magazine edited by Dr. Hale.

Ex-Mayor Wm. R. Grace wrote of the "Government of Cities in the State of New York" in Harper's Magazine (1883), vol. 67, p. 609. The committee of the New York Senate on cities in 1890 took a mass of testimony respecting the government of cities in the State, which was transmitted to the legislature April 15, 1891, and printed in five large volumes. Volume 5 contains the general laws for the incorporation of cities in other States and much information respecting cities in New York. Senator J. S. Fassett summarized the results of the investigation in an article entitled "Why are our cities badly governed?" printed in the North American Review (May, 1890), vol. 150, p. 631.

The following discussion of the general subject of municipal administration may be cited: Dormau B. Eaton's "Municipal Government" (Journal of Social Science, vol. 5, p. 1), a paper read in Boston May 13, 1873; Samuel Bowles's "Relation of State to Municipal Governments, and the Reform of the Latter" (Journal of Social

Science, vol. 9, p. 140), a paper read in Saratoga, Sept. 7, 1877; John A. Kasson's "Municipal Reform" (North American Review, Sept., 1883, vol. 137, pp. 218-30); Robert Mathews's "Municipal Administration" (Address before the Fortnightly Club of Rochester, N. Y., Jan. 20, 1885); Charles Reemelin's "City Government," a paper read at the meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, held at Ann Arbor, Mich., in August, 1885; G. M. Browne's "Municipal Reform" (New Englander, Feb., 1886, vol. 45, p. 132); Carter H. Harrison's "Municipal Government," an address delivered before the Nineteenth Century Club of New York City, Nov. 23, 1886; F. D. Crandon's "Misgovernment of Great Cities" (Popular Science Monthly, vol. 30, pp. 296 and 520); G. F. Parsons's "The Saloon in Politics" (Atlantic Monthly, Sept., 1886, vol. 28, p. 414); John D. Cutter's open letter in the Century (May, 1887), vol. 34, p. 157, suggesting the re-establishment of guilds for the purposes of city government; Gamaliel Bradford's "Municipal Government" in Scribner's Magazine (Oct., 1887), vol. 2, pp. 485-493; papers on the city as a peril in "National Perils and Opportunities," discussions of the conference of the Evangelical Alliance in Washington, D. C., Dec., 1887; James Parton's "Municipal Government" (Chatauquan, Jan., 1888, vol. 8, p. 203); E. L. Godkin's "Criminal Politics" (North American Review, June, 1890, vol. 150, pp. 706-23) and "A Key to Municipal Reform" (North American Review, Oct., 1890, vol. 151, pp. 422-31) O. S. Teall's "Municipal Reform" (Cosmopolitan, March, 1891); article by F. S. Holls on "Compulsory Voting as a means of Correcting Political Abuses" (Annals of the American Academy of Political Science, April, 1891, vol. 1, pp. 586-614); papers by Mayors of Boston, Baltimore, Buffalo and St. Louis, entitled "How to improve municipal government" (North American Review, Nov., 1891, vol. 153, pp. 580-95; a paper by W. D. Lewis on "Political Organization of a Modern Municipality" and one by F. P Prichard on "The Science of Municipal Government" in the number of the Annals of the American Academy of Political Science for January, 1892, and Julian Ralph's "Western Modes of City Management" (Chicago) in Harper's Magazine, April, 1892, vol. 84, p. 709.

MUNICIPAL INDUSTRIES.

Papers on "The Relations of the Modern Municipality to Quasi-Public Works," edited by Prof. H. C. Adams and printed in vol. 2 of the Publications of the American Economic Association, and an excellent paper by A. H. Sinclair on "Municipal Monopolies and their Management," printed as No. 2 of the Toronto University Studies in Political Science, discuss the relations of cities to water works, gas and electric lighting and street railways. A commission appointed to investigate this subject in Washington, D. C., has made an extended report in favor of municipal ownership. See for brief discussions Sir T. H. Farrer's "The State in its Relation to Trade" (London, 1883), chap. 10, and C. W. Baker's "Monopolies and the People" (N. Y., 1889), chap. 5. Arguments against public ownership are given in Lieut. Allen R. Foote's pamphlets "Municipal Ownership of Industries" and "Municipal Ownership of Quasi Public Works," Washington, D. C., 1891. Prof. Goodnow cites an article by Dr. Hack on German water works in the *Zeitschrift fuer die gesammte Staatswissenschaft*, 1875, vol. 34, p. 307. The subject of public ownership of gas works is fully discussed in two monographs printed in the Publications of the American Economic Association, one by Prof. E. J. James, entitled "The Relation of the Modern Municipality to the Gas Supply" in vol. 1, and the other, by Prof. E. W. Bemis, entitled "Municipal Ownership of Gas Works in the United States" in vol. 6. "Gas in Foreign Countries" is the subject of a special consular report issued

by the Department of State in 1891. Cf. the references under the head of statistics, and the article on "London Gas" in the Quarterly Review for January, 1879. Bronson C. Keeler favors municipal ownership in his article on "Municipal Control of Gas Works" in the Forum for Nov. 1889. The contest over the natural gas bonds, issued by the city of Toledo, was set forth in a pamphlet printed by the Gas Trustees in 1889. Arguments against public ownership of electric light works are given in a pamphlet on "Municipal lighting," by M. J. Francisco, Rutland, Vt., 1890. Some important information is collected in a Report on the Use of Streets by Private Corporations, made by a special committee of the Boston Board of Aldermen and printed as City Document 144. 1890. A. H. Sinclair gave an account of the short experiment made by Toronto in municipal ownership of street railway in his article on "The Toronto Street Railway" in the Quarterly Journal of Economics (Oct., 1891), vol. 6, pp. 98-105. The Consular Report for Dec., 1891, contains a short account of "Tramways and Water Works in England."

VARIOUS TOPICS.

A series of articles on rapid transit in cities, by T. C. Clarke, is announced by the publishers of Scribner's Magazine for the current year (1892). This subject received special attention in the eleventh census. Simon Sterne described "The Greathead Underground Electric Railway" in London in the Forum for Aug., 1891, vol. 11, p. 683. Dr. E. R. L. Gould gives statistics of "Park Areas and Open Spaces in American and European Cities" in the Publications of the American Statistical Association (June, 1888), vol 1, pp. 49-61.

On sanitary questions consult Erwin F. Smith's Influence of Sewerage and Water-Supply on the Death-Rate in Cities (a paper read at a Sanitary Convention in Ypsilanti, Mich., July 1, 1885, and reprinted from a Supplement to the Annual Report of the Michigan State Board of Health for the year 1885) and the numerous references given in the notes. Cf. also Dr. L. L. Seaman's Social Waste of a Large City, a paper read before the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Aug. 20, 1886 and printed in Science, Sept. 24, 1886. An address on "Public Health and Municipal Government" delivered before the American Academy of Political Science was printed as a supplement to the Annals of the Academy for Feb., 1891. For references on the charities of Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, and Boston, see Prof. H. B. Adams's "Notes on the Literature of Charities" (Johns Hopkins Studies, vol. 5. no. 8). An important series of articles on "The Poor of Great Cities" is in course of publication in Scribner's Magazine (1892). Albert Shaw's article on "Municipal Lodging Houses" in the first number of the Charities Review was cited above. On the subject of education see John D. Philbrick's City School Systems (Circular of Information no. 1, 1885, issued by the National Bureau of Education).

PARTICULAR CITIES.

Many of the papers already cited, especially the Johns Hopkins Studies and the articles in the periodicals, relate to particular cities, but have been referred to above because of their more or less general application. A special study may be made of New York, and a few notes on other cities added.

NEW YORK CITY.

For a brief account of the system of Government see the article on "New York" by E. L. Godkin in the Encyclopædia Britannica (9th ed., vol. 17). Dr. J. F. Jameson's "Origin and Development of the Municipal Government of New York City" (Magazine of American History, May and September, 1882), gives a sketch of municipal government down to 1821. A portion of each volume of the Manual of the Corporation (28 v., 1841-71), after that for 1846, is devoted to a

history of the city. The volume for 1868 contains a reprint of old charters. The fact that James Parton in Oct., 1866 (North American Review, vol. 103, p. 413), attributed the growing evils in the government of the city to the abolition of household suffrage is interesting in connection with the recommendation of the Commisson of 1877. See also in the North American Review, "The Judiciary of New York" (July, 1867, vol. 105, p. 148), and Charles Nordhoff's "Misgovernment of New York" (Oct., 1871, vol. 113, p. 321). An account of the Tweed ring may also be found in the North American Review, in a series of articles by C. F. Wingate, entitled "An Episode in Municipal Government," beginning in the number for Oct., 1874, and ending in the number for Oct., 1876. On the same subject cf. A. H. Green's Three Year's Struggle with Municipal Misrule in New York City, a Report made by the Comptroller to the Board of Aldermen, Feb. 18, 1875, and S. J. Tilden's "Municipal Corruption," Law Magazine and Review, N. S. vol 2, p. 525 (London, 1873). See also Geo. H. Andrews's Twelve Letters on the Future of New York (N. Y., 1877). The entire second volume of the Statutes of New York for 1882 is devoted to the present charter of the City of New York, or the "Consolidated Act," as it is called. The Investigation of the Department of Public Works in 1884 was printed in Senate Doc. no. 57, 1884; and the investigation by the committee, of which Theodore Roosevelt was chairman, was reported in Assembly Docs. nos. 125, 153, and 172, 1884. The Report of the Investigation of the New York Consolidated Gas Company forms Senate Doc. no. 47, 1886. The committee found that in 1883 the gas trust declared dividends of from 23 to 33 per cent. Of recent articles on cost and methods of elections cf. W. M. Ivins's articles cited above; Theodore Roosevelt's "Machine Politics in New York City" in the Century (Nov., 1886), vol. 33, p. 74; J. B. Bishop's Money in City Elections, an address read before the Commonwealth Club in New York, March 21, 1887 (reported in the Evening Post and reprinted separately); the same writer's "The Law and the Ballot," Scribner's Magazine (Feb., 1888), vol. 3, p. 194; and the Nation (vol. 44, pp. 180 and 204); A. C. Bernheim's "Party Organizations and their Nomination to Public Office in New York City" in the Political Science Quarterly, (March, 1888) vol. 3, pp. 97-122, and the same writer on "The Ballot in New York" in the Political Science Quarterly, March, 1889, vol. 4, pp. 130-52; and Dr. Shaw's "Municipal Problems of New York and London" in the Review of Reviews, April, 1892, vol. 5, p. 282.

PHILADELPHIA.

Johns Hopkins Studies cited above; E. V. Smalley's article on the "Committee of 100" in the Century (July, 1883), vol., 4, p. 395; the Nation, Nov. 26, 1885; Publications of the Philadelphia Social Science Association for 1876 and 1877, on the subject of building associations. The reform charter or the "Bullitt Bill," which went into effect April, 1887, is said to be a model municipal constitution.

CHICAGO.

Reports of the Citizen's Association, beginning in 1874.

BOSTON.

Report of the Commission on the City Charter and Two Minority Reports (Docs. 120, 146, and 147, 1884). The first Report contains an outline of the municipal governments of New York, Brooklyn, Philadelphia, Baltimore, St. Louis, and Chicago. See also Reports of the Citizen's Association.

CINCINNATI.

J. F. Tunison's Cincinnati Riot: its Causes and Results (Robt. Clarke & Co., 1886).

CHARLESTON.

The Yearbooks contain in the appendices much valuable historical matter.

That for 1880 gives a sketch of the development of the city government; that for 1883 a description of the centennial celebration, with an historical review; and the last volume contains an account of the earthquake of August 31, 1886.

WASHINGTON.

The Johns Hopkins Study was reviewed in the Nation for January 14, 1886, p. 26. Though not strictly within the scope of this list, reference may be made to Dr. A. R. Spofford's address before the Maryland Historical Society on The Founding of Washihgton City (J. Murphy & Co., Baltimore).

PROVIDENCE.

Town and City Government in Providence, a Study in Municipal History, by Geo. G. Wilson, Providence, Tibbitts & Preston, 1889.

F. H. Hodder.

COLLEGE EXPENSES.

During the first term of the present collegiate year a course on *Statistics* was given. This course included a historical review of the development of statistical work, lectures on the preparation of schedules, the gathering of statistics, and the correction of returns, and practical work in the proving and graphic illustration of statistics by means of maps and diagrams. At the close of the course it was suggested by a member of the class that some information in regard to college expenses at Kansas State University be collected. This suggestion was adopted, and five gentlemen spent some considerable time in sending out requests for information, in securing returns by personal work among the students, and in making up tables for tabulation. These gentlemen were H. C. Riggs, T. W. Butcher, S. Ploughe, R. F. Whitzel, and J. G. Galbreath. The summaries of expense given later do not in any way show the amount of work which was done, inasmuch as all the preliminary tabulation is of course omitted in this article.

The request for information which was sent out, and to which Chancellor Snow very kindly gave his approval, was as follows:

"The class in Statistics has undertaken to secure some reliable information regarding cost of living per school year for students attending our University. It is therefore desired that every student to whom this circular is sent, return an answer within a week's time, to the subjoined itemization of expenses.

DIRECTIONS.

"1.—Sign your name and give the course you are pursuing and the class of which you are *at present* a member, in the space left for that purpose. The reason for requesting your signature is merely to secure authenticity of statistics. That portion of the circular containing your signature will be detached by Mr. E. D. Adams, instructor in Statistics, from the portion giving expenses. Only the latter portion will be seen and used by the class in compiling the figures given, so that there can be no knowledge of the personality of any one answering this circular.

"2.—Each student is expected to answer for the expenses of the college year, of ten months, ending June 10th, 1891. Indicate the class year for which the expenses are given by drawing your pen through that year named in the heading at the top of the next page.

"3.—When it is impossible to give accurate figures for the items of expense called for, make a close estimate, and upon entering the item place the letter E after it.

"4—Place this circular in the enclosed envelope, seal, and deposit it in one of the boxes standing in the hall of the main building and in the hall of the law building.

"F. H. SNOW, Chancellor."

Signature..........................
Class............ Course.............
Expenses of the 1st, 2d, 3rd, 4th, Year.
Course.. ....

ITEMS.	Dollars.	Cents.
1—Tuition and Laboratory fees,	....	....
2—Books and Stationery.....	....	....
3—Clothing..........	....	....
4—Room Rent.............	....	....
5—Furniture................	....	....
6—Board..................	....	....
7—Fuel and Light..........	....	....
8—Washing................	....	....
9—Sundries................	....	....
Total..........	....	....

As will be noted in reading this request each student is asked to give expenses of the preceding collegiate year. Thus the senior returned expenses of the Junior year; the Junior of the Sophomore year and so on. No student therefore returned expenses for more than one year, and the average expense for any one year, as given below, is merely the average expense of the members of one particular class. This is a fault, but it could not be avoided if accurate returns were to be secured. If the same request for returns of expenses is sent out in future years, still more interesting information may be secured, showing the average expense of each class for each year spent in the University.

Before giving the figures, it is necessary to make some further statements regarding them. The statistics do not show expenses of the Senior year. Sufficient returns could not be secured from graduates to justify any computation of an average for this year. The Statistics show only averages for *gentlemen students*. Requests were sent to the ladies of the University, but not more than a dozen returns were made. Such returns as came in were very carefully made out, but were not sufficient in number. The returns from the ladies the University were therefore omitted in making up the averages. The item, "Tuitions and Laboratory fees," is not given as a separate item as called for in the returns, but is included in "Sundries." It was at first intended to give an average expense for each course as well as for each class, but this was found impracticable, and the item mentioned was therefore dropped. All returns which were not made out in the form prescribed in the request, with name, class, and year of expense, all returns in which the total given did not coincide with the sum of the items, and all returns from students having homes in Lawrence, in which case some of the items did not apply, were dropped in making up the averages. Returns were made by students who are making their way through the University, paying their room rent, board &c., by means of some sort of work, and not in cash. These returns were of course very low in some instances, as will be seen by looking at the table of "Highest and Lowest Expenses." It was decicded however that they could be legitimately used in estimating average expense for the student who comes here to secure an education, and they were therefore included. Excluding students having homes in Lawrence, and ladies of the University, the percentage of students for each expense year, represented in the averages given, is as follows: Freshman year, 67 per cent.; Sophomore year, 84 per cent; Junior year, 79 per cent.; Junior Law year, 88 per cent. With the qualifications, already mentioned, it would seem, therefore, that the average expense should be fairly accurate.

The following table gives an average for each year, for each item and total, and averages of all years for each item and

total. It may perhaps be noticed that the perpendicular and horizontal footings for the final average total expense for all years do not agree. The perpendicular footing is as given in the table, $294.98. The horizontal footing would be $295.00. This difference of 2 cents is due to several divisions necessary to strike averages in which the rule of counting 1 for every .55 or over was not followed. This difference was discovered to late to locate the error,

I.—AVERAGE COLLEGE EXPENSE.

	Books and Stationery.	Clothing.	Room Rent.	Board.	Fuel and Light.	Washing.	Sundries.	Total.
Freshman Year	$18 92	$43 68	$32 30	$93 76	$ 6 36	$11 06	$68 83	$274 91
Sophomore Year,	17 83	62 13	41 58	100 50	5 26	11 52	70 34	309 16
Junior Year,	22 86	55 00	43 03	115 00	7 25	16 49	75 41	335 04
Junior Law Year,	33 49	36 46	28 03	96 08	7 57	12 79	46 37	260 79
Grand Average of above years,	23 28	49 32	36 24	101 34	6 61	12 97	65 24	294 98

It is unnecessary to comment at length upon these averages. They show the usual steady increase for each year spent in college. In the table this increase seems to be due to the items of room rent, board, washing, and sundries, indicating that the increased expense of each year over the last comes from those things which go to make up the comforts or pleasures of student life. The Junior Law year shows an unusual expense for books, and a remarkably low expense for most of the other items. The Sophomore year seems to indicate a desire for fine raiment; the Junior year for good board and cleaner clothes. That which is most noticeable, however, in the whole table is the low total expense for each year. The highest average total given, that for the Junior year, of $335.04 is less than would be expected in this institution. An average expense for all students of $294.98 certainly puts a University education within the reach of any one who is willing to work hard for it, and this is the *average* and not the *lowest* expense.

The following table gives the highest and lowest expense reported for each item for each year, and the highest and lowest expense reported for each item for all years. The table is merely intended to show the wide variation of expense, and the low expense possible for each item.

II.—HIGHEST AND LOWEST EXPENSE REPORTED FOR EACH ITEM.

		Books and Stationery.	Clothing.	Room Rent.	Board.	Fuel and Light.	Washing.	Sundries.	Total.
FRESHMAN YEAR.	Highest.	$32 50	$103 00	$75 00	$140 00	$13 65	$24 30	$215 00	$533 25
	Lowest.	10 00	9 25	18 50	60 00	2 63	3 39	9 53	139 00
SOPHOMORE YEAR.	Highest.	40 00	185 00	80 00	140 00	10 00	20 00	184 00	523 00
	Lowest.	11 00	25 00	13 75	80 00	2 85	5 00	9 18	154 28
JUNIOR YEAR.	Highest.	35 24	100 00	84 00	125 00	10 25	25 40	100 00	459 00
	Lowest.	10 00	21 00	20 25	90 00	5 00	5 40	19 35	190 00
JUNIOR LAW YEAR.	Highest.	50 00	90 00	45 00	120 00	15 00	25 00	111 50	345 00
	Lowest.	7 90	11 45	12 00	55 00	5 10	5 18	10 00	182 90
FOR ALL YEARS RETURNED.	Highest.	50 00	185 00	84 00	140 00	15 00	25 40	215 00	533 25
	Lowest.	7 90	9 25	12 00	55 00	2 63	3 39	9 18	139 00

It will be noticed that this table merely gives highest and lowest expense for each item, treating the item "total" as having no connection with the other items in the same line. Each item in each year, therefore simply stands for itself and has no relation to other items. Thus the sum of the line of items of "highest expense" in the Freshman year, is of course greater than the "total" given as highest for that year, and the sum of the line of items given for "lowest expense" in the Freshman year is less than the "total" given as lowest for that year. The same rule applies to the remaining years and to the line showing "all years."

Both the highest and lowest total expense for all years are found in the Freshman year. In the next year these two extremes are nearer together, and in the next year, nearer yet. This would seem to show that the tendency was toward a lessening of high expense and an increase of low expense as the years go by. If, however, the tables of individual expense had been published it would be seen that the returns of highest and lowest expense for the Freshman year were exceptions from the general run of returns for that year, that the same was true of the Sophomore year, while the returns for the Junior year did not stand out as such marked exceptions to the general run of returns for that year. These items of highest and lowest expense do not, therfore, really indicate any violation of that which is accepted as a law of college expenses, i. e. that each additional year brings additional expense.

It is somewhat a matter of surprise here also that the highest return for total college expense is no more than it is. $533.25 is undoubtedly an unusual expense for K. S. U., but it would be regarded as a wonderfully low expense in many institutions, whose facilities and instruction do not surpass our own. There are no means of knowing whether the lowest total expense given, $139, was handed in by a student who was working his way through or not. Some students work their way through the school year with less cash expenditure than this. The next lowest total expense given in the table, $154.28, was reported by a student who stated, on his return slip, that this amount represented his exact expenses for the college year, without assistance from any work.

Other colums than that of the total are of interest in making comparisons between classes, etc. The reader can discover some curious comparisons if he cares to take the trouble. The result of the whole series of figures is to impress one with the fact that the average Kansas young man does not intend to waste any money. He comes to the University with a definite purpose, and spends money for the necessaries of life, but beyond that he does not go.

E. D. ADAMS.

SEMINARY REPORTS.

PENSIONS.

THE Seminary met April 15. The subject discussed was pensions and pension legislation. Mr. R. D. Brown read a paper on United States Pension Legislation, the substance of which is as follows:

Opinion on the subject of pensions in this country is divided. There are on the one hand those who complain that the government is miserly and ungenerous to those who fought for it and prevented its dissolution, and on the other hand those who maintain that the pension roll is

already too large; that the government has been generous beyond reason. But let us look for a short time at a few facts in the history of pension legislation, in order that they may assist us in forming a right conclusion in regard to the matter.

There were engaged in the war of the Revolution 278,021 men. Of these there were pensioned 62,069, or 22.3 per cent. of the whole, and to them there has been paid in pensions $46,082,000. In the War of 1812 there were engaged 527,054 men. Of these there were pensioned 60,670 or 11.1 per cent. of the whole, and there has been paid them in pensions $36,310,000. In the Mexican war there were engaged 72,260 men, of whom there had been pensioned up to 1887, 11,308, or 15.5 per cent of the whole. To them there has been paid in pensions $13,000,000. In the Civil War there were in actual service not more than 2,100,000 men. Of these there were on the pension roll June 30, 1891, 676,160 men, or 32.2 per cent. of the whole, and the amount paid in pensions for the fiscal year ending with that date was $118,548,956. This it must be remembered is only what was paid out in pensions for the one year ending June 1, 1891. The subjoined table shows the number on the roll and the amount paid in each semi-decennial year since the Civil War:

Year.	No. on Roll.	Amount Paid.
1865	85,986	$8,525,153
1870	198,686	27,780,811
1875	234,821	29,683,116
1880	250,802	57,240,540
1885	345,125	65,693,706
1890	537,944	106,493,790

The commissioner of pensions estimates that there will be on the roll in 1895, 1,050,000 names.

There were living, June 30, 1891, as shown by the report of the commissioner of pensions, 1,208,707 ex-soldiers of the Civil War. Of these 904,000, or 74 per cent. were either pensioners or applicants for pensions. 74 per cent. of the survivors of the Civil War have made oath that on account of wounds or diseases, they were incapacitated for manual labor, and the commissioner of pensions promises us that before June 30, 1895, nearly 90 per cent. of the survivors of that war will have made oath to the same effect, and that their claims for pensions will have been allowed.

In 1891 Great Britain disbursed in pensions $25,000,000; France, $29,851,000; Germany, $13,283,000; Austria, $12,245,000; Russia, $18,000,000; and the United States $118,548,956. It will thus be seen that the United States pays annually in pensions about four times as much as any other power, and $20,163,956 more than all the great nations of Europe combined. It costs the United States annually for pensions $27,026,461 more than it costs Germany to maintain a standing army of 449,342 men.

Mr. Thornton Cook followed with a paper the subject of which was "Notes on Pension Legislation." The substance of this paper was as follows: All pension laws were special up to 1792. In that year the first general law was enacted. In 1818 a dependent pension bill for veterans of the Revolutionary War was passed. Service pensions are now allowed to veterans of the War of 1812 and of the Mexican War. In 1890 pensions were allowed to dependent veterans of the Civil War.

Since the late war the rates of pensions have been increased very rapidly. In 1866 the rate for total disability was placed at $25 per month. It is now $72. The rate for partial disability has been increased in the same proportion.

On pension claims filed subsequent to June 30, 1880, arrears were granted. Many attempts have been made to pass a bill granting arrears on all pensions; but it is not likely that such a bill will soon be enacted.

Veterans are allowed to apply their time of service on the residence necessary to secure a homestead.

In the report of the pension commis-

sioner the complaint is frequent that existing acts permit a great deal of fraud; but there is probably no more fraud practiced than is inevitable uuder laws with such liberal provisions.

After some discussion the Seminary adjourned.

J. H. SAWTELL, *Reporter.*

STATUS OF WOMAN.

THE Seminary met on March 22, to listen to papers on the "Status of Woman."

Miss Nina Bowman read a paper on the "Property Rights of Women." In primitive times women were thought to have no rights at all. In France no married woman has any property rights and the common law prevails.

In England women have no voice in parliament. A single woman has the same rights of property as a man; has the same protection of law, and is subject to the same taxes. After marriage the husband has absolute power over the wife's jewels, money and clothes. In 1870 a law was passed which gave women a right to their separate earnings.

In America the common law restrains married women from all custody over their own property, either real or personal. Since 1848 many changes have been made in the property rights of married women. In our own state the wife has full power over her own property and earnings and may dispose of them in any way pleasing to her. After marriage a woman may sue and be sued in the same manner as if not married. A woman may convey or mortgage her own property without her husband's signature, but the husband in disposing of property must secure his wife's signature.

Miss Amy Sparr then read a paper on "Woman's Suffrage." The woman question is still young in years, but its strength and growth are not to be measured by its age. Those who have taken the practical side of the question are those who have made such remarkable progress. In England women have been admitted to many electoral privileges and to public work involving great responsibility. Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Mill have aided much in changing public opinion in England. Great progress is being made with the general public but is much less assured and rapid in Parliament. In England, Scotland and Ireland women may vote for nearly all elective officers.

In the United States women have with difficulty succeeded in getting the right to vote in municipal elections in a single state, namely Kansas, where they have the right to vote for any city or school officers. Several states have admitted women to the membership of school boards of primary public schools. In Wyoming women vote at all elections and in Kansas they have full local suffrage. All statistics show a gain in women's votes.

Following this a paper on "Women in the Professions" was read by Miss Maggie Rush. It began with women in the ministry. Once women were not allowed to sing in church choirs because Paul had commanded that they should keep silent. The Univeralist church was the first to open the doors of its theological schools to women. About fifty women have been ordained in this church. Theological seminaries for women have been opened in Oberlin, Ohio; Evanston, Illinois, and Boston. As lawyers women in England have been permitted to qualify for and practice as attorneys at law. The first woman admitted to the bar in this country was Arabella Mansfield, of Iowa, in 1869. Seven women have been admitted to practice before the supreme court of the United States. Most law schools now admit women. Some women prefer office practice and others court work. In Wyoming and Washington mixed juries have been tried and found perfectly satisfactory.

Women have taken a stand in medicine which is rapidly growing in favor. Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell was the first woman physician. She graduated in 1849. The

American Medical Association first admitted women to membership in 1876. In 1880 there were 2,432 women registered as physicians in the United States. Teaching is peculiarly adapted to women. Women were recognized as teachers for the first time in 1789. Vassar, Wellesley, and Bryn Mawr all have women among the members of their faculties.

Miss Martha Thompson then read a paper on "Women in Industrial Pursuits." More than one-half of the human family consists of women and the greater portion of these must earn their own living. As they become more skillful and capable their wages will be brought more on an equality with those of men. Women do not work together as men do, and their political disabilities deprive them of the influence which men often have to control wages. In the largest cities about three hundred different employments are open to women.

Factory work brought women into competition with men. When sewing machines were introduced one woman could do the work for which formerly six had been required. In large cities many homes have been provided for working girls, where they can secure board, protection, and recreation. Many women who are not compelled to work for bread, work for pin money and can work for much less than otherwise; therefore wages are decreased. A great many women will not enter domestic service because they think it more servile and menial than other employments. In Massachusetts 64 per cent. of the women are engaged in housekeeping and laundry work.

ELEANOR BLAKER, *Reporter*.

RAILROADS.

THE Seminary met on April 29, to consider the railroad problem. Mr. J. M. Challiss began the discussion with a paper on "Legislative Control," reviewing some points of the railroad situation. He said:

When we consider the size and magnitude of the railroad system, the vast army of workmen employed, the cities and business interests effected, and that the railroad officers are but human, we should be careful before we speak and legislate on the control of so vast a system. The railroad is in a sense public property from the right of eminent domain and from its uses. The charter given by the state, the state regulations and restrictions all strengthen the idea of public property. With the exception of a few water ways the railroad has a monopoly of traffic and to prevent unjust rates the law says that only a reasonable charge shall be made. A reasonable charge is not easily defined with so many different classes of freight and where the expenses of transportation are so varied. Discrimination in rates is made that all industries may be developed. Rates cannot be uniform even at different points of the same road as the cost of construction and maintaining vary with the character of the country. The system of "watered stock" makes it almost impossible to get any just basis upon which to adjust rates. Where several roads touch at the same points a competition springs up for the traffic to those points and discriminations are made against the towns intermediate. To avoid the injurious effects of rate wars the roads pooled that they might keep rates uniform. The United States abolished the pools and virtually put in their places the traffic associations by compelling the roads to keep posted in public, schedules of uniform rates and fares which cannot be altered without notice. It was thought that this would stop the "cut-throat" competition, but it did not. It is still in the interest of the shipper to take a cheap rate and a rebate offered by the road. The long and short haul law discriminates against the western man by trying to make rates more uniform. This gave rise to shipping centers at intermediate points as it became cheaper to ship half way and then re-ship for the remainder than to ship through from start to destination. That railroads can make better rates on long

distance hauls is shown by the statements of railroad men that for ten miles the cost averages six cents per mile; for one hundred miles, three cents: for five hundred miles, one cent; and for one thousand miles, .78 cents. The rate discriminations led in 1883 to the appointment of the Kansas board of railroad commissioners, who have been given wide jurisdiction and are undoubtedly doing much good. Some advocate government ownership as then rates will be lower and more uniform. This cannot be, as discriminations must be made and as large and small amounts of business regulate rates for those roads. As long as society remains as it is, as long as in politics the spoils belong to the victor, as long as the federal officers have the elective franchise, the railroads cannot go into the hands of the government. Humanity, reason and justice will in time overcome the evils of this question.

Mr. W. M. Raymond then read a short paper on "Freights and Fares," which treated of the principles which regulate these and the tendency to a reduction. Competition and combination are necessary with the many systems of roads as they must co-operate to carry the goods to destination. The complicated question of adjusting tariffs so as to bear equally where they should without unjust discrimination led to the formation of the great traffic association. The Alantic Ocean, Mississippi river and Erie canal regulate the rates in the east, but in the west the rates are higher as it has no great water ways. The Railroad wars are ruinous both to the railroad company and to the shipper. Uniformity is best for all. Cars must carry freight both ways. Rates are determined in three ways. (1) Goods which must be hauled and quickly at that, are placed in the high list, while (2) goods which must be hauled cheaply or not at all are given a cheap rate; and (3) discriminations between shippers according to the amount of business. If this is to be considered as a public service then there should be no such discrimination as fixes the rate in the third case. In the eastern states as early as 1869 commissioners were appointed by the state to look after the rate discrimination, and in 1887 the United States congress created the Interstate Commerce Commission which at first met with little favor but which has shown itself a good thing. Improvements in business and its management, improvements in the roads, and the development of the country tend to reduce the rates. Freight rates have been greatly reduced, and during the past ten years the passenger rates have been reduced about one-half.

WM. J. KREHBIEL, *Reporter.*

- SEMINARY - NOTES. -

PUBLISHED ON THE FIRST DAY OF OCTOBER, NOVEMBER, DECEMBER, FEBRUARY, MARCH, APRIL AND MAY,

BY

THE SEMINARY OF

HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCE.

State University, Lawrence, Kansas.

Frank W. Blackmar.
Frank H. Hodder, - - - - *Editors.*
Ephraim D. Adams,

Terms, Ten Cents a Number, - Fifty Cents a Year

THE purpose of this publication is to increase the interest in the study of historical science in the University and throughout the State, to afford means of regular communication with corresponding members of the Seminary and with the general public—especially with the Alumni of the University, and to preserve at least the outlines of carefully prepared papers and addresses. The number of pages in each issue will be increased as rapidly as the subscription list will warrant. The entire revenue of the publication will be applied to its maintenance.

Address all subscriptions and communications to

F. W. BLACKMAR,
Lawrence, Kansas.

WITH this issue Vol. I of the NOTES is completed. Undertaken as an experiment the NOTES has proved a success, in the hearty reception with which it has met both in the University, the State, and without the State. Encouraging letters of approval have been received from all quarters, especially from colleges in the extreme east and extreme west. The NOTES will be continued next year, beginning the second volume with the October number. Its object will be the same as in the past, to publish reports and papers from the Historical Seminary, to furnish a place where suggestions and comments upon historical and economic study may be made, and occasionally to give in full, articles of interest to the department of History and Sociology. The NOTES will attempt, as it has during the past year, to supply something of value not only to students, but also to alumni and others who are interested in sociological work.

SENATOR Moody read the remainder of his valuable paper on the "First Principles of Money" to the class in Political Economy on April 13th. Mr. Moody sent his manuscript to Senator John Sherman who read it and made some very favorable comments up on it.

THE class in "The Status of Woman" have done such efficient work and shown such an interest in the subject that it has been decided to continue the study as a permanent optional in the department of History and Sociology.

The NOTES regrets that it was impossblé to publish all of Chancellor Canfield's interesting address on "Rise of Individualism." It was at the writer's own suggestion, however, that the abstract was made which appears in this number.

THE article giving references upon municipal government in this number of the NOTES will be of value to all students of municipal institutions. It contains a list of all references upon the subject up to date, and is the most complete and accurate thing of the kind ever published. Prof. Hodder has been asked this year to make out such a list for publication by eastern institutions but has preferred to furnish it for home use in K. S. U. first of all.

THE intellectual improvement of the people of the west is the most noticeable feature of progress of the last two or three years. They are everywhere organized into clubs, societies, and circles, and gathered together into little groups to discuss the topics of the day. Among them are strong logical thinkers and substantial men as well as the narrow and visionary reformer. The strongest and best quality of the late popular movement is its educational feature. The people are making a great effort to inform themselves on political and economic subjects. There has been consequently a great demand for assistance in the study of political economy and kindred subjects. Realizing that this demand exceeds the supply of well ordered assistance it was

considered a good plan to organize a branch American Economic association. Consequently meetings were called in Kansas City, Lawrence and Topeka, and as a result the Southwestern Economic association was organized as a branch of the American. The following officers were elected: F. W. Blackmar, president; L. H. Holmes, vice president; John Sullivan, Secretary and treasurer and J. E. Peairs, Herbert L. Doggett, and four additional members of the executive committee of which the officers are ex-officio members. The following constitution was adopted:

ARTICLE 1. The name of this society shall be the Southwestern Economic Association and it shall be a branch of the American Economic association.

ARTICLE 2. The object shall be the promotion of economic education and the special study of the economic problems of the southwest.

ARTICLE 3. Any person may become a member of this association by the payment of $3, payable in advance, which will entitle him to the privileges of the American Economic association and also of the local association.

ARTICLE 4. There shall be three officers, president, vice president, and secretary who shall also be treasurer. The duties of these officers shall be such as usually pertain to such offices.

ARTICLE 5. There shall be an executive committee of seven persons of which the three officers shall be ex-officio members. Three of the members shall be residents of Kansas City, two of Topeka and two of Lawrence.

ARTICLE 6. It shall be the duty of the executive committee to determine the place of meeting, to call all extra meetings, to select topics for discussion, and to determine all questions relating to the publication of papers.

ARTICLE 7. Meetings. There shall be a meeting of the association on the first Tuesday of each month, at eight o'clock p. m., at such place as shall be determined by the executive committee.

ARTICLE 8. Local reading circles. Members may form themselves into local reading circles, meeting once each week or fortnight for the purpose of special reading and study. Such reading circles shall have the encouragement and assistance of the regular association.

ARTICLE 9. Rules of order. When not otherwise determined by constitution and by-laws, Roberts' Rules of Order shall be the guide in all parliamentary actions.

ARTICLE 10. Term. The term of office in this organization shall be one year, until successors are elected and qualified, beginning or ending with the calendar year.

ARTICLE 11. This constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of the active members of the association, notice having been given of such change at a preceding meeting.

A fair beginning has been made in the organization, there being about sixty members at the date of writing. It is proposed that the members of the association shall carry on special studies in economic subjects which will be read and discussed in the monthly meetings. Also, effort will be made to secure the services of special economists for lectures and papers. It is hoped that the better class of these papers will be published for the purpose of forwarding economic education. While the meeting places of the Southwestern Association will probably be confined to Kansas City, Lawrence, and Topeka, it is designed to form local reading circles over a wide area in Kansas and Missouri. This will be a good working basis for students who desire to leave the University and desire to keep up their studies and at the same time help others in an educational way.

IN our note this month on the uses of the library, we wish to direct attention to the Congressional Documents. The record of debates in Congress is to be found

in a series of volumes published under different titles. The "Annals of Congress" cover the years from 1789 to 1824 in 42 volumes, the "Register of Debates," in 29 volumes, contains the record from 1824 to 1837. From 1837 to 1872 the proceedings are given in the "Congressional Globe," and since 1872 in the "Congressional Record." The "Annals" give not only the debates in Congress but also messages, important reports and laws of each session. The "Globe" also gives the laws of the session. For other periods the laws must be sought in the "Statutes at Large." Benton printed a very useful "Abridgement of the Debates in Congress," in sixteen volumes, covering the years foom 1789 to 1850. It was intended to reach 1856 but Benton did not live to finish it. He worked upon it up to the very last, however, dictating the concluding portion in a whisper from his death bed. The "Abridgement" is very faithfully done, but, as was unavoidable, is in places colored by the private opinions of the editor. All of these reports, being arranged chronologically and indexed, are easy of reference.

But there is another set of documents which are called distinctively "Congressional Documents," or "Public Documents," often abbreviated to "Pub. Docs." Before this set many students stand aghast, appalled evidently by the uniformity of their binding. But these volumes are really very easy of reference, at least, when you "know how," and it is easy with a very little trouble to learn how. They are arranged by Congresses and sessions, as for example, 31st Cong., 2d Sess., or 45th Cong., 3d Sess. Under each session documents come in the following order: 1st Senate Journal, 2d Senate Reports of Committees, 3d Senate Executive Documents, 4th Senate Miscellaneous Documents, 5th House Journal, 6th House Reports of Committees, 7th House Executive Documents, 8th House Miscellaneous Documents. The Senate and House Journals are paged continuously, other documents are numbered and each document paged separately. A document may contain a single page or many thousand. Executive Documents contain reports of executive officers and bureaus. Reports of heads of departments are now printed in House Executive Documents.

Let us illustrate by reference to a particular Congress and session, using the usual abbreviations. Take for example, 49th Cong., 1st Sess., years 1885-6. 1st in Senate Journal, 1 vol., 2d Senate Repts., 1-1615, 11 vols. that is 1615 reports of committees bound in eleven volumes; every volume contains an index to the reports in the whole set; 3d, Senate Ex. Docs., 1-226, 8 vols.; 4th, Senate Miss. Docs., 1-192, 13 vols.; 5th, House Journal, 2 vols.; 6th, House Repts., 1-3475, 12 vols.; 7th, House Ex. Docs., 1-475, 37 vols., here we find reports of heads of departments, beginning with that of the Department of State, printed under the title of "Foreign Relations," and 8th, House Miss. Docs., 1-396, 26 vols., making in all 110 vols. for 1st Sess. 49th Cong. As in the case of Senate Reports, each volume of each set contains a complete index of all the documents in its own set. Sometimes by reason of form or size a document is printed out of its proper order in its set. The history of any bill may be traced by reference to the Senate and House Journals, the Reports of Committees and the Congresional Record. Poore's "Descriptive Catalogue of Government Publications" gives a chronological list of all public documents from 1774 to 1881 with index. The "Catalogue" is not entirely satisfactory, and its use requires patience, but so does any work that can make any claim to be real investigation. The Catalogue of the Library of the Boston Athenæum, vol. 5, p. 3055, title "United States," gives a list of indexes that have been published from time to time to parts of the public documents in our University library, beginning with the 28th Congress. There is a printed list of Congressional Docu-

ments from the 29th to the 46th Congress and volumes missing in our set are checked in that list. It is hoped that this somewhat extended explanation will render more available the wealth of material to be found among the public documents. We close with an exercise that will test your understanding of this arrangement. The following are references to important works: House Ex. Doc. No. 109, 42d Cong., 2d Sess.; Senate Ex. Doc., No. 58, 45th Cong., 3d Sess., and Senate Misc. Doc. No 162, 1st Sess. 49th Cong. What are they?

IN these times of gerrymandering it may be of interest to refer briefly to the earliest resort to this trick in our political history. This is quite commonly supposed to have been the re-distribution of districts in 1812, when Eldridge Gerry was governor and the word was coined, but this was by no means the first instance. The thing itself seems to hawe been invented by Patrick Henry and first applied in Virginia in 1788. Henry had made every effort to prevent the ratification of the constitution and was foiled largely by the influence of Madison. The constitution ratified, it became necessary for the legislature to elect senators and provide for the election of representatives. The opponents of the constitution then exerted themselves to prevent the election of the friends of the new government and of Madison especially. Madison was nominated for the Senate but was defeated by the influence of Henry. Madison then became a candidate for the lower house of Congress, and the committee of the legislature, inspired it is supposed by Henry, tried so to divide the district as to defeat him here as well. In this attempt they were, however, unsuccessful. Prof. Tyler, in commenting upon this first gerrymander, in his life of Henry, remarks "that it was a rare bit of luck for Henry, that the wits of Virginia did not anticipate the wits of Massachusetts by describing this trick as 'henrymandering,' and that he thus narrowly escaped the ugly immortality of having his name handed down from age to age in the coinage of a base word which should designate a base thing—one of the favorite, shaky manœuvers of less scrupulous American politicians."

THE moot Senate has adjourned *sine die*, not to begin work again until some time next fall. The work which it has done has been without doubt instructive to the members in many ways, and has certainly never lacked life. Indeed there has, perhaps, been a little too much life in the proceedings. In an editorial in the NOTES for March, just at the time when the senate was preparing to organize the following caution was given:

"If the students who take part in this senate divide themselves according to preconceived ideas into parties and take the stand upon each question that their respective parties are supposed to require they will lose the greater part of the good to be derived from the discussion. Their object will be to win the debate and not to discover the truth, and each one will end by convincing himself of the strength of the position he decided in advance to take."

That which was thus stated to be a danger is exactly what has happened. The members of the senate have gained experience in parliamentary practice, and some of them have developed such a genius for the intricacies of parliamentary law as to be able to completely block action under the present rules so that upon one occasion the president was compelled to exercise the power vested in him by the rules and adjourn the senate without a vote to that effect. Many members increased old ability, or gained new ability to talk readily and sometimes to talk fluently about nothing. Party lines were strictly drawn, and the vote upon most questions could be determined with accuracy before it was taken. One bill which was introduced and made a special order, the free silver bill, was an exception to this rule. The members of the senate debated the question with intelligence and earnestnees, and voted upon it according to their individual belief, irrespective of

party lines, but this was a solitary exception to the general procedure.

Now skill in parliamentary practice, readiness in debate, and ability to manage a majority or minority, as the case may be, are all valuable accomplishments, and their value should not be overlooked in a body like the moot senate. At the same time they should not be permitted to monopolize the attention of such a body. Bills should be introduced of such a nature that the debate would naturally turn upon the intrinsic value of the subject matter under discussion, and not be determined by party affiliations. The silver bill was such, and others of a like nature were introduced which were placed upon the docket but never reached. It is not meant that party lines should not be drawn. In Kansas State University where every student takes a direct and personal interest in politics, the organization of a moot senate without the drawing of party lines is an impossibility. And it is not meant that an occasional tilt of party against party is a bad thing. Such encounters serve to bring out minute points in parliamentary law. But the real energy and work of the senate should be directed toward knowing something about questions of present importance, and learning how to give expression in concise and forcible language to such knowledge.

The NOTES takes a deep interest in the welfare of the moot senate, and desires to do all it can to make it a success; this criticism will therefore, we trust, be accepted in good faith.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

"THE HISTORY OF THE MIDDLE AGES," by Victor Duruy, translated from the French by E. H. and W. D. Whitney, and containing notes and revisions by George Burton Adams, professor of History in Yale University, has recently been issued by Henry Holt & Co. Other translations from Duruy have served a good purpose as text books for college classes, notably his "History of France." This new volume is well gotten up, contains some good maps, and is especially valuable for its clear paragraphing and for the chapter headings. The facts of history are stated in an interesting manner as indeed they are in all of Duruy's works, and although the work is not in every instance accurate in its statements, this fault has been corrected by means of the foot notes by Prof. Adams, whose criticisms seem in some cases to be almost too minute. The book has given such satisfaction that over thirty copies were at once ordered for the class in Mediaeval History.

"ELEMENTS OF ECONOMICS OF INDUSTRY," by Alfred Marshall is an adaptation of the first volume of his Principles of Economics to the needs of Junior students The abridgement consists in the omission of many points in the minor discussion of principles. To this is added a chapter on Trade-Unions which is an enlargement of the subject as presented in the first edition of Economics of Industry published by the author and his wife in 1879. This is one of the best text books on political economy among the many good ones that have appeared in recent times. It is clear, concise and thorough in its enunciation of fundamental principles. On demand and consumption, production and supply, nothing better has been written. In the discussion of rent it places the old doctrine in a new light, while the chapter on Trade-Unions is complete and authentic, Space will not permit an analysis of the work. Published by MacMillan & Co.

"The Kansas Conflict," by Ex-Gov. Charles Robinson, published by Harper & Brother, New York, is a book which will be of especial interest to Kansas readers, and will be read with pleasure by all who desire a straight forward account of the famous Missouri-Kansas troubles before the war. The book has been received so recently that there has been no time to give it the careful review which it merits. An extended criticism or review of it will be made in the next issue of the NOTES.

COURSES OF STUDY

IN

HISTORY AND SOCIOLOGY.

FOR 1891–2.

F. W. BLACKMAR, PH. D.
F. H. HODDER, A. M.
E. D. ADAMS, PH. D.

Instruction in this department is given by means of lectures, recitations, reports, discussions, and personal direction in study and research. As the library is an indispensable aid in the pursuit of the following courses, students are expected to become acquainted with the best methods of collecting and classifying material and of writing and presenting papers on special topics. All lectures are supplemented by required reading and class exercises.

Facts are essential to all historic study; yet the aim is to take the student beyond the mere details of events—to inquire into the origin and development of society and the philosophy of institutions. While the study of the past is carried on with interest and thoroughness, the most important part of history—that which lies about us—is kept constantly in view. The history of other nations, other political systems and other forms of administration, are studied, that we may better understand our own. To understand present social and political institutions, and to give an intelligent solution of present problems, is the chief aim of instruction in historical science.

THE WORK OF THE DEPARTMENT

Now embraces European History, American History and Civil Government, the History of Institutions, Sociology, and Political Economy. The work in American History will be continued with enthusiasm and thoroughness. Classes having begun this work will continue without a break. The importance of this work needs no comment. The preparation for good citizenship demands, among other things, a thorough knowledge of the growth of nationality, and the history of our industrial, social and political development. These, with financial experiments and national diplomacy, receive marked attention. The text of the Constitution and Constitutional Law occupy a prominent place in the study of this branch.

OUTLINE OF COURSES.

FIRST TERM.

1. English History. Daily. Descriptive history. A careful study of the English people, including race elements, social and political institutions, and national growth.

2. The History of Civilization. Lectures daily, embracing ancient society, and the intellectual development of Europe to the twelfth century. Special attention is given to the influence of Greek philosophy, the Christian church, the relation of learning to liberal government, and to the rise of modern nationalities.

3. Political Economy. Daily. The fundamental principles are discussed and elaborated by descriptive and historical methods. All principles and theories are illustrated by examples from present economic society. A brief history of Political Economy may be given at the close of the course.

4. French and German History. Daily. Descriptive history; including race elements, social and political institutions, and national growth. Especial attention given to French politics.

5. Historical Method and Criticism. One hour each week. Examination and classification of sources and authorities; analysis of the works of the best historians; collection and use of materials, and notes and bibliography.

6. Statistics. Two hours each week. Supplementary to all studies in economics and sociology. The method of using statistics is taught by actual investigation of political and social problems. The history and theory of statistics receives due attention.

7. Journalism. Lectures three hours each week. Laboratory and library work. *Legal and Historical.*—Ten lectures by Prof. E. D. Adams. *English.*—Twenty-five lectures by Profs. Dunlap and Hopkins. *Newspaper Bureau, Magazines, and Special Phases of Journalism.*—Prof. Adams.

The course was prepared especially for those students who expect to enter journalism as a profession. Although the instructors have no desire to create a special School of Journalism for the purpose of turning out fully-equipped journalists, they believe that this course will be very helpful to those who in the future may enter the profession. The course will be found highly beneficial to stu-

dents who want a special study in magazines and newspapers as a means of general culture. The course is under the direction of this Department, but the professors named above have kindly and generously consented to assist in certain phases of the work, which occur more particularly in their respective departments.

8. American History. Instruction is given daily for two years in American History. The course embraces Colonial History and the Local Government of the Colonies, the Constitutional and Political History of the Union from 1789 to the present time, the formation of the Constitution, and an analysis of the text of the constitution itself.

9. Local Administration and Law. Three conferences each week during the first term, covering the Management of Public Affairs in districts, townships, counties, cities, and States. This course is intended to increase the sense of the importance of home government, as well as to give instruction in its practical details.

10. Public Finance and Banking. Two conferences each week during the first term, on National, State, and Municipal Financiering; and on Theoretical and Practical Banking, with the details of bank management.

SECOND TERM.

11. English Constitutional History. Two hours each week. A special study in the principles and growth of the English Constitution. This course may be taken as a continuation of number one. As it is a special study of Constitutional History, students ought to have some preparation for it.

12. Renaissance and Reformation. Lectures two hours each week, with required reading and investigation. This course may be taken as a continuation of number two. It includes the Revival of Learning throughout Europe, with especial attention to the Italian Renaissance; a careful inquiry into the causes, course, and results of the Reformation. The course embraces the best phases of the intellectual development of Europe.

13. Advanced Political Economy. Three hours each week, consisting of (*a*) lectures on Applied Economics, (*b*) Practical Observation and Investigation, and (*c*) Methods of Research, with papers by the students on special topics. This is a continuation of number three.

14. Institutional History. Lectures three hours each week on Comparative Politics and Administration. Greek, Roman and Germanic institutions are compared. The historical significance of Roman law is traced in mediæval institutions. A short study in Prussian Administration is given at the close of the course.

15. The Rise of Democracy. Lectures two hours each week on the Rise of Popular Power, and the Growth of Political Liberty in Europe. A comparison of ancient and modern democracy, a study of Switzerland, the Italian Republics, the Dutch Republic, and the French Revolution, constitute the principal part of the work, Students will read May's Democracy in Europe.

16. Elements of Sociology. Lectures three hours each week on the Evolution of Social Institutions from the Primitive Unit, the Family; including a discussion of the laws and conditions which tend to organize society. The later part of the course is devoted to modern social problems and socialistic Utopias.

17. Charities and Corrections. Two hours each week. Various methods of treatment of the poor. Scientific charity. Treatment of the helpless. Prison reform. State reformatories. This course is supplementary to number sixteen. Special efforts will be made towards a practical study of Kansas institutions.

18. Land and Land Tenures. Lectures two hours each week. This course treats of Primitive Property, the Village Community, Feudal Tenures of France and England, and Modern Land-holding in Great Britain and Ireland and the United States. Reports are made on other countries, and on recent agrarian theories and legislation This is an excellent preparation for the study of the Law of Real Property,

19. The Political History of Modern Europe. Two hours each week, including the Napoleonic wars, German Federation, the Rise of Prussia, the Unification of Italy, the Revolution of 1848, the Third Republic, the Russian problem, etc.

20. Constitutional Law. Three conferences each week during the second term, on the Constitution of the United States; with brief sketches of the institutions and events that preceded its adoption, and with special attention to the sources and methods of its interpretation.

21. International Law and Diplomacy. Class work twice each week during the second term; using Davis on the Rise and Growth of

International Law, and Schuyler on the History of American Diplomacy.

22. The Status of Woman in the United States. Three conferences each week during the second term, on the Status of Woman in all countries and times; with special investigation of the present legal, political, industrial, and professional position of women in the different States of the American Union.

23. The Histories and Methods of Legislative Assemblies. Two conferences each week during the second term on the Rise and Growth of Legislative assemblies, their rules of order and methods of business.

24. Mediæval History. Two-fifths of the last term of the Freshman year. For all students whose admission papers show that they have had Elementary Phy Hygiene, and Chemistry. The course includes a study of the fall of the Western Empire, the Teutonic Races, and the rise of new nationalities.

25. Seminary. Two hours each week throughout the year.

New Courses. Other courses may be given in Political Philosophy, Modern Municipal Government, Roman Law, the South American Republics, and Comparative administration.

Graduate Courses. To those desiring them special courses for post-graduate students will be given in the following subjects: The History of Institutions, American History and Civil Government, Sociology, Political Economy.

Newspaper Bureau. In connection with the work of the Department a Newspaper Bureau is maintained. In this the leading cities of the United States are represented by some twenty daily and weekly newspapers. The principal object of the Bureau is to enable students to form habits of systematic reading, to keep informed on the current topics of the day, to study the best types of modern journalism, to learn to discriminate between articles of temporary value only and those of more permanent worth, to make a comparative study of editorial work, to master for the time being the current thought on any particular subject, and to preserve by clippings properly filed and indexed, important materials for the study of current history and public life—to *make* history, by the arrangement and classification of present historical matter.

Preparation for Entrance to the University.—The time spent in the high schools in the study of history is necessarily limited. For this reason it is essential that the greatest care be exercised in preparing students for entrance into the University. At present very little history is required in the Freshman and Sophomore years, and the students enter upon the study of the Junior and Senior years without thorough preparation for the work. It would seem that the aim should be for all those who contemplate entering the University to learn the story of nations pretty thoroughly. A general outline of the world's history with a special study of the United States history and government represents the field. But this outline should be something more than a mere skeleton of facts and dates it should be well rounded with the political, social and economic life of the people. Students will find a general text-book, such as Myer's, Sheldon's or Fisher's indispensable; but the work of preparation ought not to stop here. Such works as Fyffe's Greece, Creighton's Rome, Seebohm's Era of Protestant Revolution, Cox's Greece, and others in the Primer, Epoch, and Stories of Nations, series ought to be read. The object of this reading is to familiarize the student with the political and social life of the principal nations of the world. For this purpose everything should be as interesting as possible. Such an interest should be aroused that the student would not be puzzled over dates and threadbare facts, but would seize and hold those things that are useful on account of the interest his mind has in them. That history which is gained by a bare memory of events is soon lost. It grows too dim for use and consequently leads to confusion. With the story of the nations well learned the student comes to the University prepared for the higher scientific study of history and its kindred topics, He is then ready for investigation, comparison and analysis. He then takes up the real investigation of the philosophy of institutions and of national development. He is then ready for the science of Sociology, Institutional History, Political Economy, the Science of Government, Statistics or Political Economy. Students who enter the University without this preparation find it necessary to make up for it by the perusal of books, such as those mentioned above.

STUDENTS' LIBRARIES.

Every student in the University should lay the foundation of a good working library. Such libraries are not "made to order" at some given time, under specially favorable financial conditions—but are the result of considerable sacrifice, and are of slow growth. The wise expenditure of even ten dollars in each term will bring together books which if thoroughly mastered will be of great assistance in all later life. Room-mates, or members of the same fraternity, by combining their libraries and avoiding the purchase of duplicates, can soon be in possession of a most valuable collection of authors. Assistance in selecting and in purchasing will be given upon application.

The prices named below are the list prices of the publishers.

Any book in the list below can be had of Field & Gibb, Booksellers and Stationers.

Students are required to purchase books marked with an asterisk.

American Book Company, Chicago.

Manual of the Constitution, Andrews .... $ 1.00
Analysis of Civil Government, Townsend 1.00
Civil Government, Peterman .... .60
History of England, Thalheimer 1.00
Mediæval and Modern History, Thalheimer 1.60
Outlines of History, Fisher 2.40
General History of the World, Barnes 1.60
Political Economy, Gregory 1.20
Lessons in Political Economy, Champlin .... .90

Ginn & Co., Boston and Chicago.

Ancient History, Myers & Allen .... $ 1.50
Mediæval and Modern History, Myers 1.50
Political Science and Comparative Law, Burgess, 5.00
Macy's Our Government .... .75
*General History, Myers 1.50
Leading facts in English History, Montgomery ... 1.12
Philosophy of Wealth, Clark 1.00
Political Science Quarterly, Yearly 3.00
Washington and His Country, Fiske 1.00

Harpers, New York.

*History of Germany, Lewis 1.50
*International Law, Davis 2.00
*Political History of Modern Times, Mueller 2.00
*Short English History, Green 1.20
Civil Policy of America, Draper 2.00
History of English People, Green, 4 vols 10.00
History of United States, Hildreth, 6 vols 12.00
The Constitution, Story .... .90

Holt & Co., New York.

*American Politics, Johnston .... $ 1.00
American Colonies, Doyle, 3 vols 9.00
American Currency, Sumner 2.50
History of Modern Europe, Fyffe, 3 vols 7.50
Political Economy, Walker 2.25

Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

*Civil Government in United States, Fiske .... $ 1.00
American Commonwealths, 13 vols., each 1.25
American Statesmen, 24 vols., each 1.25
American Revolution, Fisk, 2 vols 4.00
Critical Period of American History, Fisk 2.00
Emancipation of Massachusetts, Adams 1.50
Epitome of History, Ploetz 3.00
War of Secession, Johnson 2.50

Appleton, New York.

Dynamic Sociology, Ward, 2 vols .... $ 5.00
History of Civilization, Guizot 1.25
Political Economy, Mill, 2 vols 6.00

Cranston & S owe, Chicago.

*Political Economy, Ely .... $ 1.00

M cmill n, New York.

Constitutional History, England, Stubbs, 3 vols. $ 7.80
Principles of Economics, Marshall, vol. I 3.00

Armstrong, New York.

*Democracy in Europe, May, 2 vols .... $ 2.50

G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London.

*American Citizen's Manual, Ford .... $ 1.25
Unwritten Constitution of the U. S., Tiedeman ... 1.00
History of Political Economy, Blanqui 3.00
Introduction to Eng. Econon. Hist. and Theory, Ashley 1.50
Indust. and Com. Supremacy of Eng., Rogers 3.00
Economic Interpretations of History, Rogers 3.00
Constitutional History of the U. S., Sterne 1.25
*Tariff History of the United States, Taussig 1.25
The Story of Nations, 34 vols., each 1.50
Heroes of the Nations, 12 vols., each 1.50
American Orations, ed. by Johnston, 3 vols., each 1.25

Callaghan & Co., Chicago.

Constitutional History of U. S., Von Holst, 6 vol $20.00
Constitutional Law of U. S., Von Holst 2.00
Political Economy, Roscher, 2 vols 6.00

Crowell, New York.

*History of France, Duruy .... $ 2.00
Labor Movement in America, Ely 1.50
Life of Washington, pop. ed., Irving, 2 vols 2.50
Problems of To day, Ely 1.50

Little, Brown & Co., Boston.

History of Greece, Grote, 10 vols $17.50
Parkman's Works, per vol 1.50
Rise of the Republic, Frothingham 3.50

Longmans, Green & Co, New York.

Epochs of Ancient History, each vol .... $ 1.00
Epochs of Modern History, each vol 1.00
Political Economy, pop. ed., Mill 1.75
The Crusades, Cox 1.00

Scribners, New York.

*American Diplomacy, Schuyler .... $ 2.50
History of Rome, Mommsen, 4 vols 8.00
Lombard Street, Bagehot 1.25
Silent South, Cable 1.00

ilver Burdett & Co., Boston.

*Historical Atlas, Labberton .... $1.50 or $ 2.00
*Historical Geography of U. S., MacCoun 1.00
*Institutes of Economics, Andrews 1.50
Institues of General History, Andrews 2.00

Dodd, Mead & Co., New York.

History of United States, Schouler, 5 vols $11.50

D. C. Heath & Co., Boston.

*The State, Woodrow Wilson .... $ 2.00
Principles of Political Economy, Gide 2.00
Methods of Teaching History, Hall 1.50
General History, Sheldon 1.60
*Old South Leaflets, 22 Nos., each .... .05
History Topics, Allen 25
State and Fed. Governments of the U. S., Wilson 50
The American Citizen, Dole .... .90
Comparative View of Governments, Wenzel .... .20
Studies in American History, Sheld n—i arnes...

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SEMINARY NOTES.

STATE UNIVERSITY—LAWRENCE, KANSAS.

VOL. II. OCTOBER, 1892. NO. 1.

SEMINARY OF HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCE.

All students connected with the department of History and Sociology are, by virtue of such connection, members of the Seminary. All students are expected to attend the Seminary unless excused by the instructors of the department. Students are credited with the time spent in Seminary work.

The meetings of the Seminary are held every Friday, in Room 15, University Building. Public meetings will be held from time to time, after due announcement.

The work of the Seminary consists of special papers and discussions, on topics connected with the Department mentioned; prepared as far as possible from consultation of original sources and from practical investigation of existing conditions, under the personal direction of the officers of the Seminary.

Special assistance in choice of themes, authorities, etc., is given members of the Seminary who have written work due in the department of History and Sociology, or in the Department of English, or in any of the literary societies or other similar organizations in the University; on condition that the results of such work shall be presented to the Seminary if so required.

In connection with the work of the Seminary, a Newspaper bureau is maintained. In this the leading cities of the United States are represented by some twenty daily and weekly newspapers. The principal object of the Bureau is to enable students to form habits of systematic reading, to keep informed on the current topics of the day, to study the best types of modern Journalism, to learn to discriminate between articles of temporary value only and those of more permanent worth, to make a comparative study of editorial work, to master for the time being the current thought on any particular subject, and to preserve by clippings properly filed and indexed, important materials for the study of current history and public life—to *make* history by the arrangement and classification of present historical matter.

Special investigation and study will be undertaken during each year, bearing on some one or more phases of the administration of public affairs in this State; the purpose being to combine service to the State with the regular work of professional and student life. In this special work the advice and cooperation of State and local officials and of prominent men of affairs is constantly sought, thus bringing to students the experience and judgment of the world about them.

Graduates of our own University, or other persons of known scholarly habits, who have more than a passing interest in such work as the Seminary undertakes, and who are willing to contribute some time and thought to its success, are invited to become corresponding members of the Seminary. The only condition attached to such membership is, that each corresponding member shall prepare during each University year one paper, of not *less* than two thousand five hundred words, on some subject within the scope of the Seminary; and present the same in person at such time as may be mutually agreed upon by the writer and the officers of the Seminary, or in writing if it be found impossible to attend a meeting of the Seminary.

The library of the University and the time of the officers of the Seminary are at the service of corresponding members, in connection with Seminary work—within reasonable limits.

More than twenty gentlemen, prominent in official and professional circles, have already connected themselves with the Seminary, and have rendered very acceptable service during past years.

The officers and members of the Seminary will gladly render all possible assistance ot any public officials who may desire to collect special statistics or secure definite information on such lines of public work as are properly within the sphere of the Seminary.

Any citizen of Kansas interested in this work is invited to correspond with the Seminary, and to be present at its meetings when possible.

FRANK W. BLACKMAR,
DIRECTOR.
FRANK H. HODDER,
VICE-DIRECTOR.
EPHRAIM D. ADAMS,
SECRETARY.

LABOR'S PROGRESS.

THE following address was delivered at the fair grounds on Labor Day:

Fellow Citizens, Ladies and Gentlemen:

This vast assemblage of people, met to celebrate the cause of labor, is sufficient guarantee that the authorities of the state of Kansas have acted wisely in setting apart "Labor Day" as a public holiday. They have thus acknowledged the importance of labor and the justness of labor's cause. They have thus recognized, in keeping with the industrial progress of the world, the chief force that has wrought the changes in modern civilization. For this has been truly called an industrial age, an age in which the forces of nature have been made subservient to man's will, in which the materials of nature have been transformed for man's use. Truly, the activities of man have covered the earth with things of beauty and use, and elevated his mind and life to their full enjoyment.

But until the present age progress has been slow. It was a long time ago that man first fashioned the bow and the arrow, the stone axe and knife, but simple as these implements may seem they wrought an entire change in his industrial life. It is a long time since the smelting of ores and the use of metals began, but it was a wonderful discovery, and it enlarged the economic life. So, too, the adaptation of man to agricultural life began at an early period, but it marks an era in industrial, social and political activity.

But how shall we compare the age of primitive existence, when man with a few implements only, led a nomadic life, subsisting chiefly on the spontaneous products of the soil, and of the chase, with this age of steam and electricity, of bright whirling machinery, of rapid railroad and steamship travel, of gigantic industrial enterprises, with the vast stores of the accumulated wealth of nature, and the volume of finished products of every description, supplying every want of mankind. Slowly and steadily has all this been acquired. Man passed from the hunter-fisher stage to the pastoral, thence to the agricultural with permanent political organization. With slow and laborious process, he entered the commercial or trading stage, which finally led him to the present, or industrial age, in which the rapid transformation of raw material into finished products is the chief characteristic. In all this progress, nothing has been lost to the economic life. Increased knowledge and skilled labor, the multiplication of machinery and implements, and the accumulated wealth and capital have so quickened the processes of industrial life that more is now accomplished in a single hour than in a century of the old life. But in all this progress in supplying human wants, labor of body and mind has been the supreme force.

To-day we meet to celebrate the honor, dignity and progress of labor, to consider its mighty achievements, its glorious prospects and its duties and rights. Fancy the millions of slaves who built the mighty pyramids of Egypt, the tombs of kings, meeting to do honor to labor! Imagine the Greek toilers, with all the evidence of liberty and equality, who supplied the economic wants of a class of politicians, setting apart a day for the special celebration of the dignity of labor! Or consider for a moment the slaves who built the Coliseum of Rome, and the other mighty works of the "Eternal City," think of their assemblage in a vast throng to rejoice in the dignity and independence of labor! Or, indeed, fancy the meeting together of the wretched factory population of Europe of the last century to talk of the worth and elevation of labor, to proclaim its independence and defend its rights!

But to-day, under the potent phrase of

"Labor Day," this vast army of laborers meet under favorable conditions; under conditions of progress, freedom and independence, to celebrate the power, worth and dignity of labor, to proclaim its independence, to define its duties and defend its rights. You meet to celebrate the triumph of labor in the mastery of the forces of nature, in the accumulation of wealth, in the variety and beauty of manufactured products, in the quality of skilled labor, and the inventive genius of man, all, all the products of the combined activities of the brain and the hand of man. And while not all is joy and gladness, while there are many sad and sorrowful conditions of human life, there is sufficient prosperity to cause us to rejoice in the progress of the past and to take heart and be hopeful for the future.

While we meet to-day as an industrial class, there are many grave questions that arise concerning the welfare of our nation and the rights and duties of the people. While no partisan politics should be visible here, while here are mingled the members of every political party of the country, with different views as to what should be the present policy of the government, there is here a unity of sentiment in regard to the safety of the republic and the welfare of the people. A sentiment of American freemen in favor of political justice and political and religious liberty. In their truest sense, the political and industrial life of the nation are inseparable. It is impossible to consider industrial liberty without considering political liberty. To observe how closely political rights and political liberty are connected with industrial rights and industrial liberty, one needs only to glance at the legislation of the past fifty years, to recount the laws controlling the rights of labor, the rights of property and industrial enterprises of all kinds. Everything has a strong industrial tendency, and this is a marked evidence that the economic life, which everywhere underlies the political, is rapidly coming to be most important in our national affairs. While men may meet as members of labor organizations to consult their own interests, their rights and duties, they are still members of a more powerful organization, the state, to which they owe allegiance and service, and which defines rights and imposes duties, and from which they should receive justice. While labor organizations keep out of partisan politics, they should look to wise and beneficent legislation for the regulation of the great problems that concern them.

Among the great questions of the day that concern laborers, and indeed the whole body of citizens, is that of industrial liberty. To know what constitutes industrial liberty, and to have it secured to every man, woman and child, is next in importance to the determination of the rights of political liberty. To insure political liberty, ought to insure industrial liberty, whatever that may be.

One hundred years ago the people were struggling violently for political liberty, which meant a struggle against all forms of oppression. In a less violent way this struggle has been kept up ever since. But for what have they struggled? For equal rights before the law. To-day the form only has changed, and they struggle for industrial liberty or for equal rights in the industrial world. In the political revolution not all that was hoped for or dreamed of was accomplished; not all that was desirable was attained. But there was practically demonstrated the equality of man in the political life. The political barriers were broken down, and men stood theoretically equal. But this fact could in no way insure individuals equal political power. It could in no way make up for the differences of individual characteristics, or condition of birth and surroundings. Men are not born with equal political power, nor is this equality insured to them, only justice before the law, with equal political rights can be insured.

So, too, the achievement of political liberty brought with it the right of every man to engage in whatsoever occupation,

or calling, or enterprise he choose, but in no way attempted to regulate the economic inequalities that existed then and exist to-day. It merely said that all men shall have a fair chance, but could in no way regulate the inequalities arising out of the characteristics of individuals and their environments.

What then is industrial liberty? Does it mean economic equality? By no means. It means that every man shall have an equal chance with his fellows, industrially; and shall have insured to him a just recompense for his labor, without industrial oppression or injustice. During the industrial revolution that has swept over the world in the past century, many grave evils have crept into our industrial system which have engendered oppression and tyranny. Industrial revolution was brought about by wonderful discoveries, great inventions, and the creation of machinery, which changed the aspect of the labor market and transformed the economic life. Men said, let the industrial life alone, it will take care of itself. Economic laws will regulate everything, and justice will prevail. Let us have free competition and all will be well. Let each man struggle for the best investment of capital, for the best investment of labor and economic rights will be insured. But this neutral course has proved inadequate to insure economic justice. The English economists who have advocated free competition as the regulator of economic enterprises have witnessed the failure of the practical workings of its principles. Great economic changes have furnished opportunity for industrial oppression. Free competition has existed only in theory. Corporations, trusts and combinations have exercised more power than they ought and have destroyed industrial freedom and induced industrial oppression. Not only have laborers, and the small manufacturers and traders suffered, but the whole people have suffered on this account. The truth is that industrial liberty, like political liberty, is maintained only by wise and just laws. Laws may regulate competition, may secure for the people the advantages of monopoly. The business enterprises of the country may be so regulated by wise legislation as to secure to the whole people the power that now passes to the few. Laws may provide for the settlement of labor difficulties by arbitration; laws may protect labor as well as capital in their several interests. Thus, may be secured industrial liberty. So far as rights and duties are concerned they may secure economic equality, but they can never make up for the inherent differences of mankind. These differences only ideal systems of economics pretend to obliterate.

But to determine the plane and limits of competition is not all that is necessary. The law may say that competition shall be fair, that industrial depression shall cease, and that every man shall have secured to him just and fair compensation for labor. But laws cannot force capital to an investment for the employment of labor any more than they can force labor to hire itself to capital. There remain then some great economic considerations as to what may be done.

The first and foremost thing to consider is keeping up the standard of the economic and intellectual life of the laborers. Labor organizations have done much to elevate labor, by education and constant agitation. They have, by their just demands, kept wages higher and thus permitted improvement. By direct education they have developed intelligence, and as a rule the greater the intelligence of labor the higher the wages. Not only will higher wages be received, and the condition of labor be improved by increased intelligence, but the general interest of labor will be better conserved. It requires a great deal of intelligence these days to know what to do in the solution of one of the greatest problems known to society. No class of people need more wisdom and intelligence in the guidance of their affairs than do the laborers. Every means

of education, especially of the study of economic laws and principles, should be improved. A glance at the history of the labor movement for the last thirty years, fully demonstrates this, for where wisdom and justice have prevailed success has followed; where ignorance and stubborness have guided, failure has been the reward.

Education will do more than anything else to level down the class system. In spite of the growth of political liberty in Europe, there still remains a class system based upon aristocracy of birth. While we pride ourselves that we have no such class distinction in America, there are growing up in our midst an aristocracy of wealth and a laboring class. It is to be deplored that in a free country, classes should exist even on an economic basis. The only salvation for this phase of society is, that the laborer of to-day frequently becomes the capitalist of to-morrow. But we have capitalists and laborers organized against one another, as if their interests were not in common. It is a careful thing to know how one party may injure the other without injury to their own cause. Economic liberty cannot be obtained by the oppression of any one class; society is so closely connected that an injury to a branch affects the whole stock. There are those who recognize no labor problem; they see only in it the unjust claims of labor, or the extravagant demands of capital. But the great body of intelligent thinking people recognize a labor problem and sympathize with the cause of labor in all just demands. In a country professing civil liberty it is not wholesome to have two parties with common industrial interests warring against each other, for industrial warfare will eventually undermine political stability. In a country where the government is for the people, and by the people, industrial oppression cannot long prevail without permanent detriment to free institutions. He who more than any other bore on his heart the burdens of the republic during the great civil war, who felt keenly the beating of the national pulse in agonizing life, predicted the next great difficulty to arise between labor and capital. He saw the rapid accumulation of wealth, the increased power of corporations, the organization of labor, and looked forward with fear and trembling for the safety of the country. The struggle is now upon us. There is no cause for alarm, but there *is* cause for anxiety or care. For the most part it is a peaceful revolution, such as the people of Rome carried on against the aristocracy for over 400 years. In this struggle for political and social equality they gained steadily every year.

That greater means for improvement may be had, the eight-hour day would be a positive blessing to humanity. Eight hours per day of hard toil is sufficient for any man in his daily avocation. The remaining hours should be devoted to lighter work and self-improvement. But it is a difficult matter to adjust all industries to this system. Even in our own state where the eight-hour law prevails for public service it is not complied with. But it will yet prevail and society will slowly adjust itself to its conditions. When it does prevail I trust it will apply equally to our mothers, wives and sisters.

Some deny that wealth could be accumulated as rapidly with an eight-hour day as with a ten. Then let it accumulate less rapidly. It is now increasing at a rapid rate: it would do no harm to curb avariciousness in our nation. Wealth is only a means and not an end. If we have pledged ourselves as a nation to the proposition that wealth getting is the chief end of man, let us retract and reform. There are higher and grander things in life to be considered than the accumulation of wealth. There are better conditions of life than those most conducive to the creation of millionaires. The eight-hour day will yet prevail, while calm agitation be not suppressed; let us patiently abide its coming. A law may hasten it, but conservative society can only slowly adjust itself to the new conditions.

Another great detriment to the elevation of labor is the importation of large classes of laborers from the old world, who are accustomed to a lower standard of life and unacquainted with the blessings and duties of citizens of a free country. This is the land of the free and an asylum for the oppressed. But we should insist that it remain so. It is useless to degrade the labor of America for the benefit of the labor of Europe. Protection to American labor ought to be a cardinal principle in American politics. The standard of life of the American laborer ought to be maintained, and just and careful immigration laws will be a protection.

But with all these differences, inequalities, and problems of labor before us, I beg you to consider the improved condition of laborers in America in comparison with those of the old world. Here under benign laws, and political liberty, with better wages and a higher standard of life, the conditions of the American laborer are superior to those of the old world. The laws against child-labor, laws for the protection of the person of the laborer, and for just payment of wages, all mark progress. It is an occasion for rejoicing in this fact. It is also an occasion for the thoughtful consideration of how to maintain these favorable conditions, and I repeat that education has much to do with it, it is not only the corner-stone of political liberty, but also of industrial liberty. An educated democracy is as essential to favorable economic conditions as to favorable political conditions. The constant, firm, unimpassioned agitation does much to acquaint all parties with the actual conditions of affairs, and to help the cause of labor. But every movement should be accompanied with wisdom and justice, and be free from rashness and thoughtless action. The rights of capital must be recognized, as well as the rights of labor. Employers and employes are forced partners in the same enterprise, and this must not be forgotten. Labor organization is a natural outcome of the times, it arises as essential as the state, and those in charge should so regard it, and yet remember that they are members of a state which dictates duties, and demands service, and yet is ready to aid all classes.

Co-operative industries and systems of profit-sharing have done much to point out the way of industrial liberty. They have been helpful in determining the needs, rights, duties and mutual interests of labor and capital in the process of production and distribution. They have been steps in advance and have demonstrated the essential harmony of employer and employe, but they have been entirely inadequate to solve the whole problem. Their scope is limited in operation to a few industries, their management to a few men and few conditions. Good as far as they go they cannot insure industrial liberty.

Every person, thoughtful for the welfare of his country and sympathetic with the great number of toiling people of the land must deplore the recent strife between employers and employes in several states of the Union. It is to be deplored on account of the condition that made the strife possible; on account of the manner in which it was conducted and also on the manner in which it was settled. But it only points out in a large measure the actual condition of the country and demonstrates to laborers, employers and statesmen that a great national question must be met and settled wisely and justly.

What the future may develop is unknown, but at present every state in the Union ought to have boards of conciliation and arbitration to settle extreme cases with justness and fairness to all parties. The state must be the final arbitrator of all disputes and the protector of industrial liberty. Whatever labor achieves for itself, by education, by organization, and by persistent and determined agitation, must finally be secured by just and equitable laws in which rights are determined and duties imposed.

Let us not forget that well directed labor conquers all things. It is the greatest power in the land. Labor is the only true nobility. Labor of body and mind is the only real worth of life. It has broken the virgin soil of the western prairies, cleared forests, built cities, and connected them with railroads. It has made the fertile soil to yield its increase, and the desert to rejoice "and blossom as a rose." The accumulation of wealth and increased intelligence make the achievements of labor greater each year. While we celebrate its triumph to-day and deplore its sorrows, let us look boldly forward to a time when there will be no division between capitalists and laborers, when there shall be no classes in America and when the aristocracy of America shall be composed of those who have done the most for the elevation of humanity. Let us not forget that labor organizations exist for the elevation of their members. Let us cherish whatever makes the home brighter, the life more elevated and noble. Let us hold to those things that make for independence, freedom, and a noble citizenship, and avoid that which tends to debase and degrade. Labor is organized for peace and not for war. In its struggle for rights, principles, and elevation let calm persistent advocacy be its watchword, and it will have the sympathy of all right thinking people. F. W. BLACKMAR.

THE "LOST ATLANTIS" OF PLATO.

THE belief that there is nothing new under the sun, though far from flattering to human vanity, is nevertheless one which seems to have a peculiar fascination for most minds. It is a belief, too, which has been so often justified in strange and unexpected ways that it sometimes seems as though men are not far wrong in thinking that all they know, or can ever know, was known by men who lived so long ago that all accounts of their lives have passed out of the realm of history into that of tradition, myth and fable. When a great discovery is made the world usually does homage for a time to the genius of the discoverer, and enthusiastically inscribes his name among the immortals. But soon criticism proves that the discovery is not the unfolding of some entirely new fact or principle, but very largely the remembering of something known long ago. The name of the supposed discoverer, though still graciously left among the immortals, loses that halo of glory with which the popular mind had surrounded it. Genius is dethroned and triumphant mediocrity reigns in its stead, amid the applause of a world which desires above all things to know the truth, whatever great reputation may suffer thereby.

These remarks are peculiarly applicable to the events connected with the discovery of America in the fifteenth century, and to the controversies that have since raged as to who was the real discoverer.

Among the many stories told and theories advanced to deprive Columbus of his place in history as the discoverer of America, there is certainly none stronger or more interesting than that which attributes to the ancients a knowledge of the existence of vast areas of land in the Atlantic ocean, far to the west of Europe and Africa. This theory rests largely upon a story told by Plato in two of his dialogues—*Timæus* and *Critias*. Plato's story is briefly as follows:

*Solon, the celebrated law-giver of Athens, in the course of his travels in Egypt, came to the great city of Lais, which was situated at the head of the Egyptian delta. Standing upon a bridge

*The Dialogues of Plato, translated by B. Jowett, Vol. II., p. p. 518-521.

near the city one day, Solon fell into conversation with an aged Egyptain priest. The conversation turned upon the subject of ancient history, whereupon the priest declared to Solon that the Greeks had no traditons "hoary with age," but that all their stories were but of yesterday when compared with some which he could tell. He would, he said, tell Solon an old world story of a great war which had occurred eight or nine thousand years ago, between the Greeks and the inhabitants of a vast island in the Atlantic, west of the Columns of Heracles. This island was larger than Asia and Libya together. It was called Atlantis. Beyond it were other islands of great size. West of all these islands lay a great continent. In the island of Atlantis there existed a powerful government which not only ruled over Atlantis itself, but also over many of the other islands, a part of the continent, and parts of Asia and Libya. This government attempted to subdue Greece, but Greece made a brave resistance and at last, "after having undergone the very extremity of danger," succeeded in driving the invaders back. *But shortly afterwards there occurred a great earthquake, accompanied by the most appalling floods, and in a single day and night the island of Atlantis sank beneath the sea, together with all its warlike population. The Greek army likewise perished.

Such is the story of Atlantis as narrated to Solon by the Egyptian priest, if Plato may be believed. Solon, it is said, intended to write an epic poem on this subject on his return to Athens, but other duties prevented him from doing so. †Plato was a descendant of Solon, and the papers which Solon left upon this subject fell into his hands, as he himself declares in *Critias*.

Whether Plato intended this story to be regarded as history or as fiction is a question which has received an immense amount of discussion, but one which, in all probability, will never be solved. Plato, like many another great literary man has left no rule by which his readers can determine where he wishes to be regarded as the careful historian, adhering strictly to the facts as reported to him, and where he wishes to be understood to have permitted himself the greater range and freedom of the poet or the writer of philosophical romances.

But in spite of the uncertainty which hangs around Plato's motives in narrating the story of Atlantis, many people believe that he meant the story for the truth, and that the island he describes actually existed and was destroyed suddenly by floods and earthquake. Let us briefly notice the arguments brought forward in support of this belief.

(1) The frequent mention in classical writers of wide areas of land lying in the ocean to the west of Europe and Africa is the first argument. Plato, though perhaps the earliest, is not the only classical writer who speaks of such islands and continents. ‡Crantor (B. C. 300), the first commentator on Plato, asserts that the Egyptian priest declared that the story of the destruction of Atlantis had been found inscribed on certain Egyptian pillars which were still extant. Plutarch and Herodotus speak of a great island in the Atlantic as a known fact. The dramatist Seneca has the following in his *Medeo*: "Late centuries will appear when the ocean's vale lifts to open a vast country. New worlds will Thetsys unveil. Ultimo Thule will not remain the earth's boundary."§ Diodorus Siculus, a contemporary of Julius Cæsar, says: "Opposite Africa lies an island which an account of its magnitude is worthy to be mentioned. It is several days distant from Africa. It has a fertile soil, many mountains, and not a few plains unexcelled in their beauty."‖

(2) Another argument in support of the Atlantis theory is the great similarity in

*Plato, Timæus Vol. II. of Plato's Dialogues, translated by B. Jowett, p. 521.

†Weise, Discoveries of America, p. 3.

‡Winsor, Narrative and Critical History of America, Vol. I., p. 41. Pop. Sci. Monthly, Vol. XV., pp. 760-761.

§Ibid, p 762.

‖Ibid, p. 762.

many points between the fauna and flora of Europe and North America.* The horse, for example, did not exist in America at the time of its discovery by Europeans. Yet fossil remains found in the Bad Lands of Nebraska seem to indicate that it was once a native of North America. †Fossil remains of the camel have been found in Africa, India, and Kansas, though the camel has probably not been a native of America for thousands of years. When we turn to the flora of Europe and North America we find similar striking resemblances. ‡The flora of the miocene period in Switzerland was almost identical with the present flora of the eastern part of the United States. But the strongest of all proofs from resemblances in the flora of the two continents is found in case of the seedless banana. This is a cultivated plant, and is a native of tropical Asia and Africa, yet it was found in America at the time of its discovery in the fifteenth century. It multiplies only by means of a perennial root. This root cannot stand a long sea voyage, and can not be transported through a temperate climate without having its germinal powers destroyed. §It must, therefore, have been carried over the Atlantic ocean from its native home in Asia or Africa by civilized men. It cannot have been brought to tropical America directly from Asia or Africa, but must have had some stopping place between these continents and America. The conclusion drawn from all these resemblances between the fauna and flora of the old world and the new, is that the connection between these two continents must; at some remote period in the past, have been far closer than it has been since the beginning of authentic history.

(3) Still stronger proof of the Atlantis theory is found in the nature of the Atlantic sea bottom as revealed by the deep-sea soundings made by various expeditions, notably those of the *Dolphin*, the *Gazelle*, and the *Challenger*. These expeditions have shown conclusively that, starting in the Arctic regions, a ridge runs down the middle of the Atlantic to the northwestern coast of South America. This ridge is at least twelve thousand feet higher than the ocean on either side of it. ‖In 1873 and 1876 the *Challenger* expedition found another and narrower ridge running down the Atlantic between South America and Africa. ¶It was the *Challenger* expedition, too, that disclosed the fact that the entire Atlantic ridge is covered with volcanic matter. This ridge is believed to be the backbone of a sunken continent. An article in the *Scientific American* for July 28, 1877, quoted by Mr. Donnelly in his Atlantis, speaks as follows: "The inequalities, the mountains and valleys of the surface of this elevation could never have been produced in accordance with any laws for the deposition of sediment, nor by submarine elevation; but, on the contrary, must have been caused by agencies acting above the water level." The presence of the volcanic matter along the ridge is thought to indicate that the continent suddenly sank beneath the sea as the result of some such cataclysm as that described by Plato. **Sir Charles Lyell declares there are geological reasons for a belief in the former existence of a great Atlantic island.

(4) The last, and in the opinion of many, the strongest of all the arguments in favor of the existence in primeval times of a great civilized country in the Atlantic which was suddenly destroyed by some terrible convulsion of nature, is found in the fact that a very large number of the tribes and natives of mankind, both in the old world and the new, have preserved traditions of such a cataclysm, and that these traditions are strikingly alike in many respects. For example, the account given in the first part of the sixth chapter

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*Atlantis, or the Antediluvian World, by Ignatius Donnelly. p. 55.

†Ibid, p. 55.

‡Ibid, p. 55.

§Donnelly's Atlantis, p. 57.

‖Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, Vol. I., p. 44.

¶Donnelly's Atlantis, p. 50.

**Lyell's Elements of Geology, p. 349, quoted by Louis Figuier in The World Before the Deluge, p. 281.

of Genesis, of the reasons which induced God to destroy the human race by a deluge, is very much like that given by Plato in the closing sentences of *Critias.** The means employed to destroy mankind are the same in the two accounts. In each the agency of destruction is water, earthquakes and volcanic eruptions; for the statement made in Genesis that "all the fountains of the great deep were broken up,"† very evidently refers to upheavals and convulsions of the earth's crust.

‡It is well known that the Chaldeans, Syrians, Hindoos and Greeks had traditions of a deluge in which the greater part of mankind perished. §H. H. Bancroft says it has recently been found that traditions of such a cataclysm exist among the American nations.

A learned French archæologist, the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg, claims to have found in the *Codex Chimalpopoca* (a manuscript written in the Nahuan language) a detailed account of the cataclysm in which Atlantis was destroyed. This document is apparently a history of Mexico Culhuacan. Brasseur, however, claims to have made the singular discovery that almost every word in this manuscript has two meanings—an open meaning and a hidden one. The hidden meanings, he asserts, when put together, tell the story of the destruction of Atlantis. Brasseur finds this statement made in the *Codex Chimalpopoca*: ||"Following the eruption of volcanoes which then existed on the whole continent, twice as large then as now, came the sudden eruption of an immense submarine fire which shook the world between the rising and the setting of the morning star and sank the fairest regions of the globe."

¶Lastly, the Egyptians are said to have a tradition inscribed upon the wall of the tomb of King Sete I. at Thebes, very similar to the one given by Plato in *Timæus* and *Critias*.

Such are the principal arguments advanced by the defenders of the Atlantis theory. Their opponents, while not denying that some of these arguments have some weight, nevertheless maintain that they are not sufficient to justify us in thinking that the ancients knew anything of the western world, or even in believing that any such island as Plato's Atlantis ever existed.

To the argument based upon the numerous references to Atlantis in the classical writers, they reply that in all probability these references are all based upon Plato's narrative, and consequently that this argument only amounts to this: **the classical writers believed Plato to have meant the story of Atlantis for a history and not a fiction.

††To account for the similarity of the fauna and flora of the old world and the new, some authorities are of the opinion that the two hemispheres were once united at the north.

It is further argued by the opponents of the Atlantis theory that the sudden destruction of such a vast area of land must have had such an influence upon the climate of Europe and America as to have materially changed the fauna and flora of the two continents. But there is no evidence of such a change having taken place ten or twelve thousand years ago, when the Atlantis catastrophe is supposed to have occurred.

§§In reply to the arguments brought forward by Brasseur de Bourbourg, it is affirmed that the original documents from which he deduced his theory are not obtainable, and consequently these arguments rest entirely upon Brasseur's own assertions. It seems much more likely that Brasseur was mistaken in his second interpretation of the *Codex Chimalpopoca* than

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*Jowett's translation of Plato's Dialogues, Vol. II., p. 607.

†Genesis. Chapter VII., verse 2.

‡Donnelly's Atlantis, pp. 75-97.

§H. H. Bancroft, Native Races, Vol. V., p. 127.

||H. H. Bancroft, Native Races, Vol. V., p. 127, in a foot note.

¶Weise, Discoveries of America, p. 20.

**Winsor, Narrative and Critical History of America, Vol. I., p. 42.

††Prescott, Conquest of Mexico, Vol. III., pp. 356-7, note by the editor.

‡‡J. W. Foster, Prehistoric Races, p. 399.

§§H. H. Bancroft, Native Races, Vol. V., p. 128.

that the author or authors of that document should have thought it necessary to conceal so harmless a narrative as that of the destruction of an island or a continent under an elaborate cipher. Brasseur has published no translation of these documents. He claims that the Atlantis cataclysm is the subject of the Ter-Amoxtl, of which several Mexican manuscripts are the hieroglyphic transcriptions, yet *"he has not succeeded in transcribing a single one of these hieroglyphic characters."

Such are the chief arguments for and against the Atlantis theory. It will be noticed that its opponents, while denying that there is any demonstrative evidence that the Atlantis described by Plato ever existed, do not deny, nevertheless, that there may have been, in remote antiquity, a large island in the Atlantic, perhaps even a continent, which may have been sunk beneath the sea by some great earthquake or other convulsion of nature. The one argument which they bring forward against the possibility of the existence and sudden destruction of such an island applies only in so far as that destruction is supposed to have taken place within the past ten or twelve thousand years, and does not preclude the possibility of such a catastrophe having occurred at a far earlier period. There are, as we have seen, strong scientific reasons for thinking that a great continent once lay in the Atlantic ocean, midway between Europe and Africa on the one side and America on the other. Whether this continent sank gradually or suddenly, when and how its destruction was brought about, whether it was the home of a mighty civilization, or a desolate region covered with ever-burning volcanoes; whether it was the land of which Plato wrote; whether Plato himself really believed in its existence—all these are questions which will probably forever baffle the ingenuity, the patience and the learning of the archæologist, the geologist, the historian and the critic.

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R. D. O'Leary.

*Prescott, Conquest of Mexico, Vol. III., p. 355, note

EUROPEAN RELATIONS.

Paper read before the Seminary, September 23.

In accordance with our custom, this, the first meeting of the Historical Seminary for the new university year, is devoted to outlining the work which we expect to pursue. You have just listened to a review of those magazines and periodicals which bear upon our line of study, and have, I trust, decided to set apart a certain portion of your time for regular magazine reading. There are, however, certain articles bearing upon European relations which usually presuppose a knowledge of the main international interests of each country of Europe. Some of you have this knowledge; some of you do not have such knowledge. I shall attempt

to state to you simply the points which you should know in order to understand these articles.

It is, then, my purpose in this paper to sketch briefly the relations which exist between the nations of Europe, the great powers of the continent. I shall not devote any time to a consideration of those most interesting questions of European states today, namely, the relations of the people of the various states toward their national governments, and the essentially socialistic position held by many of those governments in their dealings with questions of general wellfare. Nor shall I be able to tell you of conditions of life in various countries of Europe, or make comparisons between different classes of population. These things play their part and often an important one in the fixing of a nation's policy. It may be necessary to mention them as prime factors in determining whether this or that nation will do this or that thing, but that interesting question, alway interesting, of how our neighbors live across the Atlantic, must be left untouched.

Nearly every nation of Europe to-day is supporting an armament the like of which has never before been seen in the history of the world. The governments of Europe rest their international relations upon a basis of force. The air is full of rumors of some improvement in the utensils of war by which Germany, or Russia, or France, or any other nation has added wonderfully to her fighting strength. The relations of these nations are therefore conducted in large measure with the thought of war, or of the possibility of war, as the great question before which all minor measures must give way. You may talk as you please of the great struggle for reform within the Italian kingdom, of the efforts of an Emperor William to crush out immorality and degradation, or of the fall of a French ministry upon a question of control of the Romish church, yet when France in her practice manoeuvres for the army of two weeks duration takes nearly three-quarters of a million of men from their occupations and compels them to march and countermarch day and night, to fight sham battles and to hurry to the frontiers of the country as if to resist an invading enemy, that looks like preparation for war on a rather large scale, although it may of course mean a war of defense and not a war of attack. And when Russia, with a starving population whose needs she is not able to supply, marches a goodly share of her army to the Polish border there to waste the revenues of the starving by the firing of blank cartridges in a mimic strife, merely for the purpose of accustoming her officers and her armies to the topography of her boundaries; then we say that means war, or the hope of war, or the fear of war.

The idea of the possibility of war is then the essence of the European position. But there can be no thought of war unless national interests clash, or national pride is stirred, or national revenge aroused. Each country has its interests and each naturally finds its allies and its enemies; so that there is to-day in Europe a clearly marked dividing line between two great systems of national friendships. One party consists of the triple alliance, Germany, Austria and Italy, with England thrown in as an adherent though not a member. These nations have for their ideal the maintenance of the existing conditions as between nations. In natural opposition to this league of four, are to be found Russia and France, each having some cause for complaint, or some injury to redress, but not publicly known to be bound by any treaty of offense or defense in case of war. Thus the first question that we have to answer is, what are the national interests which create such national friendships. I shall try to set before you that which each of the six countries regards as its interest.

Beginning with the triple alliance, the first member and organizer of that alliance was the German Empire. The foreign interests of Germany may be said to be

directed almost solely toward one point, namely, toward France. When on May 10, 1871, the definitive peace between Germany and France was signed, Germany regained a strip of territory, Alsace-Lorraine, which had been torn from her own two centuries before, and which, with varying fortunes had for the most part remained in the control of France since the days of Richelieu. The people of that territory, once thoroughly German, had in the years passed under French control, become, in a large measure, Frenchmen in spirit, if not altogether in language. The French people, therefore, regarded, and still regard, the cession of Alsace-Lorraine not as a return of territory to Germany, but as forced gift to a victorious rival, and in this view they have received support from the unrest evident in the ceded territory itself. The taking of Alsace-Lorraine from France made inevitable the enormous military equipments of France and Germany to-day, and because of them of all other nations as well. It may be possible that the French people, humiliated by a war in which their utter weakness was shown, would in any case have forced their government to make preparation for retaliation; but the cession of Alsace-Lorraine could have no other result. When the treaty was being arranged Von Moltke, the distinguished leader of the German forces, asserted most seriously that if Germany insisted upon the cession of Alsace-Lorraine it would be necessary for her to stand under arms, ready to defend that territory for at least thirty years. Popular German feeling demanded it, however, and the cession was made. To-day popular French feeling demands that this territory shall be regained, and France, with a debt one third greater than that of any other nation, feels herself bound to spend yearly enormous sums in warlike preparation. Probably in neither nation are the leaders of the government as insistent upon the idea of retention or reconquest as are the mass of the citizens. Governments are often forced to bend to popular will, even in Europe. Germany, then, is watching France. Every improvement in military science or equipment must be met with a better one, and every move in diplomatic circles must be counterbalanced by other moves. The safety of Germany lies in the isolation of France, and in the maintenance of the existing conditions. A war in Europe means danger to German interests. The death of one emperor and the accession of another has made no change in Germany's policy in this respect, nor has the fall of Bismarck from power changed the situation, except, perhaps, to make more certain the peaceful policy of Germany. The nationality of Germany has been successfully asserted in the formation of the empire. All that she cares for at the present is to maintain honorably that national existence which makes her strong.

The second member of the triple alliance, Austria-Hungary, or Austria as I shall use the name for convenience, finds her interests threatened, in case of war, in another direction. Austria regards herself as at least a joint heir with Russia to the domains of Turkey. But the means by which Austria hopes to receive her share of the inheritance differ widely from those which Russia would be likely to use. Austria desires that, without intervention from other nations, the western principalities of Turkey shall, at the proper time, assert their independence and seek the protection of Austria—in which event they would be very likely to be absorbed by that country. The Austrian government can not, therefore, be said to be friendly to the Porte. On the other hand Russia sees her best interest in the Balkan peninsula in a friendly alliance with Turkey by which she may be able to act as a defender of purely Turkish interests and then demand her pay for friendship's offering. The pay in particular upon which Russia has her eyes set for the present, is that portion of the Turkish territory which is gradually coming under Austrian influence. Russian

boundaries in Poland already meet those of Austria, and it is here that each nation is wont to carry on her mock wars and burn powder, always, it is said, in preparation for defense of the frontier.

And Austria has still another reason for wishing to maintain peace. There is no nation in Europe to-day, unless it be Turkey, which is burdened with such momentous questions of internal politics as is Austria. Her population and her institutions are of the widest variation in character. She has not, and to all appearances it is impossible for her to have, a distinct national character. Each of the races within her boundaries is imbued with class and race feelings and enmities for other classes and races. Hungary refuses to be absorbed by Austria proper—Bohemia is in a constant state of unrest, because she has not that place and influence which Hungary occupies—and in the other provinces, Germans, Czechs, and Magyars, are continually embroiled over race troubles. The attempt to remedy these evils, and the fear that in case of war only a half-hearted support would be given by the people, are additional reasons why Austria desires the maintenance of peace. She has no spirit of nationality, therefore her ability to engage in a hard and self-sacrificing war is very limited.

The third member of the triple alliance is Italy. Italy, like Germany, has, after centuries of struggle, asserted her national existence during the last half of the present century, and also like Germany her greatest care at present is to maintain intact that national existence. Austria, once the enemy and the censor of both Germany and Italy, is now compelled by the necessity of events to relinquish all hopes of regaining her former predominance over either of these nations, and, as we have seen, has with them formed the triple alliance for the preservation of peace. The nation which is most likely to trench upon Italian territory in case of war is France. It was France that gave Sardinia the helping hand in the war of freedom from Austrian domination in 1859, and France naturally expected Italian assistance and comfort later in her war with Germany. But she was dissapointed. Instead of rendering assistance, Italy, by her warlike attitude toward Austria, did much to prevent Austria from coming to the assistance of France, thus leaving the contest to be settled by the two nations alone. France, therefore, is inclined to regard Italy as a false friend, and there can be no doubt that in case of a general European war Italian territory would be invaded by French armies. The depth of hatreds between nations as seen in the actions of the people themselves, was well indicated in the attack last year by citizens of Rome upon a body of French pilgrims who had come to the classic city to pay their respects to the Pope. An off-hand remark by one of the pilgrims while near the tomb of Victor Emanuel II., reflecting upon the character of that monarch, so incensed an Italian standing near that he made a vicious attack upon the Frenchman. Within a few moments the whole body of French pilgrims was compelled to flee before the fury of a mob, and the excitement was intense in Rome for several days. The governments "regretted" the incident, but the feeling of the people of both nations remained bitter for some time. The power of the Pope in Italy is, in the eyes of Italian nationalists, a great danger, and it is thought that France and Frenchmen would like to see him regain his former position in temporal affairs in Italy. The interests of Italy, therefore, coincide largely with those of Germany. She is satisfied with present conditions and fears the uncertainties and expense of war.

"These three nations therefore, Germany, Austria and Italy, form the triple alliance, which is generally regarded as a league of peace. It aims primarily at defense, not at aggression. Since its original formation, in 1879, it has proved itself the most efficient means of maintaining the status quo; and, by its recent renewal, Germany, Austria and Italy con-

tinue under obligations, each to support the other if attacked. Germany, menaced on the Rhine, has to maintain a co-equality with France. Austria, threatened in the Principalities, and in danger of disinegration, has to provide against a possible forward movement on the part of Russia towards the accomplishment of the designs which the latter is believed to have long cherished against the Balkan Provinces and Constantinople. Italy too must secure herself against French aggression. These powers, therefore, combine together to conserve present interests."*

England, while not a member of the triple alliance, is understood to be friendly to it and to the idea of peace. England is essentially a trading nation. There was a time when England sought to build up a great colonial and foreign trade by wars of conquest. Spain, Holland and France have each been competitors and her enemies at once, but in each instance England was the victor, and to-day she stands without a rival in international trade. Her interests, therefore, necessitate the preservation of peace at any cost, unless indeed the cost be the loss of any portion of her trade or the danger of such a loss. There are three points to-day towards which her energies are especially directed: first: the opening of the Dark Continent, Africa; second: the preservation of peace and of some sort of financial order in Egypt; and third; the guarding against Russian advance toward India either through Asia proper or through the Mediteranean. As far as Africa is concerned, Egypt excepted, there seems to be little danger of trouble arising. The nations of Europe have in plain words peaceably agreed to divide the booty, each being left to deal with the people of an inferior civilization, in the share allotted to it, according as it shall seem best to the all wise statesmen of that nation. In Egypt, matters are more complicated. In 1875 affairs in Egypt had passed into such a state of anarchy that both France and England determined upon intervention. Egypt was then, and is still, nominally a part of the Turkish domain, but there neither was, nor is there now any real authority exercised from Constantinople. In 1875 an English minister of Finance and a French minister of Public affairs were forced upon Egypt; a little later Egypt was declared insolvent and England and France became receivers for the estate. Step by step the complete control of Egypt passed into the hands of these two nations, but more particularly into those of England as manager of financial affairs. Finally in 1882, on the occasion of the revolt of Arabi Pasha, France withdrew from Egypt, hoping thereby to compel England to do the same, but in reality leaving her the supreme control. England could not afford to leave Egypt to her own resources. The Suez canal, more important to England for the protection of trade interests and of India, than to any other nation, would by such a withdrawal be left in hands of a possible enemy in time of need. Moreover Egyptian bonds are a favorite purchase in English exchanges, and any indication of withdrawal from Egypt until that country is able to maintain a stable government of her own would result in the quick downfall of the English party in power, whether liberal or conservative.

But France, meanwhile, proclaims the continuation of English power in Egypt to be in reality an annexation. She asserts that it is a threat against her own interests in north Africa and upon the Mediterranean, and she would not be slow to seize any opportunity offered which could be used to compell the evacuation of Egypt. Here, then, is a chance for strife between France and England. It is not, however, generally believed that war between these two powers could arise over this one point unless other questions were involved. The fact that France is not represented to-day in the control of Egypt is entirely due to her own haste in evacuation, and that too at a moment when all Europe ap-

* "Current History," Nov. 1891, p. 353.

proved the suppression of Arabi Pasha's revolt, as a necessary step for the preservation of life and property. Nevertheless the question remains a sore point with France, and is likely to remain so for some time to come.

The third point toward which England's foreign policy is directed, is, as I have said, the protection of India from Russian advance, either in Asia proper or through the Mediterranean. For the last hundred years, yes for even a longer period, Russia has been steadily pushing forward her frontiers to the southeast. England meanwhile has gradually extended her dominion over India until in the last decade the English and Russian frontier guards pace their beats almost face to face in the gates of Herat. England fears that Russia will attempt still further advance and that in the end she must fight for her Indian possessions. Every movement, therefore, in that far away district of Central Asia is watched with the utmost anxiety, and it is this fear also that makes England, the home of the best development of European civilization, become the champion of the immobile Turk. As long as Turkey stands guard over the Russian entrace to the Mediterranean, and the passage of war ships through the Dardanelles is prohibited, so long quick communication between England and India, by way of the Suez canal is possible. But once permit Russia free access to the Mediterranean and England's security is gone, the Suez canal is endangered, and the long journey around Cape Good Hope would effectually prevent the rendering of assistance in case of an Indian emergency. England feels that, while she hopes to retain her position in India, she must see to it that Turkey is preserved intact, and it is largely for the same reason that she retains her position in Egypt.

Under present conditions then, England is satisfied. War would destroy or tend to destroy those conditions, and would create a great change in the delicate balance of power by means of which English interests are for the present preserved. England therefore is for peace and it is for this reason that she takes sides with the triple alliance in most matters of minor European relations.

Of the six great powers of Europe today, we have seen that the interests and the efforts of four look toward the preservation of peace. The threat then, of the violation of peace, the threat which necessitates the expenditure of such vast sums upon armies and navies by every country in Europe, must come from Russia or from France, In fact it comes from both and in looking over the ground so far we have seen the reasons in part why that threat exists. There is no need to recount in detail the causes of a warlike feeling in France. I have already mentioned them as the Alsace-Lorraine question, the revenge for Italian perfidy, and the demand for England's evacuation of Egypt. In order that we may understand the French feeling on the Alsacian question I can, perhaps, do no better than quote a distinguished French professor of history, Ernest Lavisse. He says: "It is difficult for a foreigner to understand why France cannot resign herself to the loss of her provinces. 'It is the law of war,' say the Germans. Such language would not have surprised anyone in the last century; and even to-day it seems natural to statesmen of the old regime. But in the present century France represents another policy. Among all nations of the world she is preeminently rationalistic and sensitive. She thinks that it is not proper to treat an aggregate of men like a herd of cattle. She believes in the existence of a peoples' soul. She has manifested sorrow and sympathy for the suffering of the victims of force. She has wept over Athens, Warsaw, and Venice, and has not given the oppressed merely tears. If France assisted the United Provinces to secure their freedom in the seventeenth century it was only a fortunate result of the policy of her kings; but when the French shed blood to deliver the United States, Greece,

Belgium, and Italy, it was an intentional result of new sentiments. The cession of the Alsace-Loraine did not bequeath to the French merely the humiliation of defeat. It did not merely open their frontier, and place their country in a condition of intolerable insecurity. In taking from them people that were French, and desired to remain so, the conqueror wounded the French in their convictions, and he simply used the old right of force. That is what determines the character of the Alsatian question. The French in their defeat may claim as a singular honor, that the redress of the wrong done to them would be a satisfaction to reason and to the most generous sentiments of our time." *

And then in Russia, on the other hand what a different situation ! The interests of Russia, which I have already pointed out, lie in the direction of absorbtion of the Danubian principalities and in face of the whole of the Turkish Empire. Such interests can lay no claim to justification on the ground of freedom for a kindred racc. Russian conquest does not mean freedom neither are the inhabitants of the Turkish doman distinctively Russian in their affiliations. The one and only bond of union lies in the membership of the Greek Church, of a considerable portion of the people.

It is sometimes said that the reason why Russia is a constant threat to European peace lies in the fact that she is wholly under the dominion of one man, and that question of peace or war must therefore depend upon the ambition of the Czar. In large measure this is true. In the minds of statesmen, the ideas and personal peculiarities of the Czar of Russia have more weight than those of any other one man in any one country, and yet the Czar is not so free from national control that his every wish is seen to be obeyed. There is today no country in Europe, no, not in the world, where the mass of the population are so thoroughly imbued with a belief in the greatness and prominence of their national destiny and their future dominance over other nations and races as are the people of Russia. The Russian believes that the Sclavic race is the "coming race" which is to overshadow all others, and he has been taught by long years of national education that the line of his development must be toward the south and through Turkey.

Russia is indeed benighted, her government is sometimes tyrannical, yet her citizens are the most loyal in Europe to-day. The Russian Nihilists recognize this when they defend the doctrine of teriarism on the ground that there is no hope for a revolution of the people in Russia; that the only way in which a constitutional government can be obtained is by compelling the Czar to compel the people to accept a change in government. It is this intense loyalty of the Russian citizen which makes the Russian nation so tremendous a force in Europe,—always an unknown quantity in the problem of politics—; unknown because of its one man power, and in the extent of its ability to suffer and to war.

Two nations then, France and Russia, widely separated in their institutions and their sentiments are drawn together by the logic of circumstances. Each is ready to seize a favorable opportunity to secure her ends, one for reasons partly of revenge, partly of justice, the other because of national ambition and national belief. We do not however that there is any definite alliance fanned between them; recent events would seem to indicate the contrary.

I have attempted in this sketch to outline briefly the main interests of the six great nations of Europe, that is, the main interests which are of international character. It has of course been impossible to do more than indicate in general terms the direction in which each nation is moving. I have not been able to discuss such questions as the Dardanlles incident of last year, on the character of Emperor William II, on the speech before the Hungarian Diet by Count Kalnoky. All that has been attempted was to place before you such facts as it is necessary to know in order to read understandingly the many articles upon European politics which appear in our magazines. I have tried to show you, that which is, or was, national tendency.

E. D. ADAMS.

* Political History of Europe p p 155-157.

SEMINARY REPORTS.

Opening Meeting.

THE first Seminary meeting of the present year was called to order by Professor Blackmar on Friday, Sept. 23, at 4 P. M. In his introductory remarks Professor Blackmar explained the objects and benefits of the Seminary and then proceeded to review Present Politics and Economics. The chief topics that are now interesting modern thinkers in the political economic and social world were presented for thoughtful consideration. The leading magazine articles for the month were mentioned as food for thought. The Professor urged the students to take an interest in every day affairs, in society, to study the political and economic problems of living society as well as to delve in the history of the past. He held that present society was the most important to them and that all historical work should finally center in the present.

Professor Adams followed with a carefully written paper on the "European Situation," which is published in this number of the Notes.

The Homestead Strike.

The Seminary was called to order at 4 P. M., on Friday, Sept. 30. Professor Blackmar in the chair. The work of the seminary was of the nature of an informal discussion of the Homestead Strike. Students were given different phases of the question to present. The following are the principal points brought out.

1. Causes of the strike and lockout.
2. Was the action of the laborers justifiable.
3. Was the action of the company justifiable.
4. Is the Pinkerton system to be commended.
5. What did the strike cost the laborers?
6. Cost of the strike to the State.
7. Cost of the strike to the employers.
8. How may such difficulties be prevented?
9. The settlement by conciliation and arbitration.
10. Do strikes tend to increase wages?

Members of the Seminary manifested great interest in the subject and a lively discussion took place.

New Books.

One of the prominent events in the world of historical literature, is heralded in the announcement of Houghton Mifflin & Co., of the early publication of "The Life and Letters of Jared Sparks," written by Professor H. B. Adams, of Johns Hopkins University.

The position occupied by Professor Adams, his well known ability as a writer, and his access to a great wealth of material all make it eminently fitting that he should write a "worthy memorial" to the first professor of history in Harvard College and the friend and contemporary of Madison, Jefferson, Clay, Webster, Prescott, Bancroft, Everett, Ticknor, De Tocville and others. We predict a warm welcome to this prospectively greatest historical work of the season.

From McMillan & Co., we have received a copy of "The Theory of the State" by Bluntschli. This well known excellent work needs no especial comment as only a lengthly review would be of any service. It is a standard work on the subject written by one who was master of the subject and a thoroughly earnest and profound student. It is very gratifying that the work has appeared in a cheaper revised edition and it is to be hoped that its use will become more general. To the person seeking a lucid presentation of the elements of modern constitutions, and analysis of the various theories of the modern state no better book can be recommended.

- SEMINARY - NOTES. -

PUBLISHED ON THE FIRST DAY OF OCTOBER, NOVEMBER, DECEMBER, FEBRUARY, MARCH, APRIL AND MAY, BY THE SEMINARY OF HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCE. State University, Lawrence, Kansas.

Frank W. Blackmar, *Frank H. Hodder*, *Ephraim D. Adams*, - - - *Editors.*

Terms, Ten Cents a Number, - Fifty Cents a Year

THE purpose of this publication is to increase the interest in the study of historical science in the University and throughout the State, to afford means of regular communication with corresponding members of the Seminary and with the general public—especially with the Alumni of the University, and to preserve at least the outlines of carefully prepared papers and addresses. The number of pages in each issue will be increased as rapidly as the subscription list will warrant. The entire revenue of the publication will be applied to its maintenance.

Address all subscriptions and communications to

F. W. BLACKMAR,
Lawrence, Kansas.

DURING the summer Dr. Albert Shaw, the American editor of the "Review of Reviews" added an article on Budapest to the valuable series of studies of foreign cities that he has printed at intervals during the last two years in the "Century." Dr. Shaw spent a year abroad in the study of municipal government and upon his return embodied the results of his investigation in a course of lectures, delivered at Michigan and Cornell Universities. This course Ex-President Andrew D. White characterized as marking an era in the study of municipal institutions in this country. The articles that have appeared in the "Century" (Glasgow, Mar., '90; London, Nov., '90; Paris, July '91, and Budapest, June '92) give in somewhat altered form the substance of the lectures.

Much of the article on Budapest is devoted to a description of the city and its recent rapid growth. The government of the city follows the usual European model. There is the single large municipal council, consisting in this case of four hundred members elected for six years. Two hundred are chosen by the electors from a list of the 1200 largest tax-payers (men of liberal education being rated for double their property) and two hundred are elected from the body of the citizens. The executive officers (burgomaster, two vice-burgomasters and ten magistrates) are elected by the council for a term equal to their own. Each of the ten magistrates is in charge of a special administrative department. This brief outlines is enough to show how little the methods of foreign cities, are suited to the needs of our own.

THERE is some sign of an awakening in this country on the subject of the improvement of our roads. Heading magazines, such as the "Century" and "Forum" give space to articles upon this subject and a special magazine has been started under the name of "Our Common Roads" which seeks to arouse interest by comparing American and foreign roads by means of photographic cuts. More recently Col. Albert Pope has addressed an open letter to the public in which he urges that the opportunity of the World's Columbian Exposition be improved to teach the great lesson of the need, the construction and the maintenance of good roads and he offers a liberal subssription to any fund that may be needed for that purpose. Dr. Peabody, Chief of the Department of Liberal Arts of the Exposition, truly writes that "There can be no doubt that the subject of roads is one of paramount importance to the country. Whether on the gravelly soil of Massachusetts, the clays of New York and Indiana, or the prairies of the Mississippi valley our common roads are worse than those in any other civilized country. No other material interest in the United States rests under so dense a cloud of ignorance. No improvement would so greatly aid the American farmer as that which would give him good roads. Of course there are many reasons why our roads are so much inferior to those of Europe. There is the larger area to be

covered, the comparatively short period of settlement and the higher price of labor. But making allowance for these causes, the fact remains that the roads are not as good as the time and labor spent upon them should make them. The principal reasons are two; First, the wasteful system of labor tax, especially bad in towns and cities, and Second, the almost universal ignorances of the proper methods of road making. The Centenial Exposition taught American bakers how to make good bread. If the Columbian Exposition will teach the American people how to make good roads, it will be well worth the cost.

DURING the summer vacation the publications of the American Statistical association for 1888–89 have been bound into one volume and placed in the library. These publications are probably the least noticed of any quarterly to be found in the reading room, and yet to all students of Economics they should prove of the greatest value, especially when bound into volume form. The most noted men of those who are interested in determing economic and social question by an appeal to ascertained facts write for this journal. The leading articles published in it are all of them scholarly inquiries, based upon statistical methods, and drawing only such conclusions as it seems possible to draw logically from the data given. There are also short suggestive articles or topics for study and methods of work.

A few of the interesting articles in the volume in the library are as follows:

Key to the Publications of the United States Census 1880–1887.

Life Insurance in the United States.

Notes on the Statistical Determination of the Causes of Poverty.

American Railroad Statistics.

Finance Statistics of the American Commonwealths.

Prison Statistics of the United States for 1888.

Statistics of Divorce in the United States and Europe.

These are but a few of the many articles, and it is impossible to understand their value without an examination of the articles.

The "Key to the Publications of the United States Census 1790–1886," is most valuable to any student economics who wishes to investigate some particular social questions, but who is appalled by the seeming look of order and arrangement in Census publications. The "Key" makes it all plain. The various topics are classified under their proper heads, and the year, volume, page and specific heading as given. Take for example one classification given as "Social Questions Connected with Manufactures." Under this head references are given in all the Census publications on trade societies, strikers and lockouts, wages, necessaries of life, and factory system. The publication of the Census Bureau from 1850 down are in the library, so that here is a good field for some special observation of the working of conomic laws. To the average student, the main difficulty has been how to get hold of statistics. The publications of the American Statistical Association help to bridge the difficulty. Consider being of great value in nothing special examination of Social question. In addition to the bound volume mentioned, the quarterly is taken regularly and is to be found in the reading room.

WE have received "Compayre's History of Pedogogy." It is the best history of pedogogy published in English. It is not a history of education nor does the author make any such pretensions. Covering such a wide field it is difficult for the author to make extended discussions of each separate period, but the material at hand has been carefully sifted and the leading thoughts presented in each phase of the developing steps of pedagogy. It is a very valuable supplement to the work of a class in the history of education.

COURSES OF STUDY

IN

HISTORY AND SOCIOLOGY.

FOR 1892-93.

F. W. BLACKMAR, PH. D.
F. H. HODDER, PH. M.
E. D. ADAMS, PH. D.

Instruction in this department is given by means of lectures, conferences, recitations, discussions, and personal direction in study and research. As the library is an indispensable aid in the pursuit of the following courses of study, students are expected to become acquainted with the best methods of collecting and classifying materials, and of writing and presenting papers on special topics. All lectures are supplemented by required reading and class exercises.

The work of the department now embraces five principal lines of study, namely: European History, American History and Civil Government, Political Institutions, Sociology or Social Institutions, and Political Economy.

The following studies are offered for 1892-'93:

FIRST TERM.

1. The History of Civilization. Lectures daily, at 8:30. Ancient Society, and the intellectual development of Europe to the twelfth century. Special attention is given to the influence of Greek philosophy and the Christian church on European civilization, the relation of learning to liberal government, and to the rise of modern nationality.

2. French and German History. Daily, at 9:30. Descriptive history. Text-book.

3. Historical Method and Criticism. Tuesday and Thursday, at 9:30. Examination and classification of sources and authorities. Analysis of the works of the best historians. Library work, with collection and use of material, notes, and bibliography. Special attention to current historical and economic literature.

4. The History of Education and the Development of Methods of Instruction. Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, at 9:30. This course may be taken with No. 3. A course for teachers.

5. English History. Daily, at 11. Descriptive history. Text-book.

6. Journalism. Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, at 12. Lectures, laboratory and library work. English: Twenty-five lecturts by Professors Dunlap and Hepkins; 15 lectures on the history and ethics of journalisn, by Professor Adams. Newspaper bureau. The principal object of the bureau is to enable students to form habits of systematic reading, to keep informed on the topics of the day, and to preserve clippings properly filed and indexed. This course will be found highly beneficial to students who desire a special study in magazines and newspapers as a general culture.

7. Statistics. Tuesday and Thursday at 12. Supplementary to all studies in economics and sociology. The method of using statistics is taught by actual investigation of political and social problems, lectures, and class-room practice. The history and theory of statistics receive due attention.

8. American History. From the earliest discovery to 1763. Lectures, topical reading, and recitations. Three hours a week at 2.

9. Local and Municipal Goverment. Lectures and topical reading. Two hours a a week at 2.

Courses 8 and 9 are intended to be taken together as a full study, but may be taken separately.

10. American History. Presidential administrations from Washington to Jackson. Daily, at 3. Open to Seniors in full standing, and to other students upon approval of the instructor.

11. International Law and Diplomacy. Lectures and recitations. Two hours a week, at 4.

12. Political Economy. Daily, at 4. The fundamental principles are discussed, elaborated and illustrated by examples from present economic society. A brief history of Poiitical Economy closes the course.

SECOND TERM.

13. Institutional History. Lectures Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, at 8:30, on comparative politics and administration. Greek Roman, and Germanic institutions compared. Historical significance of Roman law in the middle eges. Short study in Prussian administration.

14. Renaissance and Reformation. Tuesday and Thursday, at 8:30. Lectures. The revival of learning with especial reference to the Italian renaissance. A careful inquiry into the cause, course and results of the Reformation. This course may be taken as a continuation of number 1.

15. Political History of Modern Europe. Tuesday and Thursday at 9:30. Text-book.

16. Federal Government and the French Revolution. Lectures, Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, at 9:30, on Switzerland. The Italian republics and the States General of France.

17. Constitutional History of England. Tuesday and Thursday, at 9:30. This course may be taken as a continuation of number 5. Text-book and lectures.

18. Elements of Sociology. Lectures, Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, at 11. Evolution of social institutions. Laws and conditions that tend to organize society. Modern social institutions and social problems.

19. Charities and Correction. Tuesday and Thursday, at 11. Treatment of the poor from a historical standpoint. Modern scientific charity. The treatment of criminals. Prisons and reformatories. Practical study of Kansas institutions. This course is supplementary to number 18.

20. Land Tenures. Lectures, Tuesday and Thursday, at 12. This course treats of primitive property, the village community, feudal tenures, and modern land-holding in Great Britain and the United States. This course is mainly historical, and is an excellent preparation for the study of the law of real property.

21. American History. Continuation of course 8. First half-term: History of the Revolution and the Confederation, 1763 to 1769. Second half-term: Brief summary of the constitutional period, with Johnston's "American Politics" as a text-book. Three hours a week, at 2.

22. Constitutional Law. History of the adoption of the constitution, and a study of its provisions. Twice a week, at 2. Forms, with course 21, a full study, but may be taken separately.

23. American History. Continuation of course 10. Presidential administrations from Jackson to Lincoln. Daily, at 3.

24. Mediæval History. Two-fifths of the second term of the Freshman year. For all students whose admission papers show that they have had elementary physics, hygiene and chemistry. Daily, at 3. Text-book.

25. Principles of Public Finance. Lectures on public industries, budget legislation, taxation and public debts. Open to students who have studied political economy one term. Two hours a week, at 4.

26. The Status of Woman. Conferences. Tuesday and Thursday, at 4 Industrial condition, including a study of labor, wages, etc. Woman in the professions. Their political and legal abilities and disabilities. Property rights. Condition of woman in Europe and the Orient. Social questions.

27. Advanced Political Economy. Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, at 4. Consisting of (*a*) lectures on applied economics; (*b*) practical observation and investigation; and (*c*) methods of research, with papers by students on special topics. This course is a continuation of number 12.

General Seminary, on Friday, at 4. Students in History and Sociology are required to attend the Seminary unless excused by special arrangement. Full credit will be allowed for time spent in Seminary work. At the beginning of the term, students may elect other work in place of the seminary, if they choose.

SUGGESTED MAJOR COURSES FOR UNDERGRADUATES.

I. Economics. Courses 7, 12, 18, 19, 20, and 27.

II. European History. Courses, 2, 3, 5, 13, 15, and 16.

III. American History. Courses 8, 9, 10, 21, 22, and 23.

IV. Social Institutions. Courses, 1, 12, 14, 18, 19, and 4 (or 26).

V. Political Institutions. Courses 3, 7, 9, 15, 13, 16, 17, 20, and 22.

GRADUATE COURSES.

Persons desiring to take the degree of A. M. may do so by the completion of any one or all of the following courses. The work is carried on by the investigation of special topics under the personal direction of the instructor. An hour for conference will be arranged for each student. The courses extend throughout the year.

I. American History. Open to graduates and students who have studied American History two years.

II. Economics. Open to graduates and students who have taken the undergraduate work in political economy. Courses 12, 27, and 8.

III Political and Social Institutions. Open to graduates and students who have taken the undergraduate work in the history of institutions and sociology. Courses 12, 27, and 7.

The above courses are for students who desire proficiency in a special line. These courses will not in any way interfere with the general rules of the Faculty respecting graduate work.

Protestant Revolution, Cox's Greece, and others (Catalogue, 1891-'92, pp. 120, 121.) By these rules, a graduate student may take any of the 27 courses mentioned above (except 15 and 24) as a preparation for the degree of A. M.

Preparation for Entrance to the University. The time spent in the high schools in the study of history is necessarily limited. For this reason it is essential that the greatest care be exercised in preparing students for entrance into the University. At present very little history is required in the Freshman and Sophomore years, and the students enter upon the study of the Junior and Senior years without thorough preparation for the work. It would seem that the aim should be for all those who contemplate entering the University to learn the story of nations pretty thoroughly. A general outline of the world's history with a special study of the United States History and government represents the field. But this outline should be more than a mere skeleton of facts and dates. It should be well rounded with the political, social, and economic life of the people. Students will find a general text-book, such as Myer's, Sheldon's, or Fisher's, indispensible; but the work of preparation ought not to stop here. Such works as Fyffe's Greece, Creighton's Rome, Seebohm's Era of in the Primer, Epoch, and Stories of Nations series ought to be read. The object of this reading is to familiarize the student with the political and social life of the principle nations of the world. For this purpose everything should be as interesting as possible. Such an interest should be aroused that the student would not be puzzled over dates and threadbare facts, but would seize and hold those things that are useful on account of the interest his mind has in them. That history which is gained by a bare memory of events is soon lost. It grows too dim for use and consequently leads to confusion. With the story of the nations well learned the student comes to the University prepared for the higher scientific study of history and its kindred topics. He is then ready for investigation, comparison and analysis. He then takes up the real investigation of the philosophy of institutions and of national development. He is then ready for the science of Sociology, Institutional History, Political Economy, the Science of Government, Statistics or Political Economy. Students who enter the University without this preparation find it necessary to make up for it as best they can by the perusal of books, such as those mentioned above.

STUDENTS' LIBRARIES.

Every student in the University should lay the foundation of a good working library. Such libraries are not "made to order" at some given time, under specially favorable financial conditions—but are the result of considerable sacrifice, and are of slow growth. The wise expenditure of even ten dollars in each term will bring together books which if thoroughly mastered will be of great assistance in all later life. Room-mates, or members of the same fraternity, by combining their libraries and avoiding the purchase of duplicates, can soon be in possession of a most valuable collection of authors. Assistance in selecting and in purchasing will be given upon application.

The prices named below are the list prices of the publishers.

Students are required to purchase books marked with an asterisk.

American Book Company, Chicago.

Manual of the Constitution, Andrews .... $ 1.00
Analysis of Civil Government, Townsend 1.00
Civil Government, Peterman .... .60
History of England, Thalheimer 1.00
Mediæval and Modern History, Thalheimer 1.60
Outlines of History, Fisher 2.40
General History of the World, Barnes 1.60
Political Economy, Gregory 1.20
Lessons in Political Economy, Champlin .... .90

Ginn & Co., Boston and Chicago.

Ancient History, Myers & Allen .... $ 1.50
Mediæval and Modern History, Myers 1.50
Political Science and Comparative Law, Burgess, 5.00
Macy's Our Government .... .75
*General History, Myers 1.50
Leading facts in English History, Montgomery ... 1.12
Philosophy of Wealth, Clark 1.00
Political Science Quarterly, Yearly 3.00
Washington and His Country, Fiske 1.00

Harpers, New York.

*History of Germany, Lewis 1.50
*International Law, Davis 2.00
*Political History of Modern Times, Mueller 2.00
*Short English History, Green 1.20
Civil Policy of America, Draper 2.00
History of English People, Green, 4 vols 10.00
History of United States, Hildreth, 6 vols 12.00
The Constitution, Story .... .90

Holt & Co., New York.

*American Politics, Johnston .... $ 1.00
American Colonies, Doyle, 3 vols 9.00
American Currency, Sumner 2.50
History of Modern Europe, Fyffe, 3 vols 7.50
Political Economy, Walker 2.25

Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

Discovery of America, Fiske, 2 vols .... $ 4.00
American Commonwealths, 14 vols., each 1.25
American Statesmen, 24 vols., each 1.25
American Revolution, Fiske, 2 vols 4.00
Critical Period of American History, Fiske 2.00
Epitome of History, Ploetz 3.00
Christopher Columbus, Winsor 4.00

Appleton, New York.

Dynamic Sociology, Ward, 2 vols .... $ 5.00
History of Civilization, Guizot 1.25
Political Economy, Mill, 2 vols 6.00

Cranston & Stowe, Chicago.

*Political Economy, Ely .... $ 1.00

Macmillan, New York.

Constitutional History, England, Stubbs, 3 vols..$ 7.80
Principles of Economics, Marshall, vol. I 3.00

Armstrong, New York.

*Democracy in Europe, May, 2 vols .... $ 2.50

G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London.

*American Citizen's Manual, Ford .... $ 1.25
Unwritten Constitution of the U. S., Tiedeman ... 1.00
History of Political Economy, Blanqui 3.00
Introduction to Eng. Econon. Hist. and Theory, Ashley 1.50
Indust. and Com. Supremacy of Eng., Rogers 3.00
Economic Interpretations of History, Rogers 3.00
Constitutional History of the U. S., Sterne 1.25
*Tariff History of the United States, Taussig 1.25
The Story of Nations, 34 vols., each 1.50
Heroes of the Nations, 12 vols., each 1.50
American Orations, ed. by Johnston, 3 vols., each 1.25

Callaghan & Co., Chicago.

Constitutional History of U. S., Von Holst, 6 vol $20.00
Constitutional Law of U. S., Von Holst 2.00
Political Economy, Roscher, 2 vols 6.00

Crowell, New York.

*History of France, Duruy .... $ 2.00
Labor Movement in America, Ely 1.50
Life of Washington, pop. ed., Irving, 2 vols 2.50
Problems of To-day, Ely 1.50

Little, Brown & Co., Boston.

History of Greece, Grote, 10 vols $17.50
Parkman's Works, per vol 1.50
Rise of the Republic, Frothingham 3.50

Longmans, Green & Co., New York.

Epochs of Ancient History, each vol .... $ 1.00
Epochs of Modern History, each vol 1.00
Political Economy, pop. ed., Mill 1.75
The Crusades, Cox 1.00

Scribners, New York.

*American Diplomacy, Schuyler .... $ 2.50
History of Rome, Mommsen, 4 vols 8.00
Lombard Street, Bagehot 1.25
Silent South, Cable 1.00

Silver Burdett & Co., Boston.

*Historical Atlas, Labberton .... $1.50 or $ 2.00
*Historical Geography of U. S., MacCoun 1.00
*Institutes of Economics, Andrews 1.50
Institues of General History, Andrews 2.00

Dodd, Mead & Co., New York.

History of United States, Schouler, 5 vols $11.50

D. C. Heath & Co., Boston.

*The State, Woodrow Wilson .... $ 2.00
Principles of Political Economy, Gide 2.00
Methods of Teaching History, Hall 1.50
General History, Sheldon 1.60
*Old South Leaflets, 22 Nos., each .... .05
History Topics, Allen 25
State and Fed. Governments of the U. S., Wilson 50
The American Citizen, Dole .... .90
Comparative View of Governments, Wenzel .... .20
Studies in American History, Sheldon—Barnes ... 1.12

Any book in the above list will be furnished by the Lawrence Book Co., Crew's old stand, 745 Mass.

SEMINARY NOTES.

STATE UNIVERSITY—LAWRENCE, KANSAS.

VOL. II. NOVEMBER, 1892. NO. 2.

SEMINARY OF HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCE.

All students connected with the department of History and Sociology are, by virtue of such connection, members of the Seminary. All students are expected to attend the Seminary unless excused by the instructors of the department. Students are credited with the time spent in Seminary work.

The meetings of the Seminary are held every Friday, in Room 15, University Building. Public meetings will be held from time to time, after due announcement.

The work of the Seminary consists of special papers and discussions, on topics connected with the Department mentioned; prepared as far as possible from consultation of original sources and from practical investigation of existing conditions, under the personal direction of the officers of the Seminary.

Special assistance in choice of themes, authorities, etc., is given members of the Seminary who have written work due in the department of History and Sociology, or in the Department of English, or in any of the literary societies or other similar organizations in the University; on condition that the results of such work shall be presented to the Seminary if so required.

In connection with the work of the Seminary, a Newspaper bureau is maintained. In this the leading cities of the United States are represented by some twenty daily and weekly newspapers. The principal object of the Bureau is to enable students to form habits of systematic reading, to keep informed on the current topics of the day, to study the best types of modern Journalism, to learn to discriminate between articles of temporary value only and those of more permanent worth, to make a comparative study of editorial work, to master for the time being the current thought on any particular subject, and to preserve by clippings properly filed and indexed, important materials for the study of current history and public life—to *make* history by the arrangement and classification of present historical matter.

Special investigation and study will be undertaken during each year, bearing on some one or more phases of the administration of public affairs in this State; the purpose being to combine service to the State with the regular work of professional and student life. In this special work the advice and co-operation of State and local officials and of prominent men of affairs is constantly sought, thus bringing to students the experience and judgment of the world about them.

Graduates of our own University, or other persons of known scholarly habits, who have more than a passing interest in such work as the Seminary undertakes, and who are willing to contribute some time and thought to its success, are invited to become corresponding members of the Seminary. The only condition attached to such membership is, that each corresponding member shall prepare during each University year one paper, of not *less* than two thousand five hundred words, on some subject within the scope of the Seminary; and present the same in person at such time as may be mutually agreed upon by the writer and the officers of the Seminary, or in writing if it be found impossible to attend a meeting of the Seminary.

The library of the University and the time of the officers of the Seminary are at the service of corresponding members, in connection with Seminary work—within reasonable limits.

More than twenty gentlemen, prominent in official and professional circles, have already connected themselves with the Seminary, and have rendered very acceptable service during past years.

The officers and members of the Seminary will gladly render all possible assistance to any public officials who may desire to collect special statistics or secure definite information on such lines of public work as are properly within the sphere of the Seminary.

Any citizen of Kansas interested in this work is invited to correspond with the Seminary, and to be present at its meetings when possible.

FRANK W. BLACKMAR,
DIRECTOR.
FRANK H. HODDER,
VICE-DIRECTOR.
EPHRAIM D. ADAMS,
SECRETARY.

COLUMBUS AND THE NEW WEST.

THE following address was delivered at the State University of Nebraska on Columbian Day:

The genius of this day points alike to the life of the middle ages, that period of great faith and half knowledge, and to the present life of industrial and intellectual activity. It claims both periods as its own and unites in historical sequence the past four hundred years of events. It acknowledges in Columbus and his discovery the possibility, and in the present life the results, of unsurpassed progress. If the bold deeds of Columbus may not be passed by on Columbian day, neither may the sentiment that creates the Columbian exposition be neglected. In this eventful year in American history, in which an inventory is to be made of the world's progress, when we are to consider the vastness of the resources of our nation, which the lavish hand of nature has granted us, and the products of art and learning as the index of intellectual activity, we cannot be unmindful of the sturdy mariner who first opened up the ocean highway between the old world and the new. Nor can we consider for a moment the great discoverer without reflecting on the far-reaching consequences of his daring achievements. So a two-fold idea must attend the Columbian day celebration; the consideration of the greatness of the new west, and due honor to the man who made this greatness possible; the dreams and struggles of the old world, and the triumphs of the new. It has been frequently said that republics are ungrateful, and, perhaps, this may be true in the earliest stages of their life, when, struggling for the liberty of the many, they forget the individual. But I ask if you can find a more sublime picture in all history than that of the people of this proud and wealthy republic, turning away from a view of their own greatness to honor the bold mariner of Italy, sailing under the Spanish flag, who opened up the ocean highway four hundred years ago. But there are potent reasons for this, because thinking people recognize that the deeds of Columbus opened up a new world and a new life, and that honor to his name grows with the pace of fleeting years. The results of this uncommon voyage have magnified its importance with the sweep westward of each succeeding wave of civilization.

Men have tried to rob Columbus of his well-earned fame; they have assailed his personal character; they have said that he was a narrow theologian and a religious fanatic, not a philosopher; that he acted as a servile slave to the monarchs of Spain. But it must be remembered that he lived in an age of narrow theology and that he owed much to the Christian faith for success. Behold him after repeated rebuffs at the courts of Europe! His form is bent, for age is creeping on. His long white hair streams over his shoulders as he walks the streets of Cordova and Seville, and as he passes by the boys of the street point to the man possessed with one controlling thought, and draw their hands across their foreheads significantly. Still persistent, though sad and dejected, he starts for the court of France. On his way he enters the monastery of La Rabida and the venerable prior Juan Perez opens the way to the heart of the queen of Spain. It is a servant of the church that gains the promise of aid from the Spanish sovereigns. Ought Columbus not to have faith in the church? Again, out of all the sovereigns of Europe, the monarchs of Spain alone had given him aid. Ought he not to render them humble service? His critics have asserted that he was vain and presumptuous and demanded great rewards for his services, which no true discoverer would do. They have said

that he was as cruel as he was vain, and that his conduct toward sailors and Indians was incompatible with a noble character. When threatened with mutiny by the cruel semi-barbarous sailors who accompanied him, could he be otherwise than severe with a heartless crew, when so much was at stake? Again his critics have accused him of mercenary motives in demanding, as his reward for multiplying the territory of Spanish dominion, that he secure an eighth of the income and be created admiral and governor of the newly discovered province. But, let us remember that Spain had just entered upon a policy of rewarding those who served the crown by large possessions and larger titles. Columbus was conforming to the custom of the time. And in those days of uncertainty and treachery his wisdom is to be commended for settling the compensation before he entered upon the hardships and perils of a voyage upon unknown waters. One might as well condemn the Pilgrim fathers, who "sought freedom to worship God," for, at the same time, seeking better economic conditions. Glorious as their life and sentiments have ever been, a case was never known in which they or their descendants have failed, when opportunity offered, to claim a just reward for faithful service; nor have they ever declined to turn an honest penny whenever they could. As it was, Columbus risked life, property and all in the interest of Spain, and he had a right to make his own terms with the Spanish monarchs.

His detractors have said that he did not know that he had discovered a new world, but supposed that he had reached the outlying islands of India. Neither did the millions whom he left behind know this until some other explorers, following the track which Columbus had made, at last determined that a new continent had been discovered. A large portion of the people of Europe, to this day, do not quite know what it was that Columbus discovered. Nay, even descendants of some of the first settlers of America, very good people indeed, living on the Atlantic seaboard, do not yet quite know what it all means. The Columbian exposition will doubtless enlighten them. They, as well as the people of the west, will realize more fully what were the results of this great discovery. They will in the future make a closer application of that verse,

"Westward the course of empire takes its way."

But granting common faults to the hero of this day four hundred years ago, he is more worthy of our honest admiration as time reveals his true character and his just relations to history. There was an element of greatness in his character. He was a man of large ideas and of great plans. Others had started westward before his time, but they were not equal to the occasion. They returned without discovery. Call him dreamer if you will, but his dreams were capable of interpretation and demonstration. Better say, while other men dreamed, Columbus acted. It took a man of large capacity and practical activity to discover America, even while he was searching for India.

He was a man of faith. Consider, if you please, the crude maps of the day, the imperfect knowledge of the world; consider that the hints and helps that Columbus had were only conjectures; and observe how tenaciously he clings to the idea that he will reach India and Cathay by sailing due west. Notice with what persistency he continues his course, while his companions try to persuade him to return, or cause him to deviate from his chosen way. Behold again with what bravery he commands men who threaten mutiny as he sails into an unknown sea, 2,500 miles from his home. With anxious soul he studies the stars and watches eagerly for land; meanwhile he bids his companions hope and calms their fears. His indomitable will, abiding faith and ready courage ruled the day and brought a triumph.

There was doubtless more faith than philosophy in the life of Columbus. Consider his departure from home to seek aid

from the sovereigns of Europe; consider his failures at the courts of Venice and Genoa; contemplate his repeated appeals to the monarchs of Portugal and Spain. He never lost faith in his own undertakings; he was true to his honest convictions. Note well, then, that the great achievements of the world have been performed by men of faith and firm convictions.

As a student and philosopher, his research was not the broadest nor the most profound of his times, but he was a specialist in geography and navigation. Beyond this, he had the power of transforming the knowledge of other men into activity. He would act while men dreamed and conjectured. How often it is that he who succeeds knows best how to turn his learning to account.

Some have tried to rob the great discoverer of his well earned glory by saying that the Norsemen discovered America, centuries before the time of Columbus, and that the credit did not belong to the hero of the south. If the Norsemen discovered America in the eleventh century, it was so poorly done that it must be done over again before anybody fully realized it. The fact is, the Norsemen added no valuable knowledge to Europe of the newly discovered country. Columbus followed Toscanelli, who in turn followed the Greek-Italian idea of a short route to India. The meager knowledge that a few sea-rovers had landed at Vineland had faded from history and had become forgotten. Indeed it had never become the history of Europe. Four hundred years of inaction will rust out the best of knowledge and obliterate unimportant events. As far as Europe was concerned, it was as if the voyages had never been made.

His critics have said that he borrowed his knowledge of others. But what was this knowledge that he borrowed but conjectures and dreams, which the boldest navigators prior to Columbus could not verify? Granting that he did gain knowledge from other explorers and geographers, he spent many years in patient self-denial and study, with the rebuffs of kings and the derision of courtiers and the unbelief of sages, but he persisted until, sailing due west, and not by the way of Iceland, he discovered America to Europe. It matters not that the Norsemen had touched upon the northern coasts centuries before and had retained half forgotten ideas of those ancient voyages. These traditions would have remained buried until now had not some Columbus re-discovered America. It matters not how many philosophers and geographers had traditions of this country, nor how many had dreamed of its discovery, it still remained for the bold Genoese sailor to open up the highway of the seas, and this act has brought more profound consequences than any other event of history.

There is a tendency to heroize the action of great men in proportion to the consequences of their deeds of valor or wisdom. "Columbus went from capital to capital offering, though he knew it not, the new world in exchange for three ships and provisions for twelve months."--*Payne.* Even after the exchange had been made, the new discovery for a long time was known to but few individuals in the court and among the friends of the discoverer. It was not until the rise of new nations had developed the possibilities of the new world, that the fame of this discovery was written in indelible lines.

If we leave that age of romance and speculation, the age of awakened but undirected intellect, the days of nation building in the old world, and turn our attention to the followers of Columbus who have been building new nations on the western continent, the contrast is so vivid as to be startling. If we but consider the results of this single voyage during the four hundred years of progressive life, we shall not wonder that the nations of the earth have responded with so much interest to the call of the United States to spend a year in celebrating the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery. We

shall not wonder that following the proclamation of governors, the schools of the land are marching and singing and speaking on this eventful day.

The discovery of America was in itself an evolution of which Columbus was the chief factor. It took more than one hundred years to complete it after it was fairly started by the great voyager, and it had occupied the minds of philosophers centuries before. It took another 100 years to explore it, 200 more to settle it, and we may count 1,000 for the development of its resources. Columbus touched upon its islands, but it remained for others to explore it, others to settle it and still others to master it.

A fairer land the sun never shone upon. It has served in a measure to fulfil the dreams of the ideal philosophers. They dreamed of glorious countries, with fertile soil, where men would build up ideal systems of government. There, freed from the evil effect of an old civilization, the best of the race would begin anew the upbuilding of humanity. Men turned instinctively to the new world as the place where their dreams were to be realized; to the country on which the hope of the future rested.

In the Elizabethan age, when man was drinking deep intellectual draughts, when English nationality was rising, when colonization was freely talked of, the poets and philosophers were writing and planning for the building of a better civilization and they looked toward the newly made country as the seat of a new life. Half hopeful, half prophetic are the conjectural lines of Samuel Daniel:

"And who (in time) knows whither we may vent
 The treasure of our tongue? To what strange shores
This gain of our best glory shall be sent
 T' enrich unknowing nations with our stores?
What worlds in the yet unformed Occident
 May come refined with accents that are ours?"

None hoped more keenly for the future of America nor held in higher esteem its possibilities than those who were connected with plans for colonization in the new world. Only one who had felt the possibilities of the development of a better life in a new land could have penned these memorable lines "On the Prospect of Planting Arts and Learning in America:"

"Westward the course of Empire takes its way,
 The four first acts already past,
A fifth shall close the drama with the day;
 Time's noblest offspring is the last."
—Bishop Berkeley.

The eyes of the whole world are turned toward the fifth and last act of the drama of the day, now being acted in America. In a measure the dreams of sages and poets and the plans of philosophers have been realized. A better civilization and a nobler life has been created here than exists elsewhere on the face of the earth. In many respects America is yet the hope of the world, "Time's noblest offspring." We who live in and for this republic, who feel the force of its life and know its possibilities, blessings and danger, are necessarily impressed with the idea that there is to be lived here the noblest act in the drama of life, and we are among the actors in this drama; the youngest group of the followers of Columbus.

The great exposition will enable us to compare the achievements of this nation with those of the world, in arts, industries, sciences, education and material resources. We shall catch something of the phases of government of different countries but we shall turn from all we see and our hearts will respond to those lines of our national hymn:

"My country 'tis of thee,
Sweet land of liberty,
Of thee I sing."

'Tis the country for which the early settlers toiled in the foundation. 'Tis the country which our forefathers fought to protect from the tyranny and oppression of the old world; 'tis the liberty which our brothers and fathers fought to preserve:

That foundation period is past, and the constitutional struggles are at an end, but the evils of the full grown nation appear. The social groups of our nation are far from being contented. There are problems of government and social life which

are causes for care and anxiety. These are not the days in which to sound the alarm, but days for patient, sober thought. Even now many people are advocating modern Utopias. They have no newly discovered countries in which to try new experiments. Affairs must be adjusted here, and this country must yet yield the ideal republic with justice and equal rights to all. But we can say of our nation:

"Our hearts, our hopes are all with thee;
Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our tears,
Our faith triumphant o'er our fears,
Are all with thee; are all with thee."

Evils must be met and corrected, and there is no means more potent for this than the schools of our country. The doctrine advanced by Washington, Jefferson and Adams concerning the only safeguard to the republic is verified every day in the work of our public schools, colleges and universities. It is worthy of note that throughout this land thousands of children are to-day marching to the sound of national music, carrying the flag of our nation, and singing and speaking of the achievements of our land. Truly the schools are the bulwark of American life.

When the Romans wanted to insure the safety of the country they built fortresses and garrisoned them. When the state of Nebraska desires to provide a common defense it builds a university, more potent to us than forts and standing armies. The solution of questions pertaining to the improvement and welfare of the people are at times perplexing and difficult, but be assured that under the light of proper and continued education they will eventually solve themselves. When it comes that each individual does his duty to society under the guidance of a superior intelligence there need be no fears for the safety of the country and the prosperity of its best institutions.

This civilization is ours, "ours to enjoy, ours to transmit." We of the new west are the followers of Columbus. We are a part of the great empire moving westward. "What worlds in the new unformed Occident" yet remain for us to discover? We ought to take courage from Columbus, not only from his persistent courageous character, but on account of the mighty results that have followed from a single persons poring over maps and charts and planning great things with the conviction that activity will bring success. Undiscovered truth still invites you. New worlds in science, politics and social development are to be discovered. Within the walls of this magnificent institution some scholar, studiously following his investigations, and having faith in himself and his work, will make discoveries that will be a credit to the new west and the new world.

While we hold that the education of the many and the general diffusion of intelligence is the safeguard of the republic, we must not forget that the work of the investigator and the scholar in his laboratory is the most valuable of all. He, "Who, through long days of labor, and nights, devoid of ease," with self-denial and patient study, has wrought out some new truth which shall in its application be a benefit to common humanity, has served his duty and generation best.

At the Columbian fair there will be exhibited the fruits and the grains and the minerals of the new west. There will be the industrial products of all kinds, but doubtless the greatest exhibit, and that which we shall be most proud of, is the educational. Our broad acres may yield their increase and furnish means for a higher development, but without this higher development and culture the people of the western part of the Mississippi valley must remain mere toilers to feed the populace of the east and of Europe. How essential, then, that education in all correct forms be cherished and advanced. If we, among the last of the followers of Columbus here in the far west, are to build up ideal institutions, ideal governments and ideal liberty, how essential that we shall advance the cause of education. The ideal is not yet fulfilled. What will the new west contribute to ideal society?

What new worlds are to be discovered here? I can respond in the general words of the poet that

"New occasions teach new duties; time makes ancient good uncouth,
They must upward still and onward, who would keep abreast of truth;
Lo! Before us gleam her camp fires; we ourselves must pilgrims be."

While we have some sharp critics over the ocean who may be justified in pointing out the weak points of American politics and American society, yet our national life is growing in favor among European nations. Our industrial arts are competing with the world; our educational institutions are unequalled anywhere; the advancement of learning and the fine arts grows with the nation. Our national resources are marvelous in their bounty. Our social life is an advance on the old world, and our political institutions are, if maintained in their purity, superior to those of the monarchies of Europe. All these points are recognized by the thinkers of the day. The Columbian exposition will serve to make us more illustrious in the eyes of the world.

Some times a conjecture arises as to whether this magnificent civilization can be supported and developed under the present weakness of human nature; whether the evils that already exist in the political and social life shall gnaw like a vulture at the heart of the republic until its best life is gone? In answer we may say, upon the whole, the signs are hopeful. But, a premium must be placed upon virtue, morality, justice, equality and sound learning, and these qualities must manifest themselves in all of our social and political institutions. With these conditions fulfilled, with the hopefulness and faith of our people, with calm reflective intelligence, the foundations of this nation will remain unshaken, its superstructure will be reared, and its actual life will yet fulfill, in all practical bearings, the dreams of the ancient philosophers and the hopes of modern educators and statesmen.

F. W. BLACKMAR.

SPECIAL CHARTERS IN CHICAGO.

THE municipal government of Chicago passed through the several stages usual in the history of American cities. First came the town government and after that a special city charter secured from the state legislature. As this government proved to be unable to meet the demands made upon it by a rapidly growing city, special boards were added from time to time. The system of government by boards, acting independently and without responsibility to any central authority, proved to be extravagant and unsatisfactory in the extreme, and the whole was swept away and a general charter, adopted by the legislature for the government of all cities in the state, was substituted.

A previous article in the SEMINARY NOTES has given a sketch of the town period, ending with the adoption of the first city charter, March 4th, 1837. This charter was a mere extension of the town government, vesting the powers before exercised by the town board, in the common council. The elective officers were the mayor and, after 1839, twelve aldermen, two from each of the six wards into which the city was divided. The act also provided for the election of an assessor in each ward, but this provision was repealed by act of Feb. 27, 1841, and the council was empowered to appoint one or three assessors instead. All other municipal officers: clerk, treasurer, city attorney, street commissioner, police constables, inspectors of elections, etc., were appointed by the council. All officers held for the term of one year. Elections took place on the first Tuesday in March. Voters were required to be householders or to

have paid a city tax of not less than three dollars within the twelve months preceding the election, and the mayor, aldermen and assessors were required to be freeholders, but both requirements were repealed by the act of 1841. The same act added the office of marshal, to be filled by election in the same manner as the office of mayor. The charter provided for a board of health, consisting of three commissioners, appointed by the council. The council retained control of the schools, but their management was entrusted to a board consisting of three trustees elected in each school district. Additional power to maintain schools was granted the council by the act of March 9, 1839. It is thus apparent that almost all power was vested in the council. The appointment of the treasurer, assessors and collectors gave them entire control of the finances. The only limitation of their power in this direction was the restriction of the annual tax to one-half of one per cent. of the assessed valuation of real and personal property, and of the amount that could be borrowed in any one year to $100,000.

At the first city election 709 votes were polled. The first state census, taken July 1st, 1837, gave the total population of Chicago as 4,170. The town government had contracted no permanent debt and the city treasurer received from the town treasurer a balance of $2,814.29 in cash. The tax levy for the first year of city government amounted to $5,905.15, which has been estimated as a per capita tax of about $1.41. The financial crash of 1837 bore heavily upon the people and taxes were difficult to collect. At the very outset the aldermen resorted to an expedient which played an important part in the subsequent financial history of the city. June 1st, they ordered the issue of $5,000 in scrip in denominations of one, two and three dollars, bearing interest at one per cent. a month and receivable for taxes.

This part of the municipal history of Chicago is interesting merely as the beginning of great things. It is important for the reason that this first charter, with occasional changes, continued to be the government of the city for over twenty years. From time to time, as the population increased, the limits of the city were extended and the number of wards and consequently the number of aldermen was increased. The experience of Chicago was similar to the experience of other American cities. Too much power was given to the council. Executive duties were assigned to what should have been a purely legislative body. The city charter was in reality an overgrown town government.

In 1847 some changes were made looking toward a separation of legislative and executive functions, by decreasing the number of officers appointed by the council. Thereafter the city attorney, treasurer, collector and surveyor, a street commissioner and assessor for each division, and a police constable for each ward were to be elected by the people. Greater permanence was given to the city government by extending the term of office of the aldermen to two years, one-half of them to be elected annually. In 1851 the various measures, relating to Chicago, passed by the legislature were consolidated into "AN ACT to reduce the Law incorporating the City of Chicago, and the several Acts amendatory thereof, into one Act, and to amend the same"; but no very important changes were made.

The various demands upon the municipal government, that resulted from the growth of the city, were met by the establishment of independent executive boards. An "Act to incorporate the Chicago City Hydraulic Company," passed in 1851, entrusted the control of the new water system to a "Board of Water Commissioners" of three members. The first commissioners were named in the act but subsequent ones were to be elected, one each year, to serve for a term of three years. An amendment to the act, passed before the first election took place, required them to be representatives of the three

districts of the city. They were authorized to borrow $250,000 for the construction of the new works, and the next year, 1852, the loan, the first large loan in the financial history of the city, was negotiated, at six per cent., payable in twenty years. An act of June 15, 1852, authorized an additional loan of $150,000, and the act of February 28, 1854, authorized another loan of $100,000 for the same purpose. At the same time provision was made for a tax not to exceed one mill on the dollar, to meet the interest accruing on the bonded debt. From this time the municipal debt of the city increased rapidly.

A second board was added to the city government in 1855. It was felt to be absolutely necessary to provide some system of sewerage and a "Board of Sewerage Commissioners" was incorporated to supervise the work. The first board was elected by the council, but the commissioners afterwards were to be elected by the people, their number, term of office and manner of election being the same as for the Board of Water Commissioners. The sewerage commissioners were empowered to borrow $500,000 for the construction of the sewerage system and again in 1859 were authorized to borrow another $500,000. It is to be noted that these boards were thus given the power of incurring debt independently of the city government.

In 1857 an important step in the development of the municipal government was taken by creating an independent treasury department. Dissatisfaction with the council was general and it was sought to lessen their power and to fix responsibility more definitely. The department consisted of the comptroller, treasurer and collector. The head of the department was a comptroller, appointed by the mayor, with the advice and consent of the council, and holding office until removed. The treasurer was elected by the people as before. A city collector, also elective and choosing his own assistants, was substituted for the special collectors appointed by the council. The establishment of the treasury department introduced needed checks upon the expenditure of money. Before this, city officers incurred expenses almost at will and charged them to the city, but now bills could be paid only upon a warrant drawn by the comptroller upon the treasurer. At the same time the fee system, under which several officers had received a large income in addition to their salaries, was abolished.

In 1860 the mayor of the city advised the establishment of a "Board of Public Works" in order to systematize and economize the public improvements. "In the legitimate discharge of their respective duties," he said, "the street commissioner, the sewerage commissioner, the water commissioner and the city superintendent had been found opening and filling the same ground in a single week." To bring order out of chaos and to save expense, a consolidation of these offices was necessary and the only obstacle in the way was the dislike of the incumbents of the various positions to be legislated out of office. Upon this suggestion the act of February 18, 1861, creating a new executive department to be known as the "Board of Public Works," was secured from the state legislature.

To this board were transferred the duties of the water commissioner, the sewerage commissioner, the city superintendent, the street commissioners elected in each district in accordance with the act of 1851, and the special commissioners for the making of assessments. These duties comprised the building of sidewalks and bridges, the dredging of the river, the opening, cleaning, paving and lighting of the streets and the control of the water, sewerage and all other public works. The board consisted of three commissioners, one from each division of the city. The term of office was six years and one commissioner was to be elected biennially. The first board was elected on the third Tuesday in April and organized on the first Monday in May, 1861.

The same act that created the board of public works abolished the office of city marshal and an act passed a few days later established instead a board of police. The number of commissioners, their term of office and manner of election were the same as for the board of public works. The first board was appointed by the Governor and in accordance with the act assumed entire control of the police of the city.

In 1863 the various acts relating to the city were a second time consolidated into "AN ACT to reduce the Charter of the City of Chicago, and the several acts amendatory thereof, into one act, and to revise the same." The charter included the acts that had established separate boards. The principal change that it made was the extension of the term of the offices of mayor, city attorney, treasurer and collector to two years. The term of the commissioners of police was shortened to three years. One provision of this charter, copied from a similar one in the charter of Boston, may be mentione das a matter of curiosity. It gave to the common council the power to regulate the sale of bread and to prescribe the weight and quality of the loaves. After the great fire in 1871 this power was exercised by the passage of an ordinance fixing the price of bread for a period of ten days at the rate of eight cents per loaf of twelve ounces, and at the same rate for all loaves of less or greater weight. As a price regulation in recent times in this country, this ordinance is unique.

The charter of 1863 was the work of the Democratic party, at that time in control of the municipal government and the state legislature. In 1865 the Republican party was again in power both in the city and the state. They secured the passage of the act of February 16, 1865, changing the term of the commissioners of police back to six years, and providing that they should thereafter be elected by the qualified voters of Cook county. The motive of this legislation was purely political and throws considerable light upon the manner of managing the city government. The Democratic party had carried the preceding election for mayor and seemed to be increasing in strength in the city. The Republicans thought that if they could retain control of the police they could retain their hold on the city, and accordingly as the county was Republican they secured the passage of an act placing the election of the police commissioners in the hands of the county although the duties of the police were still confined to the city. To increase the power of the board of police, the control of the fire department and the appointment of the officers and firemen was given to them. To give some color to the change the chief of fire department was called a fire marshal and the firemen were called fire police. This is believed to be the first use of these terms since incorporated into the general charter. By these changes the Republicans gained the patronage of the police and fire departments, one of the principal factors in city politics. It is not to be supposed that the Republicans were any worse than their opponents. If the situation had been reversed, the Democrats would in all probability have taken the same step, if it had occurred to them to do so. The offices are what the ward workers in all parties want and they care little how they get them. Under the act of 1863, as above amended, the city government was carried on until the adoption in 1875 of the general law for the incorporation of cities put an end to the era of special charters.

F. H. HODDER.

SEMINARY REPORTS.

Universities of the Thirteenth Century.

THE subject for discussion in the Seminary of October 7, was "Universities of the Thirteenth Century." The following papers were read: Paris, Mr. Hill; Cordova and Bologna, Mr. Horton; Oxford, Mr. Bishoff; General effect of University life and teaching on civilization, Mr. Elting.

The origin of the University of Paris may be traced to the schools which were established by Charlemagne and in which he took so great a personal interest. These schools continued in existence under succeeding monarchs, but there was no regular organized university until the reign of Philip Augustus, who, in 1215, prescribed various regulations for the schools of Paris and gave the scholars many privileges; they and their professors were made amenable only to the ecclesiastical tribunal, and about 1250 took the name of University. In the thirteenth century the teaching had advanced so far that the university was divided into four faculties—of theology, of canon law, of medicine, and of arts. It is estimated that at times during this century, the students numbered from fifteen to twenty thousand, who, because of their student privileges, were not subject to the authority of the magistrates of the city, could not be arrested for debt, and frequently proved a disturbing element in city life because of their quarrelsome disposition and drunkenness. Yet the university was not without honor in that it furnished seven popes in the thirteenth century alone, and in fact in every century there were distinguished men who had studied at Paris.

The universities of Italy were the first to receive the impetus to learning engendered by the Crusades and the new acquaintance with the East. Especially distinguished among them was the University of Bologna, noted for its thorough study of the Roman law, and the application of that law to new conditions. It was to the professors of this University that Frederic Barbarossa appealed for a definition of the Imperial rights and powers in his famous controversies with Pope Adrian IV over the *beneficium* and with the Lombard cities.

Cordova was the Moorish university city in the Spanish peninsula and was a more ancient seat of learning than other European cities. Here were studied the natural sciences and mathematics, and to this University many students came from the northern countries, although the Moorish nation was regarded as a fit subject of conquest for the Christian sword. Little is known of the life of students in either Bologna or Cordova, yet it is certain that the government of these Universities was more firm than that of Paris or Oxford, and that the loose method of life and lawlessness of the latter was not usually found in the former.

Oxford, by the time of the thirteenth century, was known throughout all Europe as a great University. The studies pursued were much the same as in the University of Paris. Buildings there were none, or at least none set apart exclusively for school purposes. The scholars were huddled together in bare lodging houses, attending lectures in church porches and house porches. They quarreled with each other and with the townsmen. Feuds, begun between families years before, were oftentimes fought out by the youth who came to Oxford. Many of the students were of noble blood and these brought retainers with them, who took their share in their masters' brawls. Drunkenness and gaming were no uncommon evil, and the Mayor and Chancellor were utterly powerless to command order among the seething mob of students. Yet many of

the students were so poor that they were compelled to support themselves by begging, and some of the teachers were not much better off. Such students had little time for the quarrels of their more opulent fellows, and in Oxford as elsewhere, there was always a set of industrious and earnest workers who set the intellectual mark of the university and who were the recoguized leaders in all new thought. The characteristic of Oxford during the thirteenth century was its intense life—a life exhausting itself sometimes in defense of that which was bad, but more frequently in propagation of that which was good.

The effect of university life and teaching on civilization may, speaking in general, be described as twofold. In the first place it did much to overthrow the feudal ideal. Feudalism rested on a hard and fast distinction between classes, and in fact upon a sort of separation between even the members of one class. In the university all students were placed upon an equal basis. The only superiority was the superiority of intellect. It made no difference from what noble blood a youth might have sprung, if he did not show ability he was not considered of so much importance as the begging student who was a noted scholar. Such a manner of life could not fail to break down the false barriers erected by feudalism, and in the same way the enmities between nations were forgotten among the university students gathered from all nations.

In the second place, it made the intellectual world skeptical of the dogmas of the Church. This skepticism was a necessary prelude to a reformation of church doctrine and practice. As men became better educated they saw the necessity for reasonableness and harmony in all things, and the Church seemed in many ways to have become burdened with unharmonious teachings. The spirit of the university was a spirit of honest inquiry, at least during the thirteenth century, and was therefore beneficial, even though its first tendency was toward skepticism. Its later result was the attempt to reform, and that reform was to be undertaken by intelligent, educated men.

Geography and History.

THE subject before the Seminary on Friday, October 28th, was the Relation of Geography to History.

Mr. Orr gave a short discussion of the general effect of geography upon history. He said: We find that in the beginning of the world the influence of geography upon history was less marked than at the present day, since the ingenuity of man has found a means of surmounting most of the obstacles in the way of civilization and progress. Under similar circumstances the moral, intellectual and social conditions of different classes of people will become similar. That environment has much to do with religion is found to be true in India, Central America and Europe, where the minds of the people are affected by the phenomena of nature. Man is the greatest enemy which man has to overcome. Tunnels may be made through great mountains which bar progress, great rivers may be bridged, and all natural obstacles overcome. History is a record of man's achievements, his labor and the religion he believes. Geographical relations had much to do with the discovery of America, on account of the great desire to find a nearer route to India. In fact, in every event history and geography are closely related and cannot be separated.

Mr. Cramer then followed with a discussion of the effects of geography on the settlement of America. It would have been impossible to develop America by colonization on any great scale in a primitive state of the mechanic arts. To colonize from the west eastward would have been almost impossible since the Pacific has few good harbors and the Cordilleran range of mountains extends almost to the sea. On the contrary the Atlantic afforded far better facilities. The first permanent settlement flourished on account of the fertile soil so well adapted

to the cultivation of tobacco. As settlement progressed it followed the rivers into the interior, and its movements may be traced in almost every epoch to the character of the soil and the facility of transportation to the sea board. Since the settlements in America were based primarily upon agricultural advantages, the influence of soil, climate and rain fall has been very marked.

In a paper upon the influence of Geography on the Subsequent History of the United States, Mr. Howell discussed, first, the part geography, and especially climate, played in bringing about the civil war, secondly, the part geography played in the establishment of a protective tariff. The topographical construction of the United States fits it to be the political home of one people, one nation. The immigration to this country at the time of its settlement came chiefly from homogeneous English stock but the influence of climate upon character after their settlement is very noticeable. The southern climate conduced to indolence and therefore led the southerners to countenance slavery. The rigor of the northern climate, on the other hand, animated the inhabitants to ideas of individualism. Thus heat and cold divided the American people. The result of this separation was the secession of the southern states, the contest for supremacy and the abolition of slavery. The development of the doctrine of protection in this country is due to the fact that physical conditions are so varied that we are able to produce nearly every needed commodity at home. This being the case, it has always been thought advisable, by a large party, to cut off the competition of already established industries, and cheaper labor for the purpose of making the country industrially independent.

Adelia Alice Humphrey,
Reporter.

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP OF THE TELEGRAPH.

THE Seminary was called to order at 4 P. M., on Friday, Nov. 4th, Prof. Blackmar in the chair. The work of the Seminary consisted of a brief review of the magazines for the month, and a paper by Mr. James Owen, on The Ownership of the Telegraph, followed by an informal discussion of the subject by Prof. Blackmar, Prof. Hodder, Mr. Owen, Mr. Orr and others.

Mr. Owen, in his paper, discussed first the arguments in favor of, then against the government ownership of the telegraph, substantially as follows:

I. The telegraph is a natural monopoly and, therefore, according to Prof. Ely and those of like opinions, should be owned by the government.

II. The people would be best served if it were owned and operated by the government on the same plan as the Post Office.

III. The example of Great Britain is cited as an argument in favor of government ownership.

IV. The work of operating could be performed by the Post Office department, by increasing the number of employees, according to Mr. Clark, only five thousand.

V. The signal and war service demand and prove the practicability of government ownership.

VI. Private ownership excludes the United States from the International Telegraph Union.

The means proposed for the government to obtain control of the telegraph are: First, that the government should build new lines in order to regulate prices; second, for the government to purchase existing lines; and third, for the government to establish a Federal Committee to control rates.

In 1866 a bill providing for government control of the telegraph was passed, but was immediately repealed. In 1870 the Hon. C. C. Washburn of Wisconsin, intro-

duced a bill into the House, endorsed by the Postmaster General and by the President in his annual message of 1871, which is typical of later bills. It provided, first, for the absolute control of the telegraph by the United States, after a specified time; second, for the appraisement and purchase of the property of all existing telegraph companies; third, for a rate of one cent per word, including address and signature, for all messages, regardless of distance; the creation of a Telegraphic Bureau in the Post Office department; the salaries of officers; the negotiation of contracts with foreign companies for the use of their lines for foreign messages; and for providing efficient employees.

The "Hubbard Bill" provided for the incorporation of a private company with special privileges, which should transmit messages at rates fixed by the government.

The government has been offered the telegraphic patents, once by Prof. Morse, and again twenty years later; but in each instance refused to purchase. The telegraph companies have received no appropriations from the government, except a small one to Prof. Morse; but has been developed by private enterprise and has been heavily taxed. Under these conditions, it does not seem just to deprive private enterprise of its property by legal force. Again, in spite of a general advance in wages, telegraphic rates are now less than half what they were in 1866.

A comparison of American and European lines favors the former in services and facilities, as the following figures show: In 1871, Europe, with a population of 300,000,00, had 175,000 miles of lines, 474,000 miles of wires and 15,500 offices; while the United States, with a population of 40,000,000, had 80,000 miles of line, 180,000 miles of wires, and 6,300 offices. According to the census of 1880, the facilities in the United States have been doubled, showing a much greater increase than those of Europe.

It is almost impossible to make a comparison of rates, owing to the different ways of making charges, and the international relays. At a very low estimate, it would cost the government about $100,000,000 to purchase existing lines and build necessary extensions, even if the existing lines could be purchased at their real value, which is highly improbable.

Cheap rates and increased taxes are correlative, for, to cheapen rates would produce a deficit, resulting in increased taxation. The following table shows the deficit in European government-owned lines:

Hungary,	deficit	1881,	$72,060.59
Belgium,	"	"	87,522.25
Denmark,	"	"	21,790.89
Netherlands,	"	"	149,463.02
Norway,	"	"	30,993.60
Roumania,	"	"	131,079.59
Great Britain,	"	1889,	1,325,915.00

These figures clearly prove that there will be a deficit, which, plus the interest on the necessary investment, would amount to at least $10,000,000, which must be made up by taxation. As only three per cent. of the people use the telegraph, and eighty-eight per cent. of the business is commercial, this would be taxing the many for the benefit of the few.

Another consideration is that of management. It is generally agreed that private management is more economical than government; is much more efficient; more reliable, and can be held to account for its shortcomings.

Public ownership of the telegraph is inconsistent with the theory and maintenance of Republican institutions and is a great stride toward paternalism—toward the state described by Edward Bellamy.

But one of the greatest objections to government ownership of the telegraph is that it would offer an almost unlimited opportunity for corruption, favoritism and political patronage. If Mr. Washburn's scheme were carried out, 25,000 offices with at least 50,000 employees would be required to perform the service. A useless extension of lines would be made to satisfy office seekers; the service could be

used in police regulations and any message could be held; which is entirely incompatible with a democratic form of government and savors of despotism. The telegraph could also be used by the dominant political party, to the detriment of its rivals, thus producing still greater corruption in the civil service.

It is asserted that it would much facilitate the signal service to have government ownership of the telegraph; this may be true, but it could be done only at the expense of other business. The telegraph lines are chartered under state charters, which, according to the constitution, Congress has no power to annul.

It is argued that the Western Union is in combination with the Associated Press to preserve a monopoly of news for a few papers; but such is not the case. The Associated Press is a limited combination of papers which receives a low rate for messages because it transmits a large amount of matter.

It is suggested, also, that reduced rates would so increase business that no loss would result; but the statistics of the Western Union and of the government-owned lines of Europe show that the percentage of expenditures increases faster than the percentage of receipts as the business increases from a reduction of rates.

The newspapers reflect the opinions of the people; yet, out of twenty-five thousand daily and weekly newspapers in the United States, only one hundred and forty-four are quoted as being in favor of the "limited plan," the first step toward government ownership, and seventy-seven newspapers quoted as being in favor of government ownership not included in the first number. Out of over nine hundred boards of trade and chambers of commerce, only twenty have adopted resolutions favoring government ownership.

The decreasing number of bills favoring government ownership that are introduced into Congress shows that the people do not demand it, hence there is no reason why the government should attempt to assume control of the telegraph at present.

After the reading of the paper, Mr. Orr made a short address in favor of government ownership, stating that he believed it to be in harmony with the spirit of the constitution and with the spirit of the age, and quoted Prof. Ely as being strongly in favor of government ownership.

Mr. Owen stated that Switzerland is the only country of Europe having lower telegraphic rates than the United States.

Prof. Blackmar and Prof. Hodder then discussed the subject, drawing a comparison of the postal laws and the workings of the Post Office with the possible laws and workings of a Telegraph Bureau.

Prof. Hodder stated that we have not sufficient data to make a comparison of European and American telegraphic rates.

J. L. HARRINGTON, *Reporter.*

- SEMINARY - NOTES. -

PUBLISHED ON THE FIRST DAY OF OCTOBER, NOVEMBER, DECEMBER, FEBRUARY, MARCH, APRIL AND MAY,

BY

THE SEMINARY OF

HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCE.

State University, Lawrence, Kansas.

Frank W. Blackmar.
Frank H. Hodder,
Ephraim D. Adams, - - - - *Editors.*

Terms, Ten Cents a Number, - Fifty Cents a Year

THE purpose of this publication is to increase the interest in the study of historical science in the University and throughout the State, to afford means of regular communication with corresponding members of the Seminary and with the general public—especially with the Alumni of the University, and to preserve at least the outlines of carefully prepared papers and addresses. The number of pages in each issue will be increased as rapidly as the subscription list will warrant. The entire revenue of the publication will be applied to its maintenance.

Address all subscriptions and communications to

F. W. BLACKMAR,
Lawrence, Kansas.

THE Association for the Promotion of Profit Sharing has just issued the first number of a quarterly magazine, called *Employer and Employed*, to be devoted to that mode of industrial co-operation. Mr. N. P. Gilman, the author of the best American book on the subject, is the editor, and Geo. H. Ellis, 141 Franklin Street, Boston, the publisher. The magazine is modest in proportions and in price, but is crowded with interesting matter. Among other articles are reports on the condition of profit sharing in England, France and Germany, and notes on the literature of the subject. In view of the great importance of the labor problem, every device which promises a possible or even a partial solution, should receive careful attention.

PROFESSOR TAUSSIG, of Harvard University, has issued a reprint of important "State Papers and Speeches on the Tariff." The volume contains Hamilton's celebrated "Report on Manufactures," which has been called the arsenal from which all arguments for protection have ever since been drawn, Gallatin's "Free Trade Memorial," and Walker's "Treasury Report for 1845," the best arguments on that side of the question, and two speeches on the tariff of 1824—one by Webster and the other by Clay. The special value of the collection lies in the fact that it exhibits the different phases of the tariff question at different periods in our history. The documents are not easily accessible, and their reprint in this form is a service to all students of the subject, among whom should be included all American citizens. The volume is issued for the small sum of one dollar.

THE department of History and Sociology sustains a Historical Seminary, of which most of the students taking work in the department are members. It is a question whether all of these members derive the benefit which should be obtained from the Seminary, and the fault undoubtedly lies in the fact that the subjects discussed are not sufficiently studied before the Seminary hour arrives. It is not meant that those students who have subjects assigned to them, and who prepare papers, do not devote time to the subject matter, but that, perhaps, half the members come to the meeting without having, in any way, considered that which is to be discussed. The papers are usually carefully prepared and well arranged, so that the subject is fairly opened for discussion. But the mere listening to good reports is not sufficient. Every member of the Seminary should have read something upon the topic under discussion, and be prepared to listen intelligently to the report and to ask pertinent questions or make pertinent remarks. After a report is finished, the person making that report, whether a student, an instructor, or a corresponding member, is required by the rules of the Seminary to stand ready to answer any questions which may be asked him, or to reply to any criticism which

may be made. To ask questions, however, without knowing something about the subject matter of the report, is both foolish and a waste of time. Of course it is not expected that either the reporter or the hearer will know *all* that is to be known about the matter, but at least to have some well grounded idea upon it is essential. It is essential also that every member, whether he desires to ask questions or not, should have read something upon the topic up for discussion. It is not difficult to obtain such reading. In the library may be found magazines or papers, in some of which concise statements or essays are given upon most of the subjects brought up in the Seminary. In case it should happen that the subject for discussion is not to be found in these magazines or papers, the student has but to speak to the instructors, or to the members who are to report, to be referred to such works in the library as will furnish him with some of the desired information. This criticism is not directed to the majority of the members of the Seminary, but to those who apparently attend the Seminary merely because of the passing interest in the reports made. Something of value is to be had from listening to reports without any previous knowledge of the subject matter on the part of the hearer, but that is not the best benefit to be derived from the Seminary.

THE celebration of the 400th anniversary of the discovery of América has brought with it an immense addition to the literature relating to Columbus. Some time ago Harrisse catalogued 600 books relating to Columbus exclusively, and the last year or two must have added all told a hundred more. No man ever lived about whose character there has been a wider divergence of opinion than there is about the character of Columbus. The popular notion of the man is derived largely from Washington Irving's life, written in 1828. This was before the time of critical biographical writing. Until within a comparatively recent time writers of biographies aimed to make heroes of their subjects. Editors of collected writings carefully omitted or altered lines which were likely to injure the writer's reputation. Authors of biography omitted to mention or touched very lightly the faults of their subjects.

More recently biographers have made a critical study of the lives and times of the men they write about and attempt to give an impartial estimate of their character. The reaction against hero worship has, perhaps, in some cases gone too far, so that too little space is given to the virtues and too much to the faults of actors in the world's history. It is surely a difficult thing to gauge accurately the differences in the moral standards of different periods, and to ascertain in estimates of character how much allowance ought to be made on account of the difference. Irving's life of Columbus was clearly a biography of the old style. He praises Columbus for his magnanimity, his generosity, his skill in controlling others, his powerful judgment and acute sagacity. These, curiously enough, are the very qualities in which recent critics have deemed Columbus conspicuously deficient. Of recent American books, Professor Fiske's entertaining work on "The Discovery of America" is largely influenced by Irving, and presents much the same view that the earlier writer does. Mr. Winsor's volume is much the most exhaustive work on Columbus that has been printed in this country, but in his estimate of the character and work of the man he goes as much to the other extreme as did Irving to the one. He finds him dishonest, selfish, cruel and weak. His voyage was fool-hardy, and his discovery a blunder. Mr. Winsor finds so much to condemn that there seems nothing left to admire. The truth, we imagine, lies half way between these two extremes. The moderate view has been admirably presented in a small book on Columbus, by President Charles Kendall Adams, which is certainly the best short account of his

life and work. We must be careful not to judge Columbus too harshly for faults that were common to his time. Yet it is certain that, in point of character, he was not abreast of the best men of his age. The object of the Columbian Exposition is not so much to commemorate the life of Columbus as it is to celebrate the momentous consequences of his work. His discovery added a hemisphere to the then known world, and in that hemisphere has grown a nation, which marks, in the words of an English critic "the highest level, not only of material well-being, but of intelligence and happiness, that the human race has yet attained."

Now that the excitement of the national election is past the Moot Senate will soon be in session. The Moot Senate is regarded with especial favor by the Notes, because its meetings will naturally discuss such topics as are of particular interest to the department represented by the Notes. In our May issue was published a short editorial criticism of the Senate of last year, urging that party lines should not be drawn so firmly in the future, and that more attention be given to the subject matter under discussion and less to parliamentary law and oratorical effort. It is to be hoped that the Senate, this year, will be more of a success in many ways than was that of last year. The Senate was started late last year, and as the spring came on there was a marked falling off in attendance and a loss of interest. It was a question, perhaps, whether the membership was really large enough limited, as it was, to Seniors and Juniors of the literary department, and to all special students and law students taking any Senior or Junior work in the literary department. This question was brought up at a recent meeting of the law students, held for the purpose of organizing some sort of a society to discuss matters of national importance. It was decided at this meeting to form no society until an effort had been made to secure admission for the law students to the Moot Senate. A committee was appointed to see what could be done in the matter. Last year various objections were urged to the admission of all law students to the Senate, the general feeling being that the meetings would be monopolized by such students and that the collegiate students would stand no chance of showing their ability or of doing real work on bills brought forward. So far as is known no opinion on this subject has been expressed this year. It is a question that will have to be decided, however, and should be thought of carefully before any action is taken. Those who will have to decide this question are presumably such students as are *now* eligible to become members of the Senate, who, *at the first meeting*, signify their intention of becoming members. The constitution is weak on this point, inasmuch as it does not state clearly what persons shall constitute the first meeting of the Moot Senate for each ensuing year.

However article II., section 2, of the constitution, provides that the officers of the Senate "shall be chosen by a majority vote of a quorum of the Senate at the first meeting of each collegiate year." It would certainly be unfair for the remnant of last year's Senate to choose officers who are to preside over the new members since these new members would then have no voice in the election. The inference is a direct one, therefore, that the first meeting of the Senate is open to "any Senior or Junior in the collegiate department; any special student who is taking optional work in the collegiate department; any law student who has taken or is taking work in the collegiate department," subject, of course, to the regularly appointed committee on eligibility according to the rule just quoted. Thus it really depends largely on the new members of the Senate to decide whether or not the law students shall be admitted, and the question should be decided after careful thought and consideration of the best interests of the Senate. If the Senate really needs the

law element in order to make it a sure and permanent success, then no ancient prejudice between schools should stand in the way of their admission. Or if there is really no danger of disintegration because of admission of law students, then in fairness they should be permitted to enjoy the benefits of the Senate, yet the Senate must not become unwieldy in members. That which is insisted upon here is, that if there are reasons why law students should not be admitted, there are also reasons why they should be admitted, and that any student who expects to be a member of the Senate should think of this question honestly and decide it definitely for himself before coming to the first meeting of the Senate.

MR. WM. HILL, a graduate of the Kansas State University in the class of 1890, and at present a graduate student at Harvard University, has an article on "Colonial Tariffs" in the October number of the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*. It is a pleasure to note so scholarly a piece of work as coming from the hands of a recent graduate of our institution. As the conclusion of his researches, Mr. Hill says that, "On the whole, it seems probable that the duties imposed in America before the Revolution were no more than imitations of the ordinary means which European countries used to obtain revenue, and there seems to be no evidence that they have influenced our later tariff legislation."

PROFESSOR CARRUTH has made an interesting contribution to local history in his article on "Foreign Settlements in Kansas" in the October number of the *Kansas University Quarterly*. The professor sent circulars of inquiry to the county superintendents throughout the state, and the answers so far as received report foreign settlements of thirty or more persons in seventy-four counties in the state: German settlements in 60, Skandinavian in 40, Irish in 17, Slavonic in 14, and French in 13, besides smaller numbers of other nationalities. No reports were received from eighteen counties. Those who have had some experience in collecting statistics in this way know something of the amount of labor it involves and of the difficulty of getting satisfactory answers. From an historical point of view, the results already obtained are interesting as showing from what a mixture of races the population of the state is made up. Prof. Carruth is more especially interested in the effect of this mingling of races upon language, and appends to his article a dialect word-list, for extending which he invites assistance. This is work which any one may do with interest and profit, and it is mentioned here in the hope that this note may reach some who have not happened to see the original article.

"THE Tariff Controversy in the United States, 1789–1833," by Dr. O. L. Elliott, has been issued as the first number of Leland Stanford Junior University publications. We have not time to review the book at length in this issue. Suffice it to say that it gives the best, as well as the most complete account we have of the early history of the tariff discussion. The five chapters make up a volume of 275 pages. They give 1st, a summary of tariff discussion of the colonial period, 2nd, an account of the tariff act of 1789 and Hamilton's Report on Manufactures; 3d, an account of tariff discussion from Hamilton's Report to the war of 1812; 4th, the establishment of the "American system" by the tariff of 1816; and 5th, the tariff and nullification. This is the part of our tariff history which most needed careful treatment, but Dr. Elliott will perform a useful service if he will in a second volume bring the history of the subject down to a later date. The present volume was in large part written by the author for a doctor's thesis at Cornell University, a fact which might very well have been mentioned in a prefatory note. The work is well equipped with bibliography and index and in every respect is a credit to the author.

The last "Report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor" contains the first division of a careful tenement house census of Boston, which may well serve as a model for similar work in other cities. The results of the investigation are to be presented in three sections: Section one, tenements, rooms and rents; section two, sanitary condition of tenements, and section three, place of birth, occupation, etc., of residents in tenement houses. The present volume gives only the first section, the remaining two being reserved for the next report.

Section one covers four principal points: 1. Number of persons to a house. 2. Number of tenements to a house. 3. Number of rooms to a tenement. 4. Rents.

The result of the investigation may be briefly summarized. Estimated population is 464,751. Total number of houses is 54,142, of which number 14,788 are entirely occupied by their owners, 36,223 are rented either wholly or in part, 1,642 are boarding and lodging houses, and 1,489 are unoccupied. The number of families occupying tenements (the word being used to denote any rented place of residence) is 71,665, the average number of persons to the family 4.35, and the total number of persons 311,396, which is 67 per cent. of the total population. To this number is to be added 27,512 living in boarding and lodging houses, making a total for the two classes of 338,908. The average number of persons to a rented house is 8.60.

In New York, according to the census of 1890, the number of persons to a dwelling is 18.52, Brooklyn 9.80, and Chicago 8.60. But overcrowding in cities is better illustrated by presenting the figures differently. In New York 49 per cent., Brooklyn 29 per cent., Chicago and Boston 24 per cent. of the dwellings contain eleven persons and over, and these dwellings house 83, 56, 49 and 47 per cent. of the respective populations of those cities. These are the four cities where there is the greatest overcrowding.

The next statistics given for Boston respect the number of tenements to a house. Of the 67 per cent. of the population living in tenements, 49 in the hundred, or nearly one-half, live in independent houses or in houses containing but two tenements, 7 in the hundred occupy houses containing seven or more tenements, which are for the most part high class apartment houses, and 44 in the hundred are found in houses of three, four, five and six tenements each, and constitute what would be popularly understood as the strictly tenement house population. In New York 82 per cent., Brooklyn 53 per cent. and Chicago 38 per cent. of the population live in tenements containing three families and over.

The remaining tables give in detail average number of rooms to a tenement, average number of persons to a room and average rents. It appears that 1,053 families live in tenements of one room, but the average number of persons per family is a little less than two; 17 per cent. of the population live in tenements of three, and 25 per cent. in tenements of four rooms. Average number of persons per room for all tenements is less than one. Average monthly rental for all sizes of tenements is $17.26. These are a few of the significant averages, but as the report cautions, they have the limitations which attach to averages, and should not be used as the basis of deductions, unless the variations which appear in detail in the various tables, are carefully noted.

COURSES OF STUDY

IN

HISTORY AND SOCIOLOGY.

FOR 1892-93.

F. W. BLACKMAR, PH. D.
F. H. HODDER, PH. M.
E. D. ADAMS, PH. D.

Instruction in this department is given by means of lectures, conferences, recitations, discussions, and personal direction in study and research. As the library is an indispensable aid in the pursuit of the following courses of study, students are expected to become acquainted with the best methods of collecting and classifying materials, and of writing and presenting papers on special topics. All lectures are supplemented by required reading and class exercises.

The work of the department now embraces five principal lines of study, namely: European History, American History and Civil Government, Political Institutions, Sociology or Social Institutions, and Political Economy.

The following studies are offered for 1892-'93:

FIRST TERM.

1. **The History of Civilization.** Lectures daily, at 8:30. Ancient Society, and the intellectual development of Europe to the twelfth century. Special attention is given to the influence of Greek philosophy and the Christian church on European civilization, the relation of learning to liberal government, and to the rise of modern nationality.

2. **French and German History.** Daily, at 9:30. Descriptive history. Text-book.

3. **Historical Method and Criticism.** Tuesday and Thursday, at 9:30. Examination and classification of sources and authorities. Analysis of the works of the best historians. Library work, with collection and use of material, notes, and bibliography. Special attention to current historical and economic literature.

4. **The History of Education and the Development of Methods of Instruction.** Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, at 9:30. This course may be taken with No. 3. A course for teachers.

5. **English History.** Daily, at 11. Descriptive history. Text-book.

6. **Journalism.** Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, at 12. Lect res, laboratory and library work. English: Twenty-five lecturts by Professors Dunlap and Hopkins; 15 lectures on the history and ethics of journalisn, by Professor Adams. Newspaper bureau. The principal object of the bureau is to enable students to form habits of systematic reading, to keep informed on the topics of the day, and to preserve clippings properly filed and indexed. This course will be found highly beneficial to students who desire a special study in magazines and newspapers as a general culture.

7. **Statistics.** Tuesday and Thursday at 12. Supplementary to all studies in economics and sociology. The method of using statistics is taught by actual investigation of political and social problems, lectures, and class-room practice. The history and theory of statistics receive due attention.

8. **American History.** From the earliest discovery to 1763. Lectures, topical reading, and recitations. Three hours a week at 2.

9. **Local and Municipal Government.** Lectures and topical reading. Two hours a a week at 2.

Courses 8 and 9 are intended to be taken together as a full study, but may be taken separately.

10. **American History.** Presidential administrations from Washington to Jackson. Daily, at 3. Open to Seniors in full standing, and to other students upon approval of the instructor.

11. **International Law and Diplomacy.** Lectures and recitations. Two hours a week, at 4.

12. **Political Economy.** Daily, at 4. The fundamental principles are discussed, elaborated and illustrated by examples from present economic society. A brief history of Poiitical Economy closes the course.

SECOND TERM.

13. **Institutional History.** Lectures Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, at 8:30, on comparative politics and administration. Greek Roman, and Germanic institutions compared. Historical significance of Roman law in the middle eges. Short study in Prussian administration.

14. **Renaissance and Reformation.** Tuesday and Thursday, at 8:30. Lectures. The revival of learning with especial reference to the Italian renaissance. A careful inquiry into the cause, course and results of the Reformation. This course may be taken as a continuation of number 1.

15. Political History of Modern Europe. Tuesday and Thursday at 9:30. Text-book.

16. Federal Government and the French Revolution. Lectures, Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, at 9:30, on Switzerland. The Italian republics and the States General of France.

17. Constitutional History of England. Tuesday and Thursday, at 9:30. This course may be taken as a continuation of number 5. Text-book and lectures.

18. Elements of Sociology. Lectures, Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, at 11. Evolution of social institutions. Laws and conditions that tend to organize society. Modern social institutions and social problems.

19. Charities and Correction. Tuesday and Thursday, at 11. Treatment of the poor from a historical standpoint. Modern scientific charity. The treatment of criminals. Prisons and reformatories. Practical study of Kansas institutions. This course is supplementary to number 18.

20. Land Tenures. Lectures, Tuesday and Thursday, at 12. This course treats of primitive property, the village community, feudal tenures, and modern land-holding in Great Britain and the United States. This course is mainly historical, and is an excellent preparation for the study of the law of real property.

21. American History. Continuation of course 8. First half-term: History of the Revolution and the Confederation, 1763 to 1769. Second half-term: Brief summary of the constitutional period, with Johnston's "American Politics" as a text-book. Three hours a week, at 2.

22. Constitutional Law. History of the adoption of the constitution, and a study of its provisions. Twice a week, at 2. Forms, with course 21, a full study, but may be taken separately.

23. American History. Continuation of course 10. Presidential administrations from Jackson to Lincoln. Daily, at 3.

24. Mediæval History. Two-fifths of the second term of the Freshman year. For all students whose admission papers show that they have had elementary physics, hygiene and chemistry. Daily, at 3. Text-book.

25. Principles of Public Finance. Lectures on public industries, budget legislation, taxation and public debts. Open to students who have studied political economy one term. Two hours a week, at 4.

26. The Status of Woman. Conferences. Tuesday and Thursday, at 4 Industrial condition, including a study of labor, wages, etc. Woman in the professions. Their political and legal abilities and disabilities. Property rights. Condition of woman in Europe and the Orient. Social questions.

27. Advanced Political Economy. Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, at 4. Consisting of (*a*) lectures on applied economics; (*b*) practical observation and investigation; and (*c*) methods of research, with papers by students on special topics. This course is a continuation of number 12.

General Seminary, on Friday, at 4. Students in History and Sociology are required to attend the Seminary unless excused by special arrangement. Full credit will be allowed for time spent in Seminary work. At the beginning of the term, students may elect other work in place of the seminary, if they choose.

SUGGESTED MAJOR COURSES FOR UNDER-GRADUATES.

I. Economics. Courses 7, 12, 18, 19, 20, and 27.

II. European History. Courses, 2, 3, 5, 13, 15, and 16.

III. American History. Courses 8, 9, 10, 21, 22, and 23.

IV. Social Institutions. Courses, 1, 12, 14, 18, 19, and 4 (or 26).

V. Political Institutions. Courses 3, 7, 9, 15, 13, 16, 17, 20, and 22.

GRADUATE COURSES.

Persons desiring to take the degree of A. M. may do so by the completion of any one or all of the following courses. The work is carried on by the investigation of special topics under the personal direction of the instructor. An hour for conference will be arranged for each student. The courses extend throughout the year.

I. American History. Open to graduates and students who have studied American History two years.

II. Economics. Open to graduates and students who have taken the undergraduate work in political economy. Courses 12, 27, and 8.

III Political and Social Institutions. Open to graduates and students who have taken the undergraduate work in the history of institutions and sociology. Courses 12, 27, and 7.

The above courses are for students who desire proficiency in a special line. These courses will not in any way interfere with the general rules of the Faculty respecting graduate work.

(Catalogue, 1891-'92, pp. 120, 121.) By these rules, a graduate student may take any of the 27 courses mentioned above (except 15 and 24) as a preparation for the degree of A. M.

Preparation for Entrance to the University. The time spent in the high schools in the study of history is necessarily limited. For this reason it is essential that the greatest care be exercised in preparing students for entrance to the University. At present very little history is required in the Freshman and Sophomore years, and the students enter upon the study of the Junior and Senior years without thorough preparation for the work. It would seem that the aim should be for all those who contemplate entering the University to learn the story of nations pretty thoroughly. A general outline of the world's history with a special study of the United States History and government represents the field. But this outline should be more than a mere skeleton of facts and dates. It should be well rounded with the political, social, and economic life of the people. Students will find a general text-book, such as Myer's, Sheldon's, or Fisher's, indispensible; but the work of preparation ought not to stop here. Such works as Fyffe's Greece, Creighton's Rome, Seebohm's Era of Protestant Revolution, Cox's Greece, and others in the Primer, Epoch, and Stories of Nations series ought to be read. The object of this reading is to familiarize the student with the political and social life of the principle nations of the world. For this purpose everything should be as interesting as possible. Such an interest should be aroused that the student would not be puzzled over dates and threadbare facts, but would seize and hold those things that are useful on account of the interest his mind has in them. That history which is gained by a bare memory of events is soon lost. It grows too dim for use and consequently leads to confusion. With the story of the nations well learned the student comes to the University prepared for the higher scientific study of history and its kindred topics. He is then ready for investigation, comparison and analysis. He then takes up the real investigation of the philosophy of institutions and of national development. He is then ready for the science of Sociology, Institutional History, Political Economy, the Science of Government, Statistics or Political Economy. Students who enter the University without this preparation find it necessary to make up for it as best they can by the perusal of books, such as those mentioned above.

STUDENTS' LIBRARIES.

Every student in the University should lay the foundation of a good working library. Such libraries are not "made to order" at some given time, under specially favorable financial conditions—but are the result of considerable sacrifice, and are of slow growth. The wise expenditure of even ten dollars in each term will bring together books which if thoroughly mastered will be of great assistance in all later life. Room-mates, or members of the same fraternity, by combining their libraries and avoiding the purchase of duplicates, can soon be in possession of a most valuable collection of authors. Assistance in selecting and in purchasing will be given upon application.

The prices named below are the list prices of the publishers.

Students are required to purchase books marked with an asterisk.

American Book Company, Chicago.

Title	Price
Manual of the Constitution, Andrews	$ 1.00
Analysis of Civil Government, Townsend	1.00
Civil Government, Peterman	.60
History of England, Thalheimer	1.00
Mediæval and Modern History, Thalheimer	1.60
Outlines of History, Fisher	2.40
General History of the World, Barnes	1.60
Political Economy, Gregory	1.20
Lessons in Political Economy, Champlin	.90

Ginn & Co., Boston and Chicago.

Title	Price
Ancient History, Myers & Allen	$ 1.50
Mediæval and Modern History, Myers	1.50
Political Science and Comparative Law, Burgess,	5.00
Macy's Our Government	.75
*General History, Myers	1.50
Leading facts in English History, Montgomery	1.12
Philosophy of Wealth, Clark	1.00
Political Science Quarterly, Yearly	3.00
Washington and His Country, Fiske	1.00

Harpers, New York.

Title	Price
*History of Germany, Lewis	1.50
*International Law, Davis	2.00
*Political History of Modern Times, Mueller	2.00
*Short English History, Green	1.20
Civil Policy of America, Draper	2.00
History of English People, Green, 4 vols	10.00
History of United States, Hildreth, 6 vols	12.00
The Constitution, Story	.90

Holt & Co., New York.

Title	Price
*American Politics, Johnston	$ 1.00
American Colonies, Doyle, 3 vols	9.00
American Currency, Sumner	2.50
History of Modern Europe, Fyffe, 3 vols	7.50
Political Economy, Walker	2.25

Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

Title	Price
Discovery of America, Fiske, 2 vols	$ 4.00
American Commonwealths, 14 vols., each	1.25
American Statesmen, 24 vols., each	1.25
American Revolution, Fiske, 2 vols	4.00
Critical Period of American History, Fiske	2.00
Epitome of History, Ploetz	3.00
Christopher Columbus, Winsor	4.00

Appleton, New York.

Title	Price
Dynamic Sociology, Ward, 2 vols	$ 5.00
History of Civilization, Guizot	1.25
Political Economy, Mill, 2 vols	6.00

Cranston & Stowe, Chicago.

Title	Price
*Political Economy, Ely	$ 1.00

Macmillan, New York.

Title	Price
Constitutional History, England, Stubbs, 3 vols	$ 7.80
Principles of Economics, Marshall, vol. I	3.00

Armstrong, New York.

Title	Price
*Democracy in Europe, May, 2 vols	$ 2.50

G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London.

Title	Price
*American Citizen's Manual, Ford	$ 1.25
Unwritten Constitution of the U. S., Tiedeman	1.00
History of Political Economy, Blanqui	3.00
Introduction to Eng. Econon. Hist. and Theory, Ashley	1.50
Indust. and Com. Supremacy of Eng., Rogers	3.00
Economic Interpretations of History, Rogers	3.00
Constitutional History of the U. S., Sterne	1.25
*Tariff History of the United States, Taussig	1.25
The Story of Nations, 34 vols., each	1.50
Heroes of the Nations, 12 vols., each	1.50
American Orations, ed. by Johnston, 3 vols., each	1.25

Callaghan & Co., Chicago.

Title	Price
Constitutional History of U. S., Von Holst, 6 vol	$20.00
Constitutional Law of U. S., Von Holst	2.00
Political Economy, Roscher, 2 vols	6.00

Crowell, New York.

Title	Price
*History of France, Duruy	$ 2.00
Labor Movement in America, Ely	1.50
Life of Washington, pop. ed., Irving, 2 vols	2.50
Problems of To day, Ely	1.50

Little, Brown & Co., Boston.

Title	Price
History of Greece, Grote, 10 vols	$17.50
Parkman's Works, per vol	1.50
Rise of the Republic, Frothingham	3.50

Longmans, Green & Co., New York.

Title	Price
Epochs of Ancient History, each vol	$ 1.00
Epochs of Modern History, each vol	1.00
Political Economy, pop. ed., Mill	1.75
The Crusades, Cox	1.00

Scribners, New York.

Title	Price
*American Diplomacy, Schuyler	$ 2.50
History of Rome, Mommsen, 4 vols	8.00
Lombard Street, Bagehot	1.25
Silent South, Cable	1.00

Silver Burdett & Co., Boston.

Title	Price
*Historical Atlas, Labberton	$1.50 or $ 2.00
*Historical Geography of U. S., MacCoun	1.00
*Institutes of Economics, Andrews	1.50
Institues of General History, Andrews	2.00

Dodd, Mead & Co., New York.

Title	Price
History of United States, Schouler, 5 vols	$11.50

D. C. Heath & Co., Boston.

Title	Price
*The State, Woodrow Wilson	$ 2.00
Principles of Political Economy, Gide	2.00
Methods of Teaching History, Hall	1.50
General History, Sheldon	1.60
*Old South Leaflets, 22 Nos., each	.05
History Topics, Allen	25
State and Fed. Governments of the U. S., Wilson	50
The American Citizen, Dole	.90
Comparative View of Governments, Wenzel	.20
Studies in American History, Sheldon—Barnes	1.12

Any book in the above list will be furnished by the Lawrence Book Co., Crew's old stand, 745 Mass

SEMINARY NOTES.

STATE UNIVERSITY—LAWRENCE, KANSAS.

VOL. II. DECEMBER, 1892. NO. 3.

SEMINARY OF HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCE.

All students connected with the department of History and Sociology are, by virtue of such connection, members of the Seminary. All students are expected to attend the Seminary unless excused by the instructors of the department. Students are credited with the time spent in Seminary work.

The meetings of the Seminary are held every Friday, in Room 15, University Building. Public meetings will be held from time to time, after due announcement.

The work of the Seminary consists of special papers and discussions, on topics connected with the Department mentioned; prepared as far as possible from consultation of original sources and from practical investigation of existing conditions, under the personal direction of the officers of the Seminary.

Special assistance in choice of themes, authorities, etc., is given members of the Seminary who have written work due in the department of History and Sociology, or in the Department of English, or in any of the literary societies or other similar organizations in the University; on condition that the results of such work shall be presented to the Seminary if so required.

In connection with the work of the Seminary, a Newspaper bureau is maintained. In this the leading cities of the United States are represented by some twenty daily and weekly newspapers. The principal object of the Bureau is to enable students to form habits of systematic reading, to keep informed on the current topics of the day, to study the best types of modern Journalism, to learn to discriminate between articles of temporary value only and those of more permanent worth, to make a comparative study of editorial work, to master for the time being the current thought on any particular subject, and to preserve by clippings properly filed and indexed, important materials for the study of current history and public life—to *make* history by the arrangement and classification of present historical matter.

Special investigation and study will be undertaken during each year, bearing on some one or more phases of the administration of public affairs in this State; the purpose being to combine service to the State with the regular work of professional and student life. In this special work the advice and co-operation of State and local officials and of prominent men of affairs is constantly sought, thus bringing to students the experience and judgment of the world about them.

Graduates of our own University, or other persons of known scholarly habits, who have more than a passing interest in such work as the Seminary undertakes, and who are willing to contribute some time and thought to its success, are invited to become corresponding members of the Seminary. The only condition attached to such membership is, that each corresponding member shall prepare during each University year one paper, of not *less* than two thousand five hundred words, on some subject within the scope of the Seminary; and present the same in person at such time as may be mutually agreed upon by the writer and the officers of the Seminary, or in writing if it be found impossible to attend a meeting of the Seminary.

The library of the University and the time of the officers of the Seminary are at the service of corresponding members, in connection with Seminary work—within reasonable limits.

More than twenty gentlemen, prominent in official and professional circles, have already connected themselves with the Seminary, and have rendered very acceptable service during past years.

The officers and members of the Seminary will gladly render all possible assistance to any public officials who may desire to collect special statistics or secure definite information on such lines of public work as are properly within the sphere of the Seminary.

Any citizen of Kansas interested in this work is invited to correspond with the Seminary, and to be present at its meetings when possible.

FRANK W. BLACKMAR,
DIRECTOR.
FRANK H. HODDER,
VICE-DIRECTOR.
EPHRAIM D. ADAMS,
SECRETARY.

RESPONSIBILITY OF CONGRESS FOR FINANCIAL LEGISLATION.

WITHIN the last few years numerous articles have appeared in magazines and newspapers, criticising that form of government which permits our House of Representatives to evade, by means of committee organization a full responsibility for the passage of financial measures.

At the request of some of the members of the Historical Seminary an attempt is here made to summarize the arguments against the committee system as applied to money matters, and to criticise, briefly, the various remedies proposed.

The argument is as follows:

Article 1, section 7, of the Constitution reads: "All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills," and article 1, section 9, provides that "no money shall be drawn from the treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time." These two provisions are the only ones to be found which deal directly with the control of the purse and their presence is in itself sufficient evidence of a belief on the part of the framers of the constitution that the people, who pay the taxes, should, through their representatives, have the privilege of determining how the money raised by taxes is to be expended. But the people *under the present system* do not exercise that direct control over taxation and expenditure which was intended by the constitution, and the result is slow progress in measures of financial reform, corresponding to the weak and indefinite responsibility felt by Congress. The trouble lies with the congressional committee system. In each session of Congress the amount of work is so great, and the time so short for the accomplishment of that work that the help of committees, which shall make special study of special subjects, has come to be a necessity. Yet the committee system brings with it the control of legislation by a few members of the legislative body and necessarily entails a loss of that general knowledge of all subjects of legislation which every representative ought to have if he is really to be held responsible for his vote. If the people do not truly control the purse, the fault lies with the committee system. The extent of this system is better appreciated if it is remembered that there are now in the House of Representatives forty-seven standing committees, eleven of which have, either directly or indirectly, to deal with questions of the budget. Of these eleven the three most important are the committee of ways and means, the committee on appropriations, and the committee on rivers and harbors. In order to fully appreciate the influence which these committees have upon budgetary legislation it is necessary to trace the various stages through which a money bill must pass before it can become a law.

At the beginning of each session the Secretary of the Treasury presents his report of the financial condition of the government, and his estimates of the revenue and expenditure of the coming year. These estimates are based upon reports which have been made to the Secretary of the Treasury by the heads of the other departments. They are transmitted to Congress in the shape of a letter addressed to the Speaker of the House, and are then referred to the financial committees of the House. The committee of ways and means considers that part of the estimates which has reference to the raising of money, and the committee on appropriations that part which refers to the general

expenditure of money. But it by no means follows that the bills introduced by these committees must be in accordance with the estimates. The committees need not even examine them if they do not wish to do so. They can increase or decrease the estimates at pleasure, or completely change the plans outlined by the Secretary of the Treasury. The Secretary has not the privilege of explaining his estimates before the House, and can only appear before the committee when asked to do so by the committees themselves. It appears, then, that the position of the Secretary of the Treasury is by no means so influential in the control of the budget as is the position held by the chairnan of one of these great committees. And it is for this reason that many prominent politicians have preferred to retain the position of chairman of the ways and means committee in the House, or of the finance committee in the Senate, rather than accept the place of Secretary of the Treasury in the cabinet.

When the committee on appropriations has thoroughly digested the estimates, or has made out a new scheme of expenditure to suit itself, it begins to bring in bills authorizing specific appropriations to meet the expenses of government in the various departments. If a member disapproves of the bill presented by the committee, he may of course introduce a bill of his own. But he is not sure that he will be allowed to speak upon his own bill after he has presented it, for it is an imperative rule of the House that every bill must pass through the hands of its appropriate committee before it is open for discussion. So it lies within the power of the chairman of the committee to kill a bill thus introduced by simply refusing to report, unless, indeed, the member has sufficient support so that, by a majority vote of the members of the House, he can compel the chairman to report his bill for discussion. Theoretically each member of the House has an active voice in determining taxation, but practically his influence is reduced to a minimum unless he is a member of an important committee.*

It is evident then that the committee on appropriations has practically the entire control of the appropriation of money for the expenses of government. The same thing is true of the other committees, and Woodrow Wilson, in his treatise on "Congressional Government," states the simple truth when he says that our laws are enacted by committees rather than by Congress.

When an appropriation bill has been passed by the House it is sent to the Senate and there referred, without discussion, to the Senate committee on Appropriations. When that committee has submitted the report the bill is either accepted or amended. If it is amended it is sent back to the House for reconsideration. In the case of money bills the House almost invariably refuses to accept the amendments of the Senate, and proposes a conference committee of three members from each house. The Senate accepts the proposition and the conference committee usually changes the bill so that it becomes a compromise and does not meet the real wish of either house.

This is the system of work followed by Congress in the making of laws: The question now arises, what is there in this system which prevents the realization of the principle that the people should control the purse? How does it influence the budget? It is not pertinent to consider the effect of this system upon legislation in general, but only in so far as it has any influence on budgetary legislation.

In this connection it is found that two bad results come from the committee system. The first is that from a business point of view, the origination of money

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* When the committee on Appropriations presents a bill, the House goes into a committee of the whole, where each member is supposed to be privileged to discuss, or propose amendments to, the bill. But in fact, by a well recognized custom of the House, a member usually cannot gain the recognition of the Chair to propose an amendment unless he has previously made some arrangement with the chairman of the committee. The chairman is abso ute master of the debate.

bills by a number of committees does not tend toward homogeneity in the financial measures of the year. The committee of Ways and Means need have no communication with the committee on Appropriations. Each committee prepares its own bills absolutely without reference to the measures proposed by the other committees. Hence there is no such thing as the careful balancing of income and expenditure which would probably take place if the whole plan of the budget was in the hands of one committee. In any other country than our own such a system would long ago have resulted in financial disaster. But the United States is blest with a surplus that permits the committee which spends the money, because of the impossibility of spending all the income, to make appropriations without the slightest reference to the propositions of the committee which gathers the money. That such a system would naturally result, and in fact has resulted, in foolish expenditure, in extravagance, and in looseness in accounts, is undoubted.

But great as this first evil is, the second is still greater, namely, that contrary to the spirit of the constitution, the people have but an indefinite control of the purse. According to the plan of the constitution, a member of the House of Representatives is directly responsible to the voters of the district from which he is elected. His actions in Congress are to be judged by them, and he is to be held strictly accountable for his position on every act of Congress. But with our committee system such a strict responsibility is impossible and is recognized as impossible by the voters of the district. A member, unless he is upon some important committee, has practically no power to influence legislation. Fifteen members of the House of Representatives determine what bills shall be introduced toward meeting the expenses of the government, and all that the other members have to do on these particular questions, is to "vote with the party." In the majority of cases it is the chairman of the fifteen who has the deciding voice in the preparation of bills. One man, who has in his hands almost absolute control of all appropriation bills, or of all revenue bills, is responsible, not to the whole nation, every part of which is deeply interested in such legislation, but to a single district of a single state.

If we conclude from this that the control of the purse is not effectually secured to the people by means of the election of representatives to Congress, there seems to be but one alternative by means of which an effective control can be obtained, that is, by the presidential election.

Once in every four years the conventions of the political parties meet and adopt platforms which outline the policy of the party in regard to future legislation. The presidential nominee writes a letter of acceptance in which he in turn outlines his policy and his propositions for legislation. The voter of the country, certain to have his own ideas upon the public questions of the day, accepts these declarations of the nominees as the basis upon which he decides how he will cast his ballot, and believes that he has thereby given effective force to his legislative wishes. But he has not done so. The President, for whom he has voted, has no more immediate influence over the legislation to be proposed in Congress than has the voter himself. Occasionally we have a President who, by mere force of character, gains a powerful influence over his party and compels the members of his party who are in Congress, to do his bidding. But as a general rule our Presidents are mere figure-heads and do not exert any real influence on legislation. Nevertheless the voters are inclined to hold the President responsible for a power which he cannot exercise, and if the legislation, for which the Speaker of the House and his heads of committee are responsible, does not satisfy the people, they refuse to support the President at the next election.

The result of all this is that while men think that by the election of a presidential

candidate the policy of the government in matters of legislation has been decided, the fact in the case is that they have simply expressed an opinion which need not be followed by an irresponsible chairman of a committee unless he chooses to follow it. Budgetary legislation is of the utmost importance to the nation. The questions of free trade or protection, of pensions, of internal improvements. of expenditures in the various departments, are all questions of budgetary legislation, and are all considered by the intelligent voter before he casts his ballot for President. In this way the budget undoubtedly has an influence upon politics, but on the other hand, politics do not have any marked influence upon the budget. Under our form of congressional autocracy, the vote of the people has not the influence which it should have upon budgetary legislation, or in fact upon legislation of any sort.

It is impossible then for the people to fix any effective responsibility for the use of the public money, by means either of the district election of representatives, or of the presidential election. The President has not the power of the purse and ought not to be held responsible. The Speaker of the House and his committeemen do have the power of the purse and cannot be held responsible under the existing forms.

It was the central thought of the framers of the constitution, that there should be a division of power and a consequent division of responsibility, thus obviating the dangers of the centralization of power. But the history of our nation, as well as the history of all other nations, would seem to prove that such a division of power is practically impossible for any length of time, Sooner or later some branch of government gains a power almost if not not quite supreme. In the United States it is Congress which has become the supreme power, and it is the Speaker of the House who is the exponent of that power. All this might be very well if it were not for the fact that, while the constitution intended a division of power and a division of responsibility, the government which has sprung from that constitution, is a government in which power has been concentrated in the hands of Congress, while the responsibility is still divided.

It has been said that the Speaker of the House is all-powerful. His power arises from the fact that it is his privilege to appoint all the chairmen and members of the committees of the House. By a selection of chairmen from those members whose views on the topics assigned to them agree with his own, he has a direct influence upon the course of legislation. And in addition to this it should also be noted that he has power even against the chairmen he has himself selected, by means of the appointment of the three members of the conference committee, when the Senate has amended a House bill and the House has refused to accept that amendment. Yet the Speaker, all-powerful as he is, is responsible, not to the nation, but to the one congressional district from which he is elected to take his seat in the House of Representatives.

For many years past the thought has been gradually forcing itself upon the public mind that there is something radically wrong in a system of government which presents the spectacle of such unlimited power with such limited responsibility, and that a reform of some sort is needed by which the trend of constitutional development, which has been described, may be arrested. Since it is evidently impossible to increase the responsibility of the Speaker and of the chairmen of the committees, the only alternative is to reduce their power in some way, or to transfer it to some other personage from whom a more perfect responsibility can be secured.

Many writers have noticed the evils of the committee system of government, and most of them have made suggestions for the improvement of that system in some way. An examination of these suggested

reforms will show the true nature and extent of the reform needed.

The first suggestion is that the various financial committees be united, so that there shall be harmony in budgetary legislation. Under one committee the revenue and expenditure sides of the budget would be much more likely to be carefully balanced than under the present system of several committees on matters of finance. If this suggestion should be adopted it would probably result in better business methods in the conduct of the finances, but it would not in any way affect the main question of the principal reform sought for, the question of effective responsibility. It would ensure to the people a more careful consideration of the relation between taxation and expenditure, but it would not ensure to the people any real control over either the extent or purpose of such taxation and expenditure.

A second suggestion is, that the number of the members of the House of Representatives be diminished and that the committees be chosen entirely from the ranks of the majority. It is urged in support of this proposition that by reducing the number of representatives we increase the number of voters necessary to elect a representative, and so make him a national, instead of a sectional representative. This is undoubtedly true, but only to a limited extent. It might be possible to gain an improved responsibility in this way, but it would not be possible to gain an effective responsibility. The fewer the number of representatives the greater influence will any one representative's vote have in deciding national policy, and he will be more inclined to view questions from a national rather than from a sectional standpoint. But this does not alter the measure of his responsibility to his constituents in any degree.

The second part of the suggestion, that the committees be chosen entirely from the majority, is intended to make the party in power responsible for the propositions of its committees, but it is not at all evident that it will increase the responsibility of party beyond that which already exists. In Congress to-day a majority of the House have a majority of their own number on every important committee. The Democrats are in the majority in the House, and it was of course the duty of Speaker Crisp to see that a majority on each of the important committees were Democrats. Otherwise the Democrats would find it difficult to control legislation. The responsibility of the majority is as effective under the present system as it would be if none but the members of the majority formed the committees. This suggestion does not meet the requirements of the case. It does not win for the people the measure of responsibility from government which they demand.

The two suggestions which have been noted are in themselves improvements upon the present condition of affairs in the House of Representatives, and in so far as they go would be steps in the right direction, but if their intention is to completely remedy the existing evil of a lack of responsibility, they fail in their purpose. They do not appear to recognize that the real trouble at the basis of the committee system of government is lack of responsibility.

A suggestion which does recognize this evil, and which attempts to remedy it, is that the President shall be given the power to appoint the chairmen and members of the committees. The argument in favor of this proposition is as follows: This power could be given to the President without any remarkable change in the committee system of Congress, a system which, from the immense amount of business that it is necessary to transact in each session, it seems impossible to do without. It would simply be transferring the power of appointment of committees from the Speaker of the House to the President. It would, it is true, greatly increase the power of the executive over legislation, but it would not be an apparent change of the forms of government, and so would

not rouse the opposition of the people. It would cause the erroneous idea of the voter, that by his ballot for President he has a direct influence upon legislation, to be no longer an erroneous idea but an actual fact.

The President, by the appointment of members of committees whose ideas upon financial legislation, or upon any other legislation, agreed with his own ideas, would become the one person upon whom the responsibility for such measures would rest. And it is fitting that it should be so, for the President is the only person of importance in our form of government, for whom all voters have the privilege of casting their ballots. The President is the only person from whom it is possible to obtain an effective responsibility, and reform must therefore place power in the hands of the President, unless the people are prepared to change completely the form of government.

Such is the argument in favor of permitting the President to appoint the committees of Congress. The suggestion is interesting, in that it is the only one so far which clearly recognizes that the principal fault in our form of goverment is a lack of responsibility, and which attempts to remedy that fault. But the suggestion does not seem to be practicable, for it does not take into consideration the possibility of the election of a President whose political views do not coincide with those of a majority in the House. Our system of elections would render this possibility an exceedingly dangerous one. The electoral vote of a state for President is determined by a count of all the votes cast in the state, while the election of a representative to Congress is determined by the vote cast in a certain district of that state. In this way it might easily happen, in fact has frequently happened, that the President would be of a different political faith from a majority of the House, and in such a condition of affairs the President could not possibly appoint committees, the views of whose chairmen agreed with his own, and who would still possess the confidence of the House. No committee, unless supported by a majority in the House, could hope to do efficient work, and such a committee would soon realize that it was dependent upon the majority of the House, whose votes were necessary in order to carry out its propositions, rather than upon the President, whose power to influence proposed legislation was limited to the privilege of suggestion.

On the other hand, if the President recognized the impossibility of appointing committees not in harmony with the majority, and should lay aside his own plans for legislation and appoint the committees from among the members of the opposition, he would thereby make of no effect the result of the presidential election. That election was supposed by the voters to have decided the policy of the government, but such action on the part of the President would be a casting of a responsibility upon the House, which it is impossible to demand from that body because of the form of the government, and the presidential election would be of no more actual importance than it is at the present time. The suggestion would be practicable only when the President and the House were in harmony. At any other time it could only result in continual disputes between the executive and Congress.

Of the suggested reforms which have been noted, the first and second are limited in their action and cannot truly be called reforms, for they do not accomplish the end sought for. They may, perhaps, be valuable improvements upon the existing forms, but they do not provide that union between responsibility and power which is demanded in this instance. The third suggestion does attempt to do this, but fails because of the different methods of electing President and representatives. It is an attempt to transfer power from Congress to the President, and such a step would in itself be a complete change from the natural constitutional development of the United States. There can be no doubt

of the fact that Congress has become the supreme power in our government, and the logical tendency of reform would be to make that body responsible which has the actual power, and not to place power where there is but a nominal responsibility. But how can this responsibility be secured from Congress, or rather, from the House of Representatives?

The attempt has been made in this article to state, perhaps rather too forcibly, the arguments against the committee system of Congress in the control of financial matters. Criticism has also been made of proposed reforms of the system. In a later number of the NOTES an article will appear upon what seems to be a steadily advancing tendency upon the part of the House of Representatives toward greater responsibility, and a suggestion of still another change by which really effective responsibility could be secured.

E. D. ADAMS.

IS OUR CIVILIZATION CHRISTIAN?

(Paper read before the Historical Seminary, Dec. 2, 1892.)

I PRESUME most of you have seen the story of the tramp who appealed to somebody with the statement, "Say, Mister, won't you please give me a drink, I'm so hungry I don't know where I'm going to sleep to-night!"

It was very much like the small boy who went into a grocery store and said, "Say, Mr. Storekeeper, won't you let me have half an empty barrel full of flour to make a hen coop for my dog?"

There seems to be no doubt that there is a great clamor in these days for very many things, but the expression of that want is so confused that it very often lacks the stamp of sincerity and actual need. It is with a truly sincere and almost anxious attempt to place some needs of our civilization in a clear and simple light, that the present paper has been prepared. The title of the paper is bigger than its contents; but it has been the writer's hope that after debate might expand the entire subject far beyond the limits of this particular presentation.

Is our civilization Christian? I propose to make answer by bringing our civilization to the test, by seeing how far it can stand the test demanded by Christ himself. We will consider three tests:—(*a*) *Social.* (*b*) *Political.* (*c*) *Religious.*

1. The Social Test. Christ was once invited out to dinner at the house of a civilized man and while there, He said (you will find the account in Luke's Gospel, 14:12-14): "When thou makest a dinner or a supper call not thy friends nor thy brethren, neither thy kinsmen nor thy rich neighbors lest they also bid thee again and a recompense be made thee. But when thou makest a feast call the poor, the maimed, the lame, the blind. And thou shalt be blessed: for they cannot recompense thee; for thou shalt be recompensed at the resurrection of the just."

Now let us apply this to the every day life of civilized society. How many families in Lawrence during the year of our Lord 1892 have made a dinner or a feast in their comfortable homes and invited in the poor, the maimed, the lame or the blind? How many families do you suppose have made one such dinner to the persons described in Topeka? Take up any *Sunday Capital* through the year and you will read in the society columns how Mrs. Jones entertained her friends, the Mrs. Robinson, Smith, Thompkins, etc., etc., etc. And in the next number of the Sunday paper it will be Mrs. Robinson who has invited Mrs. Jones, Smith, Thompkins, etc., etc. Why, we all know that if Mrs. Jones should get up a good big dinner and invite in, say the inmates of Ingleside, or the children of the Orphan's Home, it would create a society sensation, the event would be so entirely

unheard of. And if Mrs. Jones should make a practice of doing such things, say half a dozen times a year, her name would soon disappear from the roll of society people, who believe in inviting only those people to dinner who are able to return the compliment. But let us come out of the awful circle of society and see how it is in the homes of civilized people who do not call themselves society people. Look into the home of almost any church member in America. You will find pleasant social gatherings between relatives and friends. Scores of times during the year relatives and friends have feasted together. Members of the same church have invited their congenial acquaintances to dine with them and the compliment has been returned, and over the coffee and dessert the church work has been discussed and nobody has been harmed by wine drinking or gambling. Yet if you were to try to find a Christian home where the poor neighbor, or the unfortunate, or the one who could not make a feast has been invited into the home, I believe you would have to search a long time before you could find such a home. The fact is, society almost universally, and the Christian home with a few exceptions, closes its doors pretty carefully to all but its own kind of people. I am trying to make this point: Civilization in this country has been quite generous in providing homes for the poor, the maimed, the halt, and the blind. But it has said in unmistakable terms to these outcasts, "You must not expect to come into *our* homes; you are too poor, and dirty, and repulsive, don't you know?" I do not know of a civilized home in America where the unfortunate are made welcome in the manner that Christ described and plainly meant. I have heard of such homes but I never saw one. And I am very sure I know of hundreds of civilized homes where the social life is a continual interchange of civilities based upon a similarity in positions of wealth or family between the parties that entertain one another.

I am aware that the common answer made to this failure to obey Christ's command is that the conditions have changed between His civilization and ours and that the poor, the maimed, the lame, and the blind would not accept the invitation to dine at our houses if we gave it. But in reply to the first objection it is enough to say that however much the conditions of society have changed since Christ's time, there has been no change in human nature and no change in the eternal relations which exist between man and man. And in reply to the second objection it is enough to say that if the poor, the maimed, the lame, and the blind would not accept our invitation or would feel embarrassed and out of place if they did; still that does not make obsolete the command of Christ, and in any case we might seriously consider whether or not the gap between so-called classes of society has not been formed by the very persons who have homes refusing to share the comfort and plenty of them with those persons who have none.

And this statement of Christ means more than simply a command to feed some hungry people once in a while. I believe it means making the civilized home the center of humanizing and civilizing efforts. More and more the homes of the rich and educated are becoming the places of interchange between people of means and education. It is the same selfish, exclusive idea which in many churches has planted mission schools at a distance. The wealthy, aristocratic congregation goes to its own elegant edifice to worship and takes up a collection to help run a mission school. It is quite willing to do that. It doesn't have to come in contact with the disagreeable sights and smells of poverty and distress. So the home in America is quite willing to entertain its own kind intellectually or physically, but to throw its doors open to the needs of humanity is a different thing. Is it any wonder, when once in a rare while some refined home ventures to invite into its

comfortable circle the poor and lame, there is awkwardness and lack of congenial feeling, and suspicion of patronage, and a giving up of such practical Christianity in disgust at its results? And yet it seems very plain that Christ taught the necessity on the part of civilization, of personal individual contact with all sorts and conditions of men. It is not enough that we establish Refuges, and Homes, and Asylums, and Retreats, for the poor, the maimed, the lame, the blind. Into our own homes we must invite them and society will be called to account for the terrible waste of time and means spent in entertaining in order to be entertained. It may be civilization, but it is not Christianity.

I think I may be allowed at this point to mention another thing which seems to me to mark our civilization as not simply nonchristian but unchristian. And that is, the vast quantity of time, money and energy given to pleasures compared with the time, money and energy given to humanity. I am not one of those who, with Puritanical sourness of visage and rasping harshness of voice, declaim against innocent amusements and harmless recreations. I have never preached against card playing, or dancing, or theaters, as sinful in themselves. But civilized society, as it is commonly understood, has found its greatest energies spent in four directions: Entertaining those who will give again, playing cards, dancing, and attending the play. These four forms of amusement, recreation or pleasure, are the forms most frequently found in our civilization. And more time, money and energy are given to these four things than to any other one or even two. Now, as the world is at present, I do seriously believe all this expenditure of time in civilized life is wasteful and, in some instances, wicked. This is an age that calls for heroes, and lo! the dancing master arises. This is a century that cries aloud through a suffering humanity, and society organizes its card parties. These things are not wrong in themselves. No more is playing the fiddle, as has been said. But it is sheer cruelty to play it while Rome is burning. And the amusements of a race belong very largely to its childhood. A civilized man ought to drop his playthings when the call shall come to him to pick up his weapons.

I don't know how many young men I am hitting now, but I do want to utter my most tremendous protest against the useless amusements of society drawing rooms all over the world. My blood boils and my cheek burns with shame when I reflect that in my own city every week the people who live in the finest houses, and dine most luxuriously, and belong to what is called the best society, spend in costly card parties and dinners and dances, enough money to maintain for a year a home for street waifs, and just such an organization cannot get from the civilized community enough money in six months to provide for the actual starving needs of nearly fifty homeless boys and girls who drift into and through Topeka every winter month. These figures were given me by the chief of police, who has in public again and again called attention to the need of just such an institution as was started. And yet the superintendent of that institution told me a month ago that he feared the work would have to be abandoned, owing to the inability to get thirty dollars a month to pay all the running expenses. While more than $300 a month is spent by the good people of Topeka in entertaining the very people who, of all others, don't need to be entertained, because they have plenty to eat at home. I don't want to have you think that I have come to Lawrence to say all this for fear of my own folks. I have said the same things at home and I do not see as it has revolutionized society, either. There is an average of one new society club a week organized in Topeka all the year around, and the object of every one of these clubs is to do just what Christ told his disciples not to do—spend time and money entertaining those who will return the entertain-

ment in kind. I therefore indict civilized society as not only non-christian but un-christian. For the same conditions prevail all over civilized America and Europe as prevail here.

Much more might be said, if we had time, concerning the aspect of the home life in civilization. That it is far from Christian in many ways we may seriously question. There is scarcely a civilized home in Topeka, consisting of father, mother, and grown up boys and girls, where you can find the family all together one night in a week. In order to keep a group of boys and girls at home, something extraordinary must be done in the way of entertainment. The common homely pleasures of home will not do at all. I would venture the assertion, although I have no absolute statistics to back it up, that you may pick out a hundred civilized homes in any part of Topeka you may choose, and then select any night in the week you wish, and call at all those homes and you will not find a whole family together, all the members of it, in five homes out of the hundred. Society has absorbed the homes, more's the pity! And it is not Christian in its adherence to the teachings of Jesus Christ. It is non-christian in its expenditure of time, money and energy.

II. Let us look at the *Political Test.* Christ spoke very plainly and unmistakably on the political question. The one great aim of human government is the righteousness, prosperity, peace and happiness of all the people. Granted that that is a fair purpose for a government to have for existing, Christ spoke directly to the point. He said: "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and His righteousness and all these things shall be added unto you."

Let us look at the facts in the case as they actually are in this country: Will any man dare say that our civilization politically has been trying to obey, even in a slight degree, the command of Christ? I take the ground (I always have taken it) that Christ was the greatest statesman the world ever saw. He looked farther into the causes of poverty, crime, discontent, anarchy and inequality than any politician that ever lived. And He laid it down as an eternal principle in government that if people would seek God first, righteousness first, all the other things, the material, money, cash, property, and power, would inevitably follow. But our civilization has turned this principle upside down. In the recent campaign the one great thing hoisted into prominence was the tariff, a question of commercial expediency. And men's votes were sought for and their passions or prejudices aroused by arguments or eloquence directed to the pocket book. The prosperity of the country from a money point of view was the one great subject that engrossed men. Hardly a word was said during the whole campaign about the need of righteousness as the first thing. As one thoughtful man said after listening for three hours to brilliant political speeches in Faneuil Hall, Boston, "Not a word was dropped by a single speaker which recognized the existence of a *soul* in this Republic." In the letters of acceptance written by the candidates of the largest parties for the position of Head Executive of this nation, not one syllable was breathed to indicate that the first duty of this country was to seek the kingdom of God. The entire contents of those letters, with the exception of a few paragraphs, discussed a question of commercial expediency and defended a particular policy on the ground that moneyed prosperity would be the result if that policy were followed out. Not one word that recognized the greatest thing in the world for a nation, not one hint that Jesus Christ's command ought to be obeyed first. This may be political wisdom but I contend it is not Christian. For if Christ were President of the United States He would put individual righteousness before the tariff in the order of importance. He would say, "If you citizens of the United States, irrespective of party, will seek first

God's kingdom and God's righteousness, you will have the other things, the prosperity, the money, the power, the freedom from hard times and the absence of unrest and discontent." Have we done that yet, as a nation? Has not our struggle been for the spoils? The New York *Tribune*, the organ of the man nominated for the second place of honor in government, on the editorial page of an issue of last October had a long article which from beginning to end was one long trumpet note of rejoicing over the fact that, owing to the McKinley bill, an entire town in England had gone into bankruptcy and the inhabitants reduced to practical beggary. How much Christianity is there in the boasting of a nation that it feeds and clothes and educates its people at the expense of other countries? Yet that was the key note of a moneyed campaign and has been for years. Does not the same law apply to nations as to individuals? Can I obey the teachings of Christ in my business and deliberately manage it in such a way as to ruin other men financially? Yet is not that just what the New York *Tribune* and numerous other papers and speakers have boasted that we as a nation have done to other nations? There is no more Christianity in such statesmanship than in the act of the savage of the equator when he knocks out the brains of his neighbor with his club in order to get possession of his ivory deposit.

The fact is that in the political world the law of Christ is practically ignored. Plenty of good moral men, men who are church members and call themselves Christians, believe that there is no such thing as "mixing" (as they say) religion and politics. Yet it is the unmistakable teaching of Christ that life is all of one piece and that the first duty of a man is always and everywhere to seek first God's kingdom and righteousness. Civilization which does not try to do that in its government is not Christian. It may be moral, it may be astute, it may be powerful in certain ways, it may demand and get the respect of other nations as a power, it may build great works of art and produce wonderful writers, singers, philosophers, soldiers, artists and scientists, it may astonish the globe with its wealth and rival all the past with its material glory, and still be no more Christian than the most ignorant and depraved savage tribe that lives in a jungle and never saw a steam engine. Viewed from the light of Christ's direct personal teaching, can any man claim that our government is really and truly Christian in its purposes and in the management of the machinery of administration? Is the great majority of office holders, of the men who stand at the head of our three great departments of government, the Executive, the Legislative, the Judicial,—is it striving with heart, mind, soul and strength to love the Lord God and the neighbor as itself? If it is not, it is not Christian, for Christ said that was the first great law of human life.

III. Let us turn now to the *Religious Test*. In the matchless prayer recorded in John's Gospel, the 18th chapter, Christ said: "Neither pray I for these alone but for them also which shall believe on me through their word; that they may all be *one*."

That is, it was the plain teaching of Christ that His disciples should be united in the common work of redeeming mankind. Yet at no time in the ecclesiastical history of the world were there so many sects as now, and at no time, in spite of many real efforts at cooperation on the part of different denominations, has the church in civilized society been more jealous of rivalry or more reluctant to wage a common warfare against a common foe. I could cite, to prove this statement, enough instances to stagger the University Foot Ball Team. But here is one: There is a town in Kansas of 1500 people and thirteen different churches. Some time ago a person died who thought there was need of another denomination (I do not know what his complaint was unless he was superstitious about the figure 13) and

he left some money to help build a church of this particular sect. The people who had once belonged to this sect were members of other churches, working contentedly and happily in their church homes. But this money must be used. And I am in receipt of a letter written by the pastor of one of the thirteen churches, in which he says that members of his church are about to withdraw to form this new denomination and build up church No. 14 in a community where, if every living soul belonged to the existing churches, they would have an average membership of only 115 members. Nor is this an isolated fact without a parallel. There is hardly a town in the West where, if Christ were to go to preach, he would not stand aghast and sorrowful at the sight of five, six, seven or eight churches competing for the patronage of a population that for years to come, with all the advantages of emigration, cannot possibly support in any kind of vigorous work, more than two or three churches, and in very many cases not more than one. I believe Christ would denounce the sectarianism and denominationalism of our generation in the most scathing terms as non-christian and unchristian in spirit and in practice. And I most sincerely and emphatically believe that no one thing has done so much to injure the cause of God's Kingdom on earth as a divided Christendom. All the saloons and gambling hells and the allurements of big cities, all the infidelity, and atheism, and opposition to Christianity from without have not done so much to cause the world to sneer and scoff at Christianity as a divided discipleship of Christ. There is no Christian reason why the Episcopal, Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, Lutheran and Congregational churches should not be one church in reality as well as in name. There is nothing in the inherent nature of man, intellectually and theologically, that necessitates these separate organizations. There is nothing except the selfishness and obstinacy of men which is responsible for the one hundred and fifty sects of Christendom. It was the unchristian, not the Christian element in human nature that made so many denominations a historical fact. We do not deny that much good may have been done in the separate churches. What we assert is, that the entire church organization is to-day based on an unchristian instead of a Christian principle. It is doing its work on a basis of division instead of a basis of unity. It is useless to deny the existing facts. The church is divided. In England the strife between state--church and nonconformists is bitter. In America there is as yet no practical unity looking to the oneness of work and purpose desired by the Great Master. It is easy to prove this. Go into any of the hundreds of towns in Kansas where the Methodist, Presbyterian, Baptist and Congregational churches are struggling for existence, and ask one or perhaps two of them to give up or unite with one of the other churches and support the work with the necessary means and enthusiasm. Ask the Congregational church people to sell or dispose of their church property and together with the Presbyterians unite the membership and double up the salary of the minister and then pitch in and fight the saloon, the joint, the gambling house, the anything that needs pitching into the most. Prove to these churches that four churches in a population of 800 people is a damage to the cause of Christ and that two could do the work much more effectively, and ask them to double up. Yes—ask them. That is as far as you would get. Why, it would be the miracle of church history if they did double up—anything but their fists, at the mere suggestion of such a union. And yet I believe that is just what Christ would tell them to do. And it is what Christendom must do before our churches are really and at heart Christian. The civilized world has not fulfilled that prayer of Christ yet—"that they all may be one." The melancholy fact remains, that spite of signs of clearer dawn, Christendom is

divided instead of being united, and different sects are the scorn, perplexity and derision of the heathen world which we, in our superior civilization, are seeking to convert to a Christianity which as yet we do not possess ourselves.

There are at present some curious aspects of civilized life in connection with our Christian organizations of learning and our Christian press, that call for comment. It certainly is a fact large enough to cause comment, that two Christian colleges, among the largest and most influential in the country, select a day which by custom and practice has always been connected with religious services, for an athletic contest, so arranged that the religious services are ignored and put into a secondary place, or in some instances entirely omitted. For it is certainly a fair question to ask whether, in the process of education, Christianity would put into such prominence the animal over against the spiritual. I simply raise the question. I cannot take time to discuss it. Only, I believe if Christ was a citizen of New York on Thanksgiving Day He would go to the religious service instead of the football game, and if He were President of Yale or Princeton He would throw the weight of His influence with the students to have the game come off on Wednesday or Friday, and not on the day when every one is urged by the proclamations of the President of the United States and the Governors of the states to return thanks in places of public worship to Almighty God. One other aspect of civilization which of late has struck me as curiously non-christian, is the high price put upon everything good and the low price charged for everything bad. Take any of our publishing houses, religious and all, and they will put out a lovely book or magazine for $1, $2, $3; while all the printers of trash will sell anything you want in their line for a nickle. The Sunday School houses send out nice books for boys at 75 cents and $1.50, while the "*Life of the Dalton Gang*" can be bought on the corner for a dime! The same fact is true of the best things in our civilization when it comes to the best entertainments for the masses. The best preaching, the best singing, the best art, the best that can be obtained by travel costs so much that the great masses cannot touch it. There are not enough unselfish men of genius in Christendom to redeem our civilization from paganism. As soon as a man discovers that he can play the fiddle divinely, he straightway puts a price upon his genius and exacts his two hundred dollars or five hundred dollars a night before he will play for the delight of the world. It is the same with the sweet singer, the gifted orator, the matchless composer. O Humanity! When shall the world behold a genius who, satisfied with enough for his living, shall be willing to give much and often "*for nothing*," as the world would say, regarding himself in so far as simply an expression of Deity to be given to the world as much as possible for the world's great profit? Even as Christ came "not to be ministered unto but to give his life a ransom for many."

In this brief attempt to answer the question: "Is our civilization Christian?" the plain ground has been taken that civilization in its threefold aspect of *society*, *politics*, and *religious life* is *not*, as yet, Christian, according to the standards set up by the Founder of Christianity. The writer disclaims any tendency to pessimism. He is an optimist by birth, training and inclination. He believes the sun is just coming up, not just going down. He thinks there never was so grand a time to live as the present, on account of its great problems and the splendid opportunities just opening for the Church, the Home, and the University. He wishes he were eighteen years younger, so as to reach his majority when the Muse of History flings open the portal of the 20th century and dips her pen into the heart of a new life as she looks on the unstained tablet with a smile of prophetic enthusiasm. But spite of all the optimism and the longing, con-

viction will not down at empty bidding of it, and looking gravely, though hopefully, out on the lives of men and trying to gaze through the eyes of the Son of Man, that Peasant of Galilee, that Carpenter of Nazareth, that One who demanded of Humanity nothing short of perfection, the writer is compelled to say, albeit with reluctant sadness, "No—Our Civilization is not Christian,—no, not yet!"

CHAS. M. SHELDON.

UNITED STATES CENSUS BULLETINS ON MANUFACTURES.

THESE reports on manufactures in the United States are issued from time to time in pamphlet form for separate cities; but the series includes all the principal cities of the United States. The bulletins are issued by the Department of the Interior and are preliminary to the final reports which will be issued only in large volumes and in a much more complete shape.

Each report contains two tables. The first is a comparative table of totals of the years 1880 and 1890, giving the number of industries and establishments, capital and labor employed, wages paid, cost of materials, value of products, and some municipal data. The other table is one of detail, and usually includes from four to ten classes of industries, presumably selected as representing the greatest amount of capital employed. It is for 1890 and treats of capital employed, wages paid, labor employed, cost of materials, miscellaneous expenses, and the value of the product at the works. All these points are treated under subdivisions and in totals. Two new items incorporated into the Eleventh census are spoken of in the bulletins—labor employed and miscellaneous expenses. The troublesome question of "average wages" will be made more valuable in the final reports by separating labor and wage statistics into several classes. The other improvement over the Tenth census is the item of miscellaneous expense, which includes much of value that was heretofore excluded.

The purpose of the issue of such bulletins is left to the conjecture of the reader. Presumably, the advance issue is made so as to acquaint inquirers after mechanical data with the information as soon as possible. If that be the case, its usefulness is in a great measure destroyed by not being adequate to the wants of a thorough review of the subject. Only partial statements are made, thus causing deductions to be but half-truths. In one place a very slight intimation is given that, as the reports are preliminary to the final issue, an opportunity is afforded for criticism. But this, too, is of little use; since the bulletins represent only a very few industries of each city, no just criticism can be made. Not even the totals of a city's manufacturing interests can be verified, because very few are able to get at data which will give them an opportunity to make proper comparisons between the reports and the actual facts.

Following are some deductions of general interest made from the bulletins. By taking the twenty-five most important reports thus far issued, which in their tables of totals give figures for 1880 and 1890, it is seen that in only eleven cities is the percentage of increase of total capital larger than the percentage of increase of the total wages. In all other cases the percentage of increase of wages in 1890 over 1880 is much larger than the percentage of increase of capital during the same period. These increases vary greatly in different sections of the country and are due to varying causes. In the older manufacturing towns the lack of a proper comparative increase on the part of wages may in part be accounted for by the fact that old buildings must be replaced by better equipped and more costly ones, new machinery must be supplied, and a cheaper class of labor may be employed

in many instances. Still, in some other of the older towns the proportionate increase of wages is the highest, as compared with younger manufacturing districts. Thus in New York city the total wages increased 127.89 per cent., while the total capital reached an increase of but 97.37 per cent. In Denver, where wages were high, the opposite is true. There the total wages increased but 380.23 per cent., while the total capital far outran this by an increase of 533.01 per cent. Even after making these exceptions to proportionate increase of capital over wages and making due allowance for the difference of meaning* attributed to the word "capital" in the 1880 and 1890 censuses, which partially unfits them for comparison, we must admit that there has been a healthy increase to the credit of the wages class as a whole.

In these same twenty-five cities, by a comparison of the total wages paid and the number employed there is only one city in which the "average wages" are less in 1890 than in 1880. In all the other cities there is an increase, ranging from 7.69 per cent. to 77.62 per cent., but in most cases between 30 and 50 per cent. No reason is given for the decrease of 1.08 per cent. in the average wages of Mobile, Alabama, but in the case of the smallest increase of average wages (Utica, N. Y., 7.69 per cent.) a plausible explanation is given. There the small comparative increase of average wages is due to the greater increase, over 1880, of the number of women and children employed as compared with the increase of the number of men employed. This reduced the increase of the average wages, as women and children do not receive such high wages as do the men.† In the western cities, where the increase of wages is small as compared with the older eastern cities, it would seem reasonable enough to say that there was a gradual gravitation toward the normal wages, from the abnormal average of wages incident to a new country. It is quite natural that a larger supply should be in the labor market. Much of this increase of average wages is due to the fact that relatively more men and less women and children were employed in 1890 than in 1880 and also that by an increase of machinery and by the output of a better product, more skilled labor must be used.

In seven cities east of the Mississippi river and south of the Ohio river the highest average wages paid in any one city was $520, while the average for the seven cities was $431. In twelve cities east of the Mississippi river and north of the Ohio river the highest average wages for any one city was $569, while an average of $497 was paid in the twelve cities. In five cities west of the Mississippi the highest average wages for any one city was $793 and the average wages for the five cities was $648. These figures are for 1890. Without going behind the figures this would seem to indicate that much higher wages were paid in the west than in the east, and higher in the north than in the south; but does it follow that the northern and western laborers are in better circumstances?

However much these figures may seem to show, it should always be remembered how difficult it is to gain any positive knowledge from totals of this kind, for in one instance the numbers of workmen may be swelled by the addition of much cheap labor, thus reducing the average; and in another instance the average may be greatly increased by exactly opposite conditions. In order to lessen this difficulty in comparison and to make the data much more reliable, the superintendent of the census has greatly changed the character of data for the Eleventh census. This change will make comparisons with

* The question respecting capital in 1880 census was neither sufficiently comprehensive nor properly understood, and therefore the full amount of capital employed was not reported. The present census inquiry included all property or assets strictly pertaining to a manufacturing business, whether owned, borrowed or hired.—[p. 4 of Bulletin.

† In the manufacture of men's clothing, cotton goods, fur goods, and hosiery and knit goods, 2 008 women were employed in 1880 and 4,845 in 1890 giving an increase of 157.70 per cent. The same industries employed 1,138 men in 1880 and 1,962 men in 1890, giving an increase of only 72,40 per cent.—[Bulletin for Utica, N. Y., p. 2,

previous reports somewhat unsatisfactory, but the value of the statistics themselves and their value for future comparison will be greatly enhanced. In the inquiry after data the classified occupation and wage system was adopted. Officers or firm members engaged in productive labor constituted one class; clerical labor and piece-workers constituted separate classes. Wage workers were divided into two classes—(1) operatives, overseers, foremen (not general superintendents or managers) and other skilled workmen; (2) watchmen, laborers, teamsters and other unskilled workmen. Statements were required of the average number each of men, women, and children employed in each class during the year and the actual total wages paid to each class. Other statements showed "the various rates of wages per week, the average number of men, women, and children, respectively, employed at each rate, exclusive of those employed on piece work."

Taking the specific tables for 1890 one finds that in many respects they are unworthy of trust. The San Francisco, California, table, embracing but ten industries, represents 35.8 per cent. of the whole manufacturing capital invested in San Francisco, while the same table includes 34.88 per cent. of the number employed and 30.74 per cent. of the wages paid. By taking such unproportional data and making deductions one cannot fail to obtain erroneous results. For instance, according to the specified table the average annual wages in San Francisco were $561.23, while the total table gives an average of $637.33. The same is true of other cities. In New York, according to the specific table, average wages were $567.70, while the total table gave $649.73.

The data for 1890 given in the different bulletins are not at all uniform, thus making them worthless for comparison in detail and uncertain for accurate comparison even in totals. To make just comparisons we must compare things as nearly alike as possible. In the reports of thirty-four cities, were represented a total of sixty-six industries, and no one city had more than ten. Of these only one industry was common to thirty-two cities; one to twenty-four; one to nineteen; and one to sixteen. The other sixty-three industries were scattered so that a few were found in but one or two cities. In only eight cities could as many as four common industries be found.

Although the bulletins have so many faults as to make it questionable if their usefulness would balance the expense of publication, it still remains true that, being enabled to have these reports something like a year before the full and final tables will be ready, is certainly a privilege which many students will thankfully receive. Tolerably correct general ideas can certainly be formed and inferences drawn which could not have any weight otherwise. As far as it goes, it is the latest accurate statistical data to be had on the subject of manufactures. By presenting each city separately it is much more convenient for reference and will solicit study much more readily than if lost in a large bulky volume. Individual interest will be aroused to make comparisons. Probably from these last two facts the greatest ultimate benefit will accrue to the dissemination of knowledge and interest in social and political problems.

WM. J. KREHBIEL.

- SEMINARY - NOTES. -

PUBLISHED ON THE FIRST DAY OF OCTOBER, NOVEMBER, DECEMBER, FEBRUARY, MARCH, APRIL AND MAY, BY THE SEMINARY OF HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCE. State University, Lawrence, Kansas.

Frank W. Blackmar,
Frank H. Hodder, - - - - *Editors.*
Ephraim D. Adams,

Terms, Ten Cents a Number, - Fifty Cents a Year

THE purpose of this publication is to increase the interest in the study of historical science in the University and throughout the State, to afford means of regular communication with corresponding members of the Seminary and with the general public—especially with the Alumni of the University, and to preserve at least the outlines of carefully prepared papers and addresses. The number of pages in each issue will be increased as rapidly as the subscription list will warrant. The entire revenue of the publication will be applied to its maintenance.

Address all subscriptions and communications to

F. W. BLACKMAR,
Lawrence, Kansas.

MANY of the readers of the NOTES will remember Rev. Chas. M. Sheldon's article "Sociology from the standpoint of a minister." In this number we publish another article by Mr. Sheldon which should be of interest to all. It was read before the Historical Seminary of Dec. 2nd.

THE criticism of the Census Bulletins on Manufactures, contributed to this number of the NOTES by Mr. Krehbiel, is a very fair one indeed. The Census Bureau has received the most adverse criticism because of the publication of these Manufactures Bulletins, the general feeling of papers of both political parties being that the average wages shown for 1890 was altogether too large an increase over the average wages for 1880. It is because of this bulletin more than anything else that the census is called a "partisan census." Mr. Krehbiel is a member of the class in Statistics, and examines the bulletin from a statisticians point of view. He finds something good, and much that is to be condemned, purely from the statisticians point of view i. e., upon the question of information given by or to be deduced from the bulletin.

RECENT affairs in Europe have been very interesting. In the midst of the excitement over the fall of a French Ministry, a Paris paper, the *Journal* claims to have received a copy of the Triple Alliance, which has been kept so secret. The *Journal*, refuses to state how the document was secured, and the general impression seems to be that it is a fraud. Such things are always interesting, however, because of the doubt attached to them. Students of history will be interested in making a clipping of it for future reference. It can be found in most of the daily papers for Dec. 1st, 1892.

THE manner in which the new universities have taken up the work of university extension shows the democratic tendency of higher education. The older universities are unbending to catch the spirit of the general diffusion of knowledge. University education is no longer to be considered in the light of the culture of a small circle of favored ones. The development of the state universities of the west as great schools of the people, the endowment of the magnificent private institutions and the establishment of many church schools have greatly widened the opportunities of the American youth. More than this the great improvement of the material condition of the people of our country makes it possible for them to enjoy the benefits of the opportunities offered. If higher education is good for a few, why is it not good for all? Granting that it is good for all, to whom is it possible? University extension deals with these two ideas. While a few are journeying along the highway of knowledge, university extension has pointedly asked: "Where are the rest of our fellow citizens? Why are they denied this extreme favor of learning? Do they not need it; are they

not deserving? Does not the universal education which is the boast of this country include universal *higher* education?" The other question is not of a more practical nature but highly essential. How far is it possible to extend the higher education to the masses and how may it be done? These are the questions of importance in university extension. University extension is thus the sociology of education. In its processes it may appeal to individual development but in its fundamental idea it has at heart the elevation of the masses of humanity. It proposes to carry out as far as possible the theory of universal education. It proposes to build up organic society. A university may have other purposes. It may seek to build up within its walls scientific knowledge to establish a fountain of learning, a criterion of truth. And this is well for the few who dig and delve in the university cloisters. It is also well for general humanity, who in a general way, reap the reward of scientific investigation. But university extension tries to obtain a special leverage on humanity and elevate it by direct application of teaching force. Colleges and universities have always held in a greater or lesser degree, that the few should be well educated, not only for the sake of individual culture but that they might be leaders of the people. University extension goes a step further and asks that the people be educated so that they may lead themselves. But with all of this acknowledgment to what extent may this be done? Is it possible for every one to become a college graduate? By no means, nor even probable were it possible. But the advantages of a modern universi'y are various. A young man may choose to take a set course of instruction through which he may plod with all courage and vigor having in view a diploma as the chief reward of labor. Another may remain in school but two years, instead of four, and select studies in the mean time that best suit his purpose. The latter may be credited with a university education as well as the former, although he has no set iron clad course nor even a degree. Indeed the latter may have received more university training in the two years than the former within the four. So too, thousands of people who may not be residents of colleges or universities may receive genuine university education. Possibly not a full course, not a degree, but all they receive is sound university instruction, which they are able to appreciate. These persons are benefitted to this extent and the service of university instruction is widened. To be really efficient this instruction must be given in the spirit of helpfulness. It must reach beyond the advertising process to become really helpful. It must be given with extreme patience for the difficulties are many. It must be given with hope, for if long and faithfully continued it will bring its own reward to successful effort.

THE historical seminary of the University of Wisconsin, under the direction of Professors Turner and Haskins, has been investigating the history of the various foreign groups in the state, a work which might be done to good advantage here in Kansas. In a recent paper on "Wisconsin's German Element" Miss Kate Everest directs attention to an early effort to Germanize one of the states of the Union. In consequence of reaction following the revolutions of 1830, there was a large German emigration to America immediately after that year. Societies were formed in Germany for the purpose of making organized settlements in this country, but none succeeded in this object. In 1835 a society called Germania was organized in New York for the purpose of founding a German settlement, where the language and customs of the Fatherland could be preserved. Congress had recently granted land in Michigan and Illinois to Polish fugitives and the Germania society applied for a similar grant for Germans but was refused. The next plan was to direct German settlers to some one state of the Union and thus get control of it and make it a German state. There was disagree-

ment as to the state to be chosen; the society disbanded and its members were scattered over the United States. A similar movement started in Pennsylvania in 1836. One plan was to Germanize that state by establishing the German language in the courts and schools upon an equality with English, but this was defeated in the legislature. The only practical result of the movement was the purchase of 12,000 acres of land in Missouri and the founding of the town of Hermann. After the plan of Germanizing an American state was given up in America, it was occasionally agitated by German writers abroad, as in the Bluntschli-Bratu *Staats-Woerterbuch* and in Roschers "Political Economy.". But such plans have long since been given up, and Germans in America agree with Carl Schurz in thinking "that they are not called upon to form a separate nationality, that as Germans they have no peculiar interests in the political life of the republic, but that the universal well-being is theirs also."

It is not at all probable that the International Monetary Conference now in session will accomplish anything of permanent value in the form of a plan which will be adopted by the majority of the nations represented in the conference. But the extreme selfishness of European powers and their insatiable greed for financial power regardless of the common wants of humanity will re-assert themselves in stronger type than formally. Whatever concessions may be made we may rest assured that the ruling financial powers of Europe will do nothing to lessen their control of the money market. They hold more tenaciously to their ancient prestige in this respect than they do to their system of standing armies. We have been told from time to time that England has been steadily growing toward bi-metalism. Perhaps the sentiments of the people are changing somewhat in this respect, but the government has never yet shown any sincere intentions of making any radical change in favor of silver. England is still strongly monometallic. In considering the general ultimate benefit of nations and of England especially, they would be greatly benefitted if some international plan could be established for the proper use of silver along with gold. But just now when the control of English government is under the power of money loaners, while it is for the apparent immediate benefit to use India as a silver country and keep England on a gold basis that the latter may always obtain the margin of trade, while the steady work of financial conquest of the South American republics goes on, and while London still remains the money market of the world, it is more profitable in a financial way for England to hold specifically to a gold basis and allow other nations to grant more favorable terms to silver. The proposition of Rothschild for the governments of Europe to make a combined annual purchase of silver amounting to less than $25,000,000, while the United States shonld continue the purchase of 45,000,000 ounces per annum is absurd on the face of it and represents the spirit of European powers in regard to the money market. The conference acted wisely in rejecting such a proposition even though they are likely to get no better from that source. Such a plan would rather increase the burdens of the United States than lighten them, in case a panic in silver should come, for the purchase of only $25,000,000 by the combined powers could have but little influence in the establishment of a steady value to silver. As each nation would be responsible for its own conduct in coinage, any depreciation of silver would affect the nation most that handled the largest amount. The United States has about as large a burden as it can well carry by the law of July 14, 1890. This is already beginning to be felt in some circles and will doubtless be felt more as time passes. It may be necessary to modify the present law before we reach a final adjustment, so that the purchase will be less than at present. The chief European nations are greedy for gold, and so long as they continue in this spirit they will not look kindly toward a fair treatment of silver, especially so long as there is a tendency of American nations to give silver prominence and to allow the European nations to reap the benefit. Doubtless England would be benefitted in the long run by a liberal policy in this matter but we need not expect that. She has always taken more interest in colonization than missionary work. Just now political colonization in America seems out of the question but there is no reason why she should not continue commercial and financial colonization in America as well as elsewhere. To this end the United States should be very careful in the future in regard to the disposition of silver.

COURSES OF STUDY

IN

HISTORY AND SOCIOLOGY.

FOR 1892-93.

F. W. BLACKMAR, PH. D.
F. H. HODDER, PH. M.
E. D. ADAMS, PH. D.

Instruction in this department is given by means of lectures, conferences, recitations, discussions, and personal direction in study and research. As the library is an indispensable aid in the pursuit of the following courses of study, students are expected to become acquainted with the best methods of collecting and classifying materials, and of writing and presenting papers on special topics. All lectures are supplemented by required reading and class exercises.

The work of the department now embraces five principal lines of study, namely: European History, American History and Civil Government, Political Institutions, Sociology or Social Institutions, and Political Economy.

The following studies are offered for 1892-'93:

FIRST TERM.

1. The History of Civilization. Lectures daily, at 8:30. Ancient Society, and the intellectual development of Europe to the twelfth century. Special attention is given to the influence of Greek philosophy and the Christian church on European civilization, the relation of learning to liberal government, and to the rise of modern nationality.

2. French and German History. Daily, at 9:30. Descriptive history. Text-book.

3. Historical Method and Criticism. Tuesday and Thursday, at 9:30. Examination and classification of sources and authorities. Analysis of the works of the best historians. Library work, with collection and use of material, notes, and bibliography. Special attention to current historical and economic literature.

4. The History of Education and the Development of Methods of Instruction. Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, at 9:30. This course may be taken with No. 3. A course for teachers.

5. English History. Daily, at 11. Descriptive history. Text-book.

6. Journalism. Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, at 12. Lectures, laboratory and library work. English: Twenty-five lecturts by Professors Dunlap and Hopkins; 15 lectures on the history and ethics of journalisn, by Professor Adams. Newspaper bureau. The principal object of the bureau is to enable students to form habits of systematic reading, to keep informed on the topics of the day, and to preserve clippings properly filed and indexed. This course will be found highly beneficial to students who desire a special study in magazines and newspapers as a general culture.

7. Statistics. Tuesday and Thursday at 12. Supplementary to all studies in economics and sociology. The method of using statistics is taught by actual investigation of political and social problems, lectures, and class-room practice. The history and theory of statistics receive due attention.

8. American History. From the earliest discovery to 1763. Lectures, topical reading, and recitations. Three hours a week at 2.

9. L and Municipal Government. Lectures and topical reading. Two hours a a week at 2.

Courses 8 and 9 are intended to be taken together as a full study, but may be taken separately.

10. American History. Presidential administrations from Washington to Jackson. Daily, at 3. Open to Seniors in full standing, and to other students upon approval of the instructor.

11. International Law and Diplomacy. Lectures and recitations. Two hours a week, at 4.

12. Political Economy. Daily, at 4. The fundamental principles are discussed, elaborated and illustrated by examples from present economic society. A brief history of Political Economy closes the course.

SECOND TERM.

13. Institutional History. Lectures Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, at 8:30, on comparative politics and administration. Greek Roman, and Germanic institutions compared. Historical significance of Roman law in the middle eges. Short study in Prussian administration.

14. Renaissance and Reformation. Tuesday and Thursday, at 8:30. Lectures. The revival of learning with especial reference to the Italian renaissance. A careful inquiry into the cause, course and results of the Reformation. This course may be taken as a continuation of number 1.

15. Political History of Modern Europe. Tuesday and Thursday at 9:30. Text-book.

16 Federal Government and the French Revolution. Lectures, Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, at 9:30, on Switzerland. The Italian republics and the States General of France.

17 Constitutional History of England. Tuesday and Thursday, at 9:30. This course may be taken as a continuation of number 5. Text-book and lectures.

18 Elements of Sociology. Lectures, Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, at 11. Evolution of social institutions. Laws and conditions that tend to organize society. Modern social institutions and social problems.

19. Charities and Correction. Tuesday and Thursday, at 11. Treatment of the poor from a historical standpoint. Modern scientific charity. The treatment of criminals. Prisons and reformatories. Practical study of Kansas institutions. This course is supplementary to number 18.

20. Land Tenures. Lectures, Tuesday and Thursday, at 12. This course treats of primitive property, the village community, feudal tenures, and modern land-holding in Great Britain and the United States. This course is mainly historical, and is an excellent preparation for the study of the law of real property.

21. American History. Continuation of course 8. First half-term: History of the Revolution and the Confederation, 1763 to 1769. Second half-term: Brief summary of the constitutional period, with Johnston's "American Politics" as a text-book. Three hours a week, at 2.

22. Constitutional Law. History of the adoption of the constitution, and a study of its provisions. Twice a week, at 2. Forms, with course 21, a full study, but may be taken separately.

23 American History. Continuation of course 10. Presidential administrations from Jackson to Lincoln. Daily, at 3.

24 Mediæval History. Two-fifths of the second term of the Freshman year. For all students whose admission papers show that they have had elementary physics, hygiene and chemistry. Daily, at 3. Text-book.

25. Principles of Public Finance. Lectures on public industries, budget legislation, taxation and public debts. Open to students who have studied political economy one term. Two hours a week, at 4.

26 The Status of Woman. Conferences. Tuesday and Thursday, at 4. Industrial condition, including a study of labor, wages, etc. Woman in the professions. Their political and legal abilities and disabilities. Property rights. Condition of woman in Europe and the Orient. Social questions.

27. Advanced Political Economy. Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, at 4. Consisting of (*a*) lectures on applied economics; (*b*) practical observation and investigation; and (*c*) methods of research, with papers by students on special topics. This course is a continuation of number 12.

General Seminary, on Friday, at 4. Students in History and Sociology are required to attend the Seminary unless excused by special arrangement. Full credit will be allowed for time spent in Seminary work. At the beginning of the term, students may elect other work in place of the seminary, if they choose.

SUGGESTED MAJOR COURSES FOR UNDER-GRADUATES.

I. **Economics.** Courses 7, 12, 18, 19, 20, and 27.

II. **European History.** Courses, 2, 3, 5, 13, 15, and 16.

III. **American History.** Courses 8, 9, 10, 21, 22, and 23.

IV. **Social Institutions.** Courses, 1, 12, 14, 18, 19, and 4 (or 26)

V. **Political Institutions.** Courses 3, 7, 9, 15, 13, 16, 17, 20, and 22.

GRADUATE COURSES.

Persons desiring to take the degree of A. M. may do so by the completion of any one or all of the following courses. The work is carried on by the investigation of special topics under the personal direction of the instructor. An hour for conference will be arranged for each student. The courses extend throughout the year.

I. **American History.** Open to graduates and students who have studied American History two years.

II. **Economics.** Open to graduates and students who have taken the undergraduate work in political economy. Courses 12, 27, and 8

III **Political and Social Institutions.** Open to graduates and students who have taken the undergraduate work in the history of institutions and sociology. Courses 12, 27, and 7

The above courses are for students who desire proficiency in a special line. These courses will not in any way interfere with the general rules of the Faculty respecting graduate work.

(Catalogue, 1891-'92, pp 120, 121) By these rules, a graduate student may take any of the 27 courses mentioned above (except 15 and 24) as a preparation for the degree of A M.

Preparation for Fntrance to the University. The time spent in the high schools in the study of history is necessarily limited. For this reason it is essential that the greatest care be exercised in preparing students for entrance to the University. At present very little history is required in the Freshman and Sophomore years, and the students enter upon the study of the Junior and Senior years without thorough preparation for the work. It would seem that the aim should be for all those who contemplate entering the University to learn the story of nations pretty thoroughly. A general outline of the world's history with a special study of the United States History and government represents the field. But this outline should be more than a mere skeleton of facts and dates. It should be well rounded with the political, social, and economic life of the people. Students will find a general text-book, such as Myer's, Sheldon's, or Fisher's, indispensible; but the work of preparation ought not to stop here Such works as Fyffe's Greece, Creighton's Rome, Seebohm's Era of Protestant Revolution, Cox's Greece, and others in the Primer, Epoch, and Stories of Nations series ought to be read. The object of this reading is to familiarize the student with the polit c il and social life of the principle nations of the world. For this purpose everything should be as interesting as possible. Such an interest should be aroused that the student would not be puzzled over dates and threadbare facts, but would seize and hold those things that are useful on account of the interest his mind has in them. That history which is gained by a bare memory of events is soon lost It grows too dim for use and consequently leads to confusion. With the story of the nations well learned the student comes to the University prepared for the higher scientific study of history and its kindred topics He is then ready for invest.gation, comparison and analysis. He then takes up the real investigation of the philosophy o institutions and of national development He is then ready for the science of Sociology, Institutional History, Political Economy, the Science of Government, Statistics or Political Economy. Students who enter the University without this preparation find it necessary to make up for it as best they can by the perusal of books, such as those mentioned above.

STUDENTS' LIBRARIES.

Every student in the University should lay the foundation of a good working library. Such libraries are not "made to order" at some given time, under specially favorable financial conditions—but are the result of considerable sacrifice, and are of slow growth. The wise expenditure of even ten dollars in each term will bring together books which if thoroughly mastered will be of great assistance in all later life. Room-mates, or members of the same fraternity, by combining their libraries and avoiding the purchase of duplicates, can soon be in possession of a most valuable collection of authors. Assistance in selecting and in purchasing will be given upon application.

The prices named below are the list prices of the publishers.

Students are required to purchase books marked with an asterisk.

American Book Company, Chicago.

Manual of the Constitution, Andrews	$ 1.00
Analysis of Civil Government, Townsend	1.00
Civil Government, Peterman	.60
History of England, Thalheimer	1.00
Mediæval and Modern History, Thalheimer	1.60
Outlines of History, Fisher	2.40
General History of the World, Barnes	1.60
Political Economy, Gregory	1.20
Lessons in Political Economy, Champlin	.90

Ginn & Co., Boston and Chicago.

Ancient History, Myers & Allen	$ 1.50
Mediæval and Modern History, Myers	1.50
Political Science and Comparative Law, Burgess,	5.00
Macy's Our Government	.75
*General History, Myers	1.50
Leading facts in English History, Montgomery	1.12
Philosophy of Wealth, Clark	1.00
Political Science Quarterly. Yearly	3.00
Washington and His Country, Fiske	1.00

Harpers, New York.

*History of Germany, Lewis	1.50
*International Law, Davis	2.00
*Political History of Modern Times, Mueller	2.00
*Short English History, Green	1.20
Civil Policy of America, Draper	2.00
History of English People, Green, 4 vols	10.00
History of United States, Hildreth, 6 vols	12.00
The Constitution, Story	.90

Holt & Co., New York.

*American Politics, Johnston	$ 1.00
American Colonies, Doyle, 3 vols	9.00
American Currency, Sumner	2.50
History of Modern Europe, Fyffe, 3 vols	7.50
Political Economy, Walker	2.25

Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

Discovery of America, Fiske, 2 vols	$ 4.00
American Commonwealths, 14 vols., each	1.25
American Statesmen, 24 vols., each	1.25
American Revolution, Fiske, 2 vols	4.00
Critical Period of American History, Fiske	2.00
Epitome of History, Ploetz	3.00
Christopher Columbus, Winsor	4.00

Appleton, New York.

Dynamic Sociology, Ward, 2 vols	$ 5.00
History of Civilization, Guizot	1.25
Political Economy, Mill, 2 vols	6.00

Cranston & Stowe, Chicago.

*Political Economy, Ely	$ 1.00

Macmillan, New York.

Constitutional History, England, Stubbs, 3 vols.	$ 7.80
Principles of Economics, Marshall, vol. I	3.00

Armstrong, New York.

*Democracy in Europe, May, 2 vols	$ 2.50

G. P Putnam's Sons, New York and London.

*American Citizen's Manual, Ford	$ 1.25
Unwritten Constitution of the U. S., Tiedeman	1.00
History of Political Economy, Blanqui	3.00
Introduction to Eng. Econon. Hist. and Theory, Ashley	1.50
Indust. and Com. Supremacy of Eng., Rogers	3.00
Economic Interpretations of History, Rogers	3.00
Constitutional History of the U. S., Sterne	1.25
*Tariff History of the United States, Taussig	1.25
The Story of Nations, 34 vols., each	1.50
Heroes of the Nations, 12 vols., each	1.50
American Orations, ed. by Johnston, 3 vols., each	1.25

Callaghan & Co., Chicago.

Constitutional History of U. S., Von Holst, 6 vol	$20.00
Constitutional Law of U. S., Von Holst	2.00
Political Economy, Roscher, 2 vols	6.00

Crowell, New York.

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SEMINARY NOTES.

STATE UNIVERSITY—LAWRENCE, KANSAS.

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SEMINARY OF HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCE.

All students connected with the department of History and Sociology are, by virtue of such connection, members of the Seminary. All students are expected to attend the Seminary unless excused by the instructors of the department. Students are credited with the time spent in Seminary work.

The meetings of the Seminary are held every Friday, in Room 15, University Building. Public meetings will be held from time to time, after due announcement.

The work of the Seminary consists of special papers and discussions, on topics connected with the Department mentioned; prepared as far as possible from consultation of original sources and from practical investigation of existing conditions, under the personal direction of the officers of the Seminary.

Special assistance in choice of themes, authorities, etc., is given members of the Seminary who have written work due in the department of History and Sociology, or in the department of English, or in any of the literary societies or other similar organizations in the University; on condition that the results of such work shall be presented to the Seminary if so required.

In connection with the work of the Seminary, a Newspaper bureau is maintained. In this the leading cities of the United States are represented by some twenty daily and weekly newspapers. The principal object of the Bureau is to enable students to form habits of systematic reading, to keep informed on the current topics of the day, to study the best types of modern journalism, to learn to discriminate between articles of temporary value only and those of more permanent worth, to make a comparative study of editorial work, to master for the time being the current thought on any particular subject, and to preserve by clippings properly filed and indexed, important materials for the study of current history and public life—to *make* history by the arrangement and classification of present historical matter.

Special investigation and study will be undertaken during each year, bearing on some one or more phases of the administration of public affairs in this state; the purpose being to combine service to the state with the regular work of professional and student life. In this special work the advice and co-operation of state and local officials and of prominent men of affairs is constantly sought, thus bringing to students the experience and judgment of the world about them.

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The library of the University and the time of the officers of the Seminary are at the service of corresponding members, in connection with Seminary work—within reasonable limits.

More than twenty gentlemen, prominent in official and professional circles, have already connected themselves with the Seminary, and have rendered very acceptable service during past years.

The officers and members of the Seminary will gladly render all possible assistance to any public officials who may desire to collect special statistics or secure definite information on such lines of public work as are properly within the sphere of the Seminary.

Any citizen of Kansas interested in this work is invited to correspond with the Seminary, and to be present at its meetings when possible.

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DIRECTOR.

FRANK H. HODDER,
VICE-DIRECTOR.

EPHRAIM D. ADAMS,
SECRETARY.

SOME STEPS IN THE SOLUTION OF THE INDIAN PROBLEM.

THREE years ago the first day of last October I became superintendent of Haskell Institute, and, at that time, entered upon the work of Indian education. Last year, in the Indian office at Washington, I met a well known official who has been engaged in the Indian service for the last eighteen years. To my inquiry, "What is your solution of the Indian problem?" I received the following brief but suggestive reply: "I haven't any." As my period of service has been so comparatively brief, it may seem presumptous that I have consented to come before you and discuss for a few minutes the Indian problem. The Indian question is something like the poor, for we have it always with us, or rather have had since the beginning of our government, and doubtless will have for many years to come. It is perplexing and interesting, easily solved on paper, but these paper theories seldom bear fruit in practical results.

Every section of our land has at one time or another come directly in contact with the Indians. Their names are found everywhere, and many of the places that once knew them now know them no more. From Passamaquoddy and Winnipiseogee to Chemawa and Yuma, from Manitoba to Tallahassee they have left their musical names on lake and stream, on mountain and valley, but in most instances it is merely a name. The Indian is closely interwoven in the history of our country from the earliest times. We cannot read of the landing of the Pilgrims, or the coming of Penn and Raleigh, without finding the Indian playing an important part, and it is the claim of some historians that if the early treatment accorded him had been continued, Indian wars, massacres, and the sad ravages of the torch would have been unknown. Certain it is that where in the early days kind treatment was accorded him, mutual peace and good feeling ensued. Bancroft says: "The treaty made between Massasoit and the Pilgrims is the oldest act of diplomacy recorded in New England," and adds, "it was concluded in a day and was sacredly kept for more than half a century." How different was the treatment accorded the Indians by Ralph Lane, the governor of Sir Walter Raleigh's colony. It is Bancroft also who says: "Immediately and without any signs of hostile intentions by the Indians, the watchword was given and the Christians (in view of so many subsequent similar experiences, may we not rightly consider the term used ironically) falling upon the king and his principal followers, put them to death." Ridpath, referring to Penn's treatment of the Indians, says: "Standing before them with grave demeanor and speaking by an interpreter, he said: 'My friends, we have met on the broad pathway of good faith. We are of one flesh and blood. Being brethren, no advantage shall be taken on either side. When disputes arise, we will settle them in council. Between us there shall be nothing but love.'" The chief replied: "While the rivers run and the sun shines, we will live in peace with the children of William Penn." No record was made of the treaty for none was needed. Its terms were written not on decaying parchment, but on the living hearts of men. No deeds of violence or injustice ever marred the sacred covenant. The Indians vied with the Quakers in keeping unbroken the pledge of perpetual peace. For more than seventy years, during which the Province remained under the control of the Friends, not a single war whoop was heard in the Province of Pennsylvania. The Quaker hat and coat proved to be a better defense for the

wearer than coat of mail and musket. My purpose in treating this subject is to do justice to both sides. There is abundant evidence to show that in the early days, before the Indian had come in contact with the baneful influences that unfortunately are met with in civilized life, he manifested a much greater spirit of friendliness and other desirable traits than have been found in later experiences.

The Indian has many and varied traits, but those that have had the greatest influence upon the whites in their treatment of him have been his roving nature and scalp-taking tendency. Not in the beginning were they war-like with the whites, but with each other, and later on, with each other and the whites. His wandering nature, unwillingness to bear restraint, a desire to come and go at his own sweet will, and to consider everything that he met as his own, proclaims him the original socialist or anarchist of the continent. These characteristics have been the real cause of his estrangement from the whites and of his being forced by the whites farther and farther westward from the Atlantic. In the early history of the United States it was laid down by distinguished statesmen that the country east of the Mississippi should be held entirely by the whites, that the Indians should all be moved farther west, and the country west of the Mississippi should be given up to them. It was believed by this arrangement there would be an absence of the hostilities and costly wars that had been caused by the whites and Indians coming in contact with each other. Indian tribes have been moved time after time until they have come to feel that they are wanderers on the earth, liable to be moved again at any moment. Sad and tearful have been many of these journeys, for the Indian is always deeply attached to the place of his birth. If I could dwell at length upon these sad and forced migrations, we would find there have been experiences well-nigh as sad as the transporting to distant places of the Acadians from their beautiful and fertile valley. The Mississippi, however, did not remain the boundary line, for selfish, aggressive and adventurous whites crossed over and invaded the so-called Indian country, and the wars and massacres of the East were repeated in the country beyond the Father of Waters, and even beyond the Smoky Water. These experiences resulted in the establishing of reservations. The plan was to set apart for one or more tribes a definite amount of territory and require the Indians to remain thereon. An Indian agent was placed over them with rules and regulations of the Interior Department framed and in harmony with congressional enactments, to govern and direct him in the performance of his duties. The system gradually deprived the Indian of the ordinary means of subsistence obtained in the chase, and hence there arose the system of issuing rations, a system carried out in accordance with treaties made by the general government and the various tribes whereby a certain amount of food and clothing is issued yearly to each member of the tribe. This at once encouraged a state of idleness, for it is not in the line of either Indian or white human nature to put forth exertion when food and clothing can be obtained without effort. With such a system the agent is well-nigh, and must be as long as the system exists, a lord high chancellor; a czar, he has sometimes been termed, with supreme power. As time went on there came to be some modification or limit placed upon the agent's jurisdiction whereby a court of Indian offences was established and also a system of Indian police. These courts are usually presided over by judges, selected by the agent with the approval of the Indian office. His aim was to select men of the greatest integrity and influence for good in the tribe, and to their credit it must be said that, as a rule, these judges have, in their work and their decisions, been characterized by eminent good sense and the courts have come to be greatly respected by the

Indians themselves. I will give an instance to illustrate this respect, and also the willingness with which they obey the decisions of their judges. It once came to the ears of the agent of the Poncas that White Eagle, one of the chiefs of the tribe and judges of the court of Indian offences, together with another Indian, had become intoxicated. The court was convened and the occasion for convening it was stated by the agent to the assembled judges. White Eagle admitted the truth of the charge and said in substance to the agent: "From the earliest times white people have been trying to keep whisky from their own people and have not yet succeeded. Do you think they can succeed in keeping it from the Indians?" White Eagle is evidently a re-submissionist. The decision pronounced by the judges upon their associate and his friend was that they two should put up, during the approaching summer, all the hay needed by the entire tribe. At the proper time White Eagle and his friend, with some others who had been sentenced at various times, began the work of putting up the hay.

I am frequently asked if Indian children are different from white children. It is my usual reply that after we become acquainted with them and they with us, they seem, although possessed of a lower mental endowment, very much like other children. I might go farther and say that after we become well acquainted with older Indians and they with us, that they are more like white people than would naturally be supposed. Just before the close of the work on the first day White Eagle was taken sick and went home. As a proof that the Indian is very much like the white man, I might add that he did not get well until the hay was entirely put up.

Lest I convey to you the idea that the only duty of the agent is in issuing rations and administering law to idle Indians, I ought to add that he also has a general direction of the educational work that is carried on by the government on the reservations, and also exercises more or less supervision over educational work carried on by the various religious denominations.

I have spoken of the Indian as possessing a wandering and war-like nature. He also has many other characteristics, all of which must have their weight in considering the problem. It is a common idea that he has remarkable powers of physical endurance. So far as his ability to endure torture is concerned, this is without doubt true, but when we come to the execution of those feats that require great physical strength, and to the performance of those duties that day after day demand persistent and well-directed effort, it will be found that the notion is a mistaken one. He has, almost invariably, small hands, small feet, and the various muscles that the civilized white man must bring into active play in his daily labors are not well developed. He is capable of great endurance on horseback. Some months ago at the Cheyenne River agency in South Dakota, I saw an Indian start out on a pony about seven o'clock in the morning, and I asked the agent where he was going. He said he was going out there a little way, pointing to the west. Said I, "Where? and how far is it?" He replied that he did not know the name of the place but that it was about 110 miles. "Will he get there to-day?" Yes, he will get there before the sun falls, and will be ready to-morrow morning for another such journey. I find, however, that when we put them at work on the farm or in the garden, in the carpenter shop pushing the plane, in the harness shop drawing the thread, or in the blacksmith shop swinging the sledge, that, invariably, they can do very little at first. It is only after months of exercise that their muscles become sufficiently developed to enable them to do what would be called by a white man a moderately fair day's work. Like all uncivilized people, his mental calibre is low, yet in those branches of study that require

the exercise of the imitative faculties, such as drawing, penmanship, and some others, he is found to be much more proficient than in other branches, and in some instances fairly excels. In those subjects that demand the play of the reasoning powers, such as algebra, geometry and the higher mathematics, we find as would be expected, only mediocre ability, except in very rare instances. There is, as a rule, unusual keenness of sight and hearing which the children have inherited from their parents. They have, as a rule, great respect for form and power, but I notice that is less among the children than it is among the older people on the reservation. There is also a great deal of tribal caste and a great deal of admiration for those who have made themselves famous by deeds of valor in war or in personal contests, and there is a corresponding tendency to despise those that are cowardly or have been conquered. In years gone by there were many contests between the Pawnees, who used to be located in northern Nebraska, and the Sioux who were then scattered over a much larger area than now. The Sioux were among the more powerful, and braver, and nothing would make an old Sioux more angry than to call him a Pawnee. This feeling of caste is weakening and is found less among the young. The Indian is a pretty shrewd observer of character and it has come to be a well known saying among those intimately connected with the Indian work that the white man never knows what the Indian wants, but the Indian always knows what the white man is after.

He is a creature of feeling rather than reason, and is influenced almost wholly by whatever appeals to his senses. It is for this reason that in so many instances he has yielded to the influence of the low whites with whom he has come in contact. Missionaries have striven to elevate, to civilize and to save him, but the contest here is of very much the same nature as in Africa. It seems to be an unfortunate truth that every attempt of the missionary to Christianize the heathen, whether on our own continent or elsewhere, is triangular in its nature. In the heart of the black continent he finds these to be the three leading factors: (1) a wild African, (2) New England rum, and (3) Virginian tobacco. It was so with the Indian in the earlier days, and later he was made worse by contact with immoral whites until, with some Indian tribes, it is almost impossible to find one of its members that is not afflicted in some form or other with tuberculosis or scrofula or some venereal disease. In justice to the Indian, in view of his present moral standing, it ought to be said that there is abundant reason to show that when he was by himself, before he came in contact with the whites, there was comparative freedom from disease. I presume that the Indian population of this country when the first European settlers came, was not far from what it is now. The reason that there has been no perceptible increase is because of the large number of lives lost in war; in fact, at the present day, tribes could be named in which there are scarcely any males above fifty years of age, the last contest of the tribe having occurred some twenty years ago. Not long ago an old Indian, whose face indicated that he had led a pure life and possessed a noble character, said to me: "You whites have come among us; you debauched and ruined our sons and our daughters, and we have been obliged to stand helplessly by." It was a sad but just commentary upon much of the contact of the whites with the Indians.

Hitherto our discussion has been largely with the Indian of the past, but what especially should interest us now is the Indian as a present element in the social fabric. We will briefly consider this and then determine what shall be done with him and what will become of him. There are at the present time in the United States, exclusive of Alaska, about 250,000 Indians. Of this number about 70,000 belong to the so-called civilized tribes, namely: Cherokees, Creeks, Chick-

asaws, Chocktaws and Seminoles. The remaining tribes are classed as uncivilized, though some of them are as civilized as any of the Cherokees, while others are in nearly as wild a state as they were when our country was first discovered. Much progress has been made, for wars are less common than formerly, and, aside from the five civilized tribes, more than half of the remainder are self-supporting. It is a common idea that all of the Indians are supported by the United States government. The amount of money appropriated by Congress for the present fiscal year for all departments of the Indian work was, in round numbers, $8,250,000, while $2,250,000 were for educational purposes. This money is used in education, in support of the Indians and in fulfilling various treaty obligations. Only about 40,000 Indians are what may be termed ration Indians, the others being practically self supporting. Many of the Indians are taking their land and this, I believe, is one of the greatest steps in the solution of the problem. Among some of the tribes, Christianity has made great progress. Some months ago I attended a convocation of Christian Indians that numbered not less than 5,000, and it was simply inspiring to witness them at their devotions. Some of them I knew personally as living consistent Christian lives. The Indian is naturally religious, or rather superstitious. He is inclined to look upon the performance of a religious duty as a virtue in itself, thus losing sight of its spiritual nature. In the early days, when Hariot, the historian of Sir Walter Raleigh's colony, was endeavoring to induce the Indians to accept Christianity, he found that it was the Bible itself they worshipped, rather than the divine truths it inculcated, and they wanted to take the book itself with them as an amulet or charm. However, there are marked instances of devout, earnest, Christian lives, and there are some faithful lay Indian workers among them.

In discussing the Indian as a present factor in social life, we must consider what he is. Not long since I read an elaborate article that tried to prove that the Indian cannot be educated; that it was not possible to educate him, that whatever was done would be entirely lost, and at the close the writer gave the following illustration as a clinching argument. He stated that a friend of his, while strolling along the river one day, found a wild duck's nest containing a number of eggs. He took these eggs home and placed them under a domestic duck. In due course of time there was a brood of ducklings and as soon as they became strong enough they ran off to wild haunts and never returned. I am reminded of the statement that was made that it would not be possible for an ocean steamship to cross the Atlantic, for the reason that one could not be constructed large enough to carry the coal that would be consumed during the voyage. While the lecturer was demonstrating this in a hall in New York city, the first steamship that ever crossed the Atlantic arrived in the harbor. There is a great absurdity to this wild duck assumption, since all of our domestic animals have been reclaimed from the wild state. I dismiss this as unworthy of argument, for the fact that they can be made capable of taking on civilization has for years been shown within a short distance of this University.

There are, in reality, many marked resemblances between the whites and Indians. We are accustomed to speak of the Indian not only as indolent, but also as filthy, and in almost every way unsanitary. It has been said that if you give a hog a fair chance, he will keep himself clean, and so it is with the Indian. I could give you the names of many who are patterns and who have been for years patterns of neatness and cleanliness. Josiah Patterson, who recently died of consumption, a victim of corrupt white contamination with his ancestors, was sometimes called by the boys the dude of Haskell Institute because of the scrupu-

lous cleanness and neatness of his person and personal attire. I think I could find very marked instances wherein so-called intelligent whites could be criticised. I remember that after I had been in charge of a certain high school for several years, fitting young men for college, one of these young men said to a friend, "I always take a bath once a year, whether I need to or not." It seems to me that when we make comparisons between whites and the Indians that are unfavorable to the Indians, we would show more reason and exercise proper charity if we would consider their lack of opportunity and their unfavorable environment. Again, the Indian is like the white man in his desire for labor saving devices. I remember as a boy I looked with admiration upon the man who invented the machine for stitching hose pipe,—a machine of such mechanism that a piece of pipe several hundred feet long could be stitched up as well as a piece a few inches long. There was, on the part of the inventor, a desire to bring into being some labor saving device. It is just so with the Indian. At one time I was on a reservation looking up recruits for Haskell Institute. It was nearly dusk as I was entering a tepee, and I came very near stumbling over a log of wood. On making an examination I saw that it was a log at least twenty or twenty-five feet long. One end was burning merrily in the fire on the ground in the middle of the tepee, while the other end was several feet out of doors. As the end in the fire was burned off, the log was pushed up. The Indian resorted to this device to avoid labor, just as the boy whose business it is to cut up the kindling always advises his father to buy the wood sawed instead of the usual four-feet lengths.

At the present time, and especially in view of the approaching opening of the Cherokee strip, we hear much of the Indian and his land claims. There are Senators who take the ground that there are so many whites who need the land to develop farms and the Indian is neglecting it, that it should be opened up whether the Indian is willing or not. This view, however, is confined to those who make a distinction between the claims of the five civilized tribes and of those who are less able to take care of themselves. The allotting of land to those outside of the five civilized tribes is going on at the present time and probably as rapidly as is wise,—thousands of allotments having been made during the last fiscal year.

The two prominent features of the Government's policy at the present day is allotting of land to all Indians, both old and young, and providing a common-school and industrial education for the children. The amount of land that is allotted to individual Indians depends upon the size and population of the reservation, and also the character of the soil. On some reservations where the land is all well adapted to agriculture, the amount varies from forty to eighty acres, according to the population. Where the land is in part fit only for grazing, the amount is increased and, in some instances, as high as 160 acres have been allotted. If the Pine Ridge Sioux, for instance, were to have their land allotted, in view of the character of the soil, it would be necessary, in my judgment, to allot to each Indian at least a section, for the reason that there is very little that is fitted for anything except grazing. Again, where there is an equal portion of tillable and grazing land, forty acres of the former and eighty acres of the latter have been allotted. The law provides that the allottee cannot alienate his land for a period of twenty-five years,—a very wise provision. There should, however, be more guards thrown around the leasing of his land. It was, I believe, Sol Miller who stated that it was commonly accepted that the terms farmer and agriculturist were synonymous, but in reality there was a very wide difference in the meaning of the terms for, said he, "A farmer is one who works his farm, while the agriculturist is

the one who 'works' the farmer." This difference would be readily accepted by the Indian, for whenever he can, he will lease his land and play the part of the agriculturist and obtain as large a share of the product as he can without doing anything himself. There should be some change in the manner of leasing, whereby those who lease land should pay for it in labor instead of in crops: for instance, in breaking up the land and planting it for the Indian and thus practically teach him how to work. The inertia of indolence is very intense with the Indian, and whatever course is pursued this fact must not be overlooked; however, if the Government allots his land and withdraws from him additional help, he will, as a last resort, labor rather than starve.

There are many interesting features of the work being done at the present time to give Indian children a common-school and industrial education; in fact, this might be the subject of a dozen papers longer than the present one and yet the subject be left incomplete. The first appropriation for Indian schools was made by Congress through the influence of Senator Dawes of Massachusetts in 1887. It was a small beginning and the sum appropriated was a paltry one in comparison with what is now being done. The first appropriation ever made was the sum of $20,000.00. For the fiscal year 1893, it has increased to $2,312,385.00. There are few reservations now where there are not one or more schools, yet on some of the reservations there is only a small part of the accommodations that are needed. There are enrolled to-day in the Indian schools of the country, about 20,000 children, and there are accommodations for only about two-thirds of all the Indian children of school age. The needed accommodations are, however, being provided, though not as rapidly as Commissioner Morgan desires. There are three kinds of Government schools: reservation day schools, reservation boarding schools, and the non-reservation industrial training school, like Haskell, Carlisle and others. There are also denominational schools over which the United States Government exercises supervision. It has been shown conclusively that the Indian is able to obtain an average common-school education, and also can learn fairly well, and in some instances remarkably well, any of the ordinary trades. Wherever he goes, after he has prepared himself, the success that he meets with depends almost wholly upon the environment that he finds around him. If there is no opportunity to work at his trade, he is as any white person would be under similar circumstances. The older Indians are, as a rule, adverse to progress and whatever Indian boys and girls accomplish at school they have to accomplish, usually, in the face of opposition on the part of father, mother and near relatives. How hard, indeed, it would be if you, young ladies and young gentlemen, were here, away from home, with the consciousness on the part of each of you, that your father, mother and near relatives were bitterly opposed to your being here, and were doing everything in their power to get you back home. Another obstacle to advancement on the part of some Indians is their great wealth, especially the Osages. The Osages are the richest people on the face of the earth. They number about 1,500 and their per capita wealth is $15,000. There is on deposit to their credit in the United States treasury at Washington eight millions of dollars upon which they draw interest at the rate of five per cent. per annum. This gives them a per capita annuity of $250.00. If an Osage Indian has a wife and six children, he draws for himself and family $2,000.00 a year. Let us, then, be a little charitable in censuring him, for where is the white man with a wife and six children who would work very hard if, without lifting his finger, he could receive an income of $2,000 a year?

We have briefly discussed the Indian as he is to-day, but there is a diversity of opinion as to the best method of managing

him. There is, however, one common ground upon which all can stand and upon which all do stand, however much they may disagree as to the methods to be used in bringing about the desired result. There is a very general consensus of opinion that the Indian should become a citizen like the white man; that, like the white man, he should support himself and family and become an essential and component factor in society. To accomplish this, much must be done, and here is where the ways divide. There are those who believe that he should be taken from his present reservation and its degrading environment and scattered over the country. If this could be accomplished, it would be a consummation much desired. The scheme is, I believe, visionary and impracticable. He is himself strongly opposed to the plan, and public sentiment does not call for it, and would not sustain it, if attempted. Even if public sentiment should insist upon it, and he were scattered by force, as he would have to be, if at all, he would not stay "scattered." We notice that European emigrants usually collect together along lines of least resistance, viz: Race, language and religion; and it would be very much so with the Indians. I believe the best that can be done is to try to do for his children what we are doing for the white children of the land. Little can be done with the old Indian; but if we can keep the children in school for a generation, and the children of this generation likewise, the solution of the problem will be well under way with a certainty of a correct result. Allot each Indian a proper amount of land, sell the surplus and pay him the cash received, provide him, if necessary, with the simple requisites that one needs in starting in life and require him to depend upon himself. But, you say, he will not be able to meet the responsibilities. Many will not. In going from a state of barbarism to civilization there will many fall by the wayside. It cannot be otherwise. It must be the process of the survival of the fittest. If I were to express very briefly my own idea of the end to be gained, I should say American citizenship. In order for the exercise of American citizenship, there must be a place to live in, with suitable social and other necessary environments. Law must be thrown around him so that he will be free to come and go in performing the duties and meeting the responsibilities of life, and, if necessary, to compel him to perform life's duties and meet its responsibilities. There must be opportunity for his children to be educated so that they can become better fitted than himself for this citizenship. There must also be a desire or willingness on his part to labor in order that by his own efforts he may obtain all of those things that may be necessary to satisfy the wants of himself and society. You say that this is much to expect and more than can be accomplished. If the work of bringing the Indian to this condition of citizenship is carried on with a spirit of Christian love and helpfulness, the end can be brought about. Surely this or some other end must be reached. Commissioner Morgan in his last report, which bas just been received, says: "We must either fight Indians, feed them, or else educate them. To fight them is cruel, to feed them is wasteful, while to educate them is humane, economic and Christian."

But what will become of him? This may seem idle speculation, but it is not, for the process that is to determine what he shall be is already actively going on. The various agents and reagents, the social alkalies and acids, the positive and negative poles of the economic fabric are all at work, and amalgamation, absorption and final assimilation will be the result. There are at Haskell to-day children whose parents are Indians, Jews, Negroes, Irish, French, Americans, and doubtless of other nationalities. We are accustomed to speak of ourselves as Americans, but the typical American has not yet appeared. When emigration has finally ceased and sufficient time has elapsed to develop a universally characteristic people, the typical American will exist, and not before, and he will be the product of the differentiation and coördination of the various peoples that to-day inhabit all our states and territories.

CHARLES FRANCIS MESERVE,
Superintendent Haskell Institute.

ANTI-SLAVERY REMINISCENCES.

BUT thirty years ago, this land which esteemed itself among the most enlightened of the world, was still dowered with a characteristic curse of savagery and barbarism; the nation that boasted itself the freest under the sun was the home of slavery.

Had your essayist at command all the rarest resources of rhetoric—could he "Speak with the tongues of men and of angels"—I doubt whether the above trite statement could be heightened, or the sharp contrast of changed conditions made more striking or effective to the apprehension. The change has been so tremendous that it seems to me nothing within the range of expression could possibly add force to the thought itself!

This change came at last through revolution and bloodshed. It was established by dint of desperate struggle; It required a gigantic war, "a war as mighty as any in all history"—but, at the end, the nation that was so long "half slave, half free," became, if indeed not wholly homogeneous, at least logical in its status. It now stands for something coherent and consistent. It never did in the old days. It was only a fallacy concrete—it was but an incarnate sophism and paradox.

Slavery precipitated war and thereby insured and hastened its own destruction. Impelled by a morbid though not wholly unreasonable fear of the Republican party, the South took the risk of the plausible quack doctor, rather than face the dreaded but salutary surgeon! In the final event, neither the anodynes nor the stimulants, the "drafts" nor the blood-lettings of the quack Secession served to avert the inevitable operation that came even upon the reduced system of the patient, the lopping off from her of that mortified member, slavery!

The Republican party, then, was the proximate cause of the downfall of slavery. At first its office was to be but that of the vigilant watch dog of the North and of the Nation, to guard the borders of her territories against slavery's encroachment. The South affected to believe it a ravening lion in her path. Ill fared it with her when she "Cried havoc and let slip her own dogs of war."

Back of the Republican party, what? To the young men of this generation, to whom thirty years seems a long period indeed, only unformed history and tradition with foundation facts of that history interpreted imperfectly, and traditions fast crystallizing, I fancy, into faiths not wholly free from error. Only recently we have had a conspicuous example of how nearly the propensity to hero-worship and the easy acceptance of current traditions had betrayed us into an entire misapprehension of important facts in the life of John Brown and consequent misconception of one side of that remarkable character. If attainable, let us have the portrait of the real man in all his rugged proportions, rather than shadowy outlines of mythic hero and demigod! If the statue be not of the purest marble, but instead, part iron and part clay, let us know, if possible, its true composition before we assign its niche in the gallery of history. Our idols may indeed not appear so symmetric and beautiful, but they will stand in less danger of one day being cast down and broken.

If asked—through whom came the downfall of that giant monstrosity which held America in its strong grasp until so recently?—I fancy that many a youth of this day would answer that it came about, directly and principally, from the efforts and influences, the utterances by tongue and pen of a few men, prophets and leaders of the people;—chief among whom,

representatives and embodiments of the principle and its active forces, he would name Wendell Phillips, Joshua R. Giddings and Wm. Lloyd Garrison. These were the men to whom the nation owes its deliverance from "the body of this death." There is a tendency always, after the happy consummation of any great struggle, to philosophize upon its history, to trace its remote origin and developments, and above all (if possible), to establish its representative men—its heroes. This is all very well, probably, if we do not philosophize beyond the facts, generalize incorrectly, and manufacture heroes out of insufficient material.

Far be it from me to derogate in the least from the worthy fame of men recently passed away, who gave the best years of their lives, through difficulty and dangers, through storms of obloquy, and a sky darkened oft with the flight of too ancient eggs—to a cause which they felt and knew to be right and just:—

"Then to side with truth was noble when they shared her wretched crust,
Ere her cause brought fame and fortune and 'twas prosperous to be just."

Give them all credit and honor, for they deserve it. As Webster once said: "If I have little of that spirit which can raise a mortal to the skies, I trust at least I have less of that meaner impulse which would drag an angel down." But—I happen to have impressions borne of memories which reach back almost fifty years, and I confess they don't wholly coincide with the view given above, as possibly in great degree the corrupt impressions of to-day. I fancy that something like the following would be, briefly, the statement to indicate the view which I do not (in toto) accept: Garrison, Phillips and a few other zealous and eloquent men aroused the sleeping conscience of the American people with regard to the sins and enormities of slavery! A handful only at the outset, a despised and proscribed band, they grew at length into a great party which challenged slavery to mortal conflict—before which slavery finally went down in blood!

Of late years, every new party or faction has justified its existence and prophesied its future success after the model of the above example. Your enthusiastic Greenbacker, your sanguine Labor Reformer, your ardent Prohibitionist, will conclude upon your possible doubts by citing facts about as follows—bidding you not despise the day of small beginnings:

The American Anti-slavery society organized in 1833, and the followers of Phillips and Garrison increased from zero up to 62,263 who voted in 1844 for James G. Birney, the Liberty candidate for president! Within four years, this number swelled to 291,342 who cast their ballots for Free-soil with Van Buren and Adams. Jumping 1852 (and these arithmeticians always jump that year), note how grandly the concourse had multiplied to the 1,341,-264 who voted for Fremont and Freedom in 1856! And this again, though a trumpet blast that stirred the nation, was but a prelude to the grand triumphal march of the cohorts of the Republican party who swept the country and elected Abraham Lincoln by a popular vote of 1,857,-610;—ascending to the throne of political power from whence it should control the government uninterruptedly for twenty-four years!

What man has done, man may do, and what one party has so signally accomplished, another may parallel and repeat. With this for a brilliant precedent, the fiery adherent of the new faction of to-day is prepared to prove (to his own satisfaction) that it is sure to be but the simplest matter of plain, geometric, as well as political progression, for his party to march forward from humble beginning to grandest success. "See!" he exclaims, "our vote is already larger than that cast for Birney in 1844. We may not, indeed, carry the country this time, but we will surely reach the final triumph quicker than the Republican party did!"

Now, as the premises of my visionary friend are incorrect, his conclusions will quite likely be fallacious. His theory I

think scarce needs to be analyzed, but simply examined, and it crumbles to pieces at a touch. One little defect in the chain is quite apparent. The vote for John P. Hale in 1852 was only 155,825, being but little more than half that cast for Van Buren four years before. If this was a "revolution" it went "backward" pretty fast. But the Republican party whose gallant and dashing campaign with the Pathfinder in 1856 gave glorious earnest of its triumph in 1860 was not the party of Garrison and Phillips, nor by any means its legitimate successor even. Whatever its unconscious mission may have been in the decrees of fate or the providence of God, neither its principles nor its policies were identical with those of the early Abolitionists. In fact, its objects were quite distinct even from those of the Liberty party of 1844, which party was again quite sharply defined in policy from that of Garrison and his immediate followers. They, indeed, could scarce be said ever to have constituted a political party at all. They were a distinct class to themselves; very earnest, zealous and uncompromising in their single idea—unrelenting war upon slavery. That they aimed to exterminate at the earliest possible moment. As to how its abolition should come about they cared nothing, so it came speedily. For the Constitution of the United States which stood in the way with its unfortunate guarantees, they cared naught, proclaiming it "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell." Generally they refused to vote at all, considering indeed the government so defiled with slavery that no political party could be formed on such a basic idea as this. In some respects the Abolitionists of that school were the Nihilists of America in the last generation. It is not to be wondered at that Wendell Phillips should become in his later days the defender and eulogist of the Russian Nihilists of that era.

Now the Republican party came into existence as a constitutional party, with many distinct and sharply defined purposes and policies. Undoubtedly the main one of these was to preclude the extension of slavery into the territories. This may have been intended only as a means toward an end. The ulterior thought (as Lincoln developed it) to confine the disease within circumscribed limits—shut off the circulation and you may in time thereby eradicate it from the system. Undoubtedly the ultimate hope was to get rid of slavery, but it was all to be worked out through the operation of consequent natural causes, without convulsion or revolution.

The Garrisonian Abolitionists were a very limited number indeed, and I should say, up to 1850 at least, of limited direct influence. Herein I am not taking into account the latent influences they may have inspired. I am inclined to think that these eventually amounted to a great deal. But, the speeches of Giddings and Phillips and the editorials of Garrison reached but comparatively few, and even of these, many were aroused by them rather to a violent antagonism than to conviction and discipleship. Upon this point I cannot refrain from referring to my own early recollections. I was born and grew up to manhood in a region of country peculiarly susceptible to influences of this anti-slavery agitation, a district cornering on two slave states—Chester County, Pennsylvania. This county possessed more free blacks than any other in the United States. It was largely peopled by a sect which from its religious faith and traditions would naturally be most averse to human slavery. It held indeed many who were strongly so in feeling, and a considerable number who were active and zealous Abolitionists. The Underground Railroad's main line ran right across the district and its branches zigzagged over it in all directions. Whittier wrote of this section—

> "Where Chester's oak and walnut shades
> With slavery-laden breezes stir,
> And by the brooks and in the glades
> Of Bucks and honest Lancaster,
> Are heads that think, and hearts that feel—
> Flints to the Abolition steel."

and he proceeds to give mention to some of these zealots by name—"the Coates, the Whitsons, and the Fussels." And these Abolition Hicksite Quakers came fairly by their anti-slavery blood, for as we read that there are "other heroes before Agamemnon," so there were many consistent emancipationists before the days of Garrison and Parker. It had long been the mission of the Quaker Society to bear testimony against all outrages upon humanity, slavery among the rest. As a religious body they had never temporized with the evil as had done others, but they had been outspoken in all official utterances and consistent to the extent of disownment of members who held slaves. Elias Hicks had preached emancipation in the beginning of this century, among slaveholders themselves, and sometimes to such effect as resulted in manumission; whilst Benjamin Lundy had spent his life of toil and travel in noble and self-sacrificing effort to arouse the minds and consciences of men, both north and South, to a realization of the wrongs and dangers of slavery.

But notwithstanding all this, the number of pronounced Abolitionists was comparatively few, as I remember, even in Chester County, and in the minds of those who were not connected with them in sympathy, prejudice was strong against them to the extent of odium. To the ordinary apprehension in those days "Abolitionist" was largely associated with "Amalgamationist," and was thereby held in scorn as one who "would be willing to marry his daughter to a nigger." Even the venerable quaker meeting held a large proportion of rather conservative "hunker" Whigs. Respectable broadbrim, close cropped, wearing his natty shad-belly coat, looked with distrust on these "long-haired men and short-haired women," whose spirits moved them eternally but on one single subject—slavery. Faction ran high, discussions waxed hot over these questions, but a large majority of these people voted for Harry Clay in 1844, and in 1848—an ardent old hunker one day boastfully announced in London-Grove meeting, "Western Quarterly goes for Taylor."

I recall too, as significant perhaps, that the editor of the old Whig newspaper, the party hack of our district, (the man by the way, to whom Bayard Taylor was once bound as "printer's devil") when chronicling a discussion in congress wherein brave old Giddings was foully berated by some southern Whig—fulsomely toadied to the slaveholder as one who had "handled the pestiferous agitator without gloves." I have little doubt that a thousand concurring recollections could yet be appealed to, instancing the prevalence of popular prejudice against the Abolitionists—east, west and north, as well as intensified to hatred in the south, down to the year 1850 and later.

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If then my presumption be correct, and the net result of all these years of toil and obloquy suffered by this trio and their disciples in anti-slavery cause had apparently effected so little—whence came that great upheaval of politics, the tremendous uprising of the northern people that ensued but a few years later? Certainly in 1850 and a few years thereafter, the cause, not only of Abolition but even of any form of active anti-slavery, seemed to have reached its lowest ebb. If the time in our political history immediately succeeding the second election of President Monroe has been appropriately named "the era of good feeling" among the people of the United States—certainly the period succeeding the passage of the "Compromise measures of 1850" was the era of apparent unanimity of feeling between the two great parties, on the slavery question. Both had determined that slavery agitation was a great danger to party supremacy. The Whigs had finally come to the conclusion that any opposition to slavery was worse than a crime—that it was a political blunder. They therefore, in common with the Democrats concluded

to "conclude" upon it. They would quiet agitation by "stamping it out." Greeley says of this period, that "whilst during the canvass of 1848 the sentiment of opposition to slavery extension seemed stronger than ever before, yet in the following year the Free-soil party rapidly disintegrated and the Free-soil Whigs fell away from a decided open and inflexible maintenance of the principles of restriction."

In the struggle that ensued upon the admission of California with its free constitution and the organization of the territories, New Mexico and Utah (acquired in the Mexican war), Mr. Clay submitted his famous Compromises, which were finally adopted. California came in as a free state with even a portion of territory south of 36 deg. 30 min.;—the Territories were organized silent as to slavery restriction—the Slave-trade (though not Slavery) was abolished in the District of Columbia;—Texas was given a sop of $10,000,000, ostensibly for lands she never owned—and the Fugitive Slave Law was passed! As Greeley sums it up, "the net product was a corrupt monstrosity which even the great name of Henry Clay should not shield from lasting approbrium." But this dose, fearful as it was, seemed to serve for awhile as a most potent soporific to the conscience of the North, as well as a stupefying potion to the physical and moral system of the Whig party.

For a time, however, there can be no doubt that it was accepted and ratified by the people of both sections. It promised political peace—cessation from the pestilent agitation of the slavery question which had long interfered with business, disturbed trade relations, embroiled families and societies and even distracted the churches. The latter, though giving expression to anti-slavery views in the outset, ended inevitably (to quote Greeley again) by adapting Christianity to Slavery, since that seemed more profitable than endeavoring to make Slavery square with Christianity. A thousand changes had been rung on Paul and Onesimus, and the text "Cursed be Canaan," till it was finally decided as most fitting that Ham should be fried on the plantations and broiled in southern swamps, through his descendants to the latest generation!

The two great parties vied with each other now as to which should endorse this settlement in the most servile terms, as a finality. It proved ultimately a finality indeed to that party whose great founder and leader, Henry Clay, had framed and fathered it! When by dint of his Compromise and the help of Webster and others, he had succeeded in getting his party on substantially the same platform with the Democratic—that of the Compromise measures of 1850, the people discovered that there really was no use but for one party on that platform, and swung the Whig party off, regardless of the fact that it was now so far removed from the solid ground of principle that, in the fall, it would inevitably break its venerable neck! That was the catastrophe which resulted and the Whigs discovered it—in the election of 1852!

And yet another discovery was made soon after. The Slavery Question was not yet settled—its agitation still continued. Unfortunately—or fortunately—it was like Banquo's ghost, it "would not down;" like "Truth crushed to earth," it rose again! Whilst the period from 1850 to 1855 is apparently the darkest in our history, so far as faith in the nationality of freedom was concerned, yet, as a formative period it was not less pregnant with results than any other like number of years in our political existence. I venture to suggest three potent forces working toward the evolution of the Republican party and the downfall of Slavery:—

I.—The sectional pride,—the honest, manly sectional pride,—of the North, and its extreme intensification through the Kansas struggle.

II.—The death of the Whig party.

III.—The literature of anti-slavery.

I am fully aware with respect to the

first named that the protest may be made that there never was such a thing as a sectional feeling in the North, but that it was confined wholly to the opposite section of the Union! I will not for a moment deny that it existed in the South primarily, and that it grew and flourished here, excited partly through envy of the superior prosperity of the North, but chiefly through nervous apprehension of assaults upon their pet institution. In season and out of season, this feeling of sectionalism was exhibited;—in church, in convention, in society, everywhere—but especially in the halls of Congress. So pronounced did it become that ardent politicians came to declare that party allegiance was as nothing to them in comparison with devotion to the South and Slavery! Every public measure came to this touchstone—would the interest of their peculiar institution be in any wise affected by it? No new State could be admitted without slavery, unless by virtue of compensatory bargain as to other territory. Compromises were made to gain the profit of one new slave state, and as ruthlessly broken where promised the possible chance of another thereby. Was it to be expected that this could go on from decade to decade and no strong feeling of sectional antagonism be aroused? In the early days of the Republic it had been conceded that slavery was local, and probably transient. Now, in view of the profit of sugar and rice and cotton, and the consequent enhanced value of slaves, the South came to cling to it as her joy and pride. Like a doting mother with a *bete noir*, a "holy terror" of a child, she insisted on its being given the full freedom of the house she had entered. It was "Love me, love my dog"—and hunt him up for me, too, if he strays away!

There came a time at last when the North grew weary and indignant at these claims, pressed with so much fury and "damnable iteration." The only wonder is that they stood it so long. They knew that their own civilization was respectable in the eyes of the world, being founded on a basis consistent with the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the enlightened spirit of the age—and that the only weak spot in the armor of the Union was where it had been corroded by the acrid virus of slavery. They saw their own section prosperous and relatively gaining rapidly in wealth, population and all things that evidence material and intellectual progress. In the race for material prosperity, Freedom, it was apparent, could far outstrip Slavery. Why should the free North in Congress be forever contending and conceding and apologizing? They did a good deal of that, in the course of thirty years or so, but it became very irksome. They stood up for their section sometimes, and voted for it in Congress—as the records of those struggles will show;—rarely successfully, it is true. The time came when some of them would no longer accept taunts and insults tamely, and such men as John Quincy Adams, Old Ben Wade, Burlingame, Hickman, Grow and Thaddeus Stevens demonstrated that their faces were not "dough," being too "cheeky" to be smitten on "both" with impunity! The execution of the odious Fugitive Slave Law, the outrageous violation of the sanctity of the Missouri Compromise by the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, leading to a direct issue and struggle for empire between North and South, intensified the feeling of Northern indignation to the highest degree. It transferred a large part of the struggle from the halls of Congress to these Kansas prairies. Outside of anti-slavery feelings that we may or may not have possessed, it is vividly impressed on my remembrance that we from the North unitedly stood for our section, and were proud of it. We came to comprehend distinctly with Lowell's Hosea Bigelow—

> "Why, it's jest as plain as figgers—
> Clear as one and one make two,—
> Chaps that make black slaves of niggers
> Want to make white slaves of you."

I leave this branch of my subject by

summarizing the feelings so inadequately expressed, into two words—indignation and determination—"dander" and "grit."

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But, if the powerfully aroused feeling of the North gave the motive, the downfall of the Whig party afforded the ripe occasion for the forming of the Republican. "*Il faut vivre*"—"it was necessary that I should live," pleaded in extenuation the convicted thief, in the days when robbery was a capital crime in France. "*Je n'en vois pas le necessité*"—"I don't see the necessity," retorted the judge—and proved it, by having him decapitated on the spot! The Nation here was the judge, and saw no necessity for the Whig party, as such, to live—so it died.

But, in a system of government like ours, it is requisite that there should be at least two great parties, and there was an absolute necessity for a new one to contest the administration of that government, upon the basis of living issues, with the degenerate Democracy! For a time the projected and disunited elements of the Whig party seemed floating aimlessly in space, "formless and void." Then the whorls of the nebula began to aggregate and solidify around the feeling of outraged northern pride. "The chaos of a mighty world was rounding into form"—and from that new political world, slavery should be excluded! Chemically speaking, the freed elements sought another union, forming a new compound. Its bright crystals were already shooting in every direction toward the formation of a new Party, whose base should be inflexible hostility to the extension of slavery!

A futile effort had just been made to meet the exigencies for a new division, by the organization of the "Native" or "Know Nothing" party. It was certainly a strong evidence of this necessity, that such a dark-lantern monstrosity as that really seemed for the moment to gain a standing place in American politics. Soon succeeding this abortion, however, came the vigorous babe, Republicanism. The minds of a large share of the people of the North were ready to hail its advent with enthusiasm. They saw that this was to be the only man-child that stood a chance of entering into the kingdom;—the heir—and they embraced it eagerly. Whilst thousands of northern Democrats, lovers of their own section and contemners of Slavery, who had long fretted under the Southern domination in their party and unsuccessfully struggled against it in press and convention, now gladly saw the day of their political emancipation close at hand, yet by far the larger accessions were from the ranks of that old party whose early traditions all favored the policy of gradual emancipation. A large share of the northern Whigs went into the Republican movement with ardor from the outset. Indignation at the Nebraska-bill rascality, and the subsequent outrages even upon the free speech and free ballot of Popular Sovereignty in Kansas, swept them together with, as has been intimated, a goodly porton of Free-soil northern Democrats, in a resistless tide of feeling, clear over the vanishing landmarks of old party association. Seeing so large a body of their old party associates going this way, a great many other Whigs, though rather indifferent at heart to the slavery question, concluded to join the procession. It was the tradition of their youth and the habit of their lives to be "fernenst the Loco-focos." They had always been fighting the Democrats, and they went with the crowd. My old Whig party-hack, the Chester County, Pa., newspaper editor, who had always abused Giddings, now kept quick step with the Party that was to include so many of Giddings' associates. It would be a cold day indeed when he should be left behind.

But, a good many of the old Whigs were not so alert. They were quite bewildered by the hurried march of events which had somehow left that supreme issue, "The Tariff," in the rear, and was now pressing on toward a goal that they had for long years been taught to dread;

the possible goal of Abolition. Almost pathetic indeed was their predicament. "Where shall I go?" was the burden of their political cry—as uttered indeed in a speech at this time by one of the old school of Whig statesmen and politicians. "He who hesitates is lost"—and this was exemplified by this type of Whigs, especially at the South, gravitating pretty surely into the ranks of their life-time enemy, the Democratic party, through force of sympathy with its conservative (pro-slavery) position. On the other hand, thousands of young men just entering political life and free from bonds of party, were inevitably attracted to the new one of freedom and progress. It counted for something, it was worth a good deal, to these to have a live cause to contend for. Full of the inspiration of youth and hope, they followed the banner of the Pathfinder, Fremont, and shouted the battle cries of "Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Men."

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For, if the clearing away of the wreck of the Whig Party gave new opportunity to old and young alike, and if the spur of awakened pride in their insulted section, the North, had stimulated thousands to a realizing sense of the deteriorating and dangerous influences of Slavery and a determination that its limit of blight and curse should hereafter be circumscribed, a stronger and more persuasive force had for years been exercised on the minds especially of the youth of the North. This influence, though silent yet one of the mightiest, was henceforth to be felt in politics and history—the influence of American literature. The young man who read and thought now breathed an atmosphere antagonistic to Slavery!

I confess that, in the outset of undertaking this essay, it was my purpose to devote it chiefly to an estimate of this influence upon the slavery question, and to tracing the growth and developments in American literature of the anti-slavery idea. So much time has been consumed already, however, that I can scarcely do more than simply suggest this to your consideration. For my part, I esteem this one of the potent and controlling influences of the anti-slavery struggle. When it came to be understood that the best brain of the country was on that side; when the great writers of America, reverenced for their genius wherever the English language was spoken;—the finest essayists, poets and orators; men whose elevated thought and most eloquent expression ennobled every subject they touched;—when these came to devote all their great powers to the cause of the downtrodden, the despised slave in our own land, rather than to abstract sympathy with the wrongs and woes of the distant though classic and historic Greek—then the day of redemption of the African bondman in free America was already dawning!

The essays of Channing; the verse of Longfellow; Whittier's noble lyrics, now burning in invective, and again, inexpressibly tender in compassion; Lowell's magnificent affluence of homely irony, expressed in his Bigelow papers;—these hint the names of only a few great leaders of the noble choir innumerable that sang for Freedom. It was the power of those who "make the songs of the Nation." That even those whose voices were in the minor key touched some hearts strangely, I, for one, can bear testimony. A boy of those days, whose treacherous memory will scarce recall a single word of fiery Abolition lectures he listened to, can yet repeat to-day whole stanzas of an ardent poem by C. C. Burleigh, beginning with:

> "Brothers, be brave for the pining slave
> From wife and children riven!
> From every vale his bitter wail
> Goes sounding up to heaven!"—

and little anti-slavery stories by Lydia Maria Child touched his imaginative sensibilities in a manner not yet forgotten. Of an entirely different order, yet very convincing to many practical minds, was a series of descriptions of southern travel written by Fred Law Olmstead,—"Our

Seaboard Slave States," "A Texas Journey," and others. Picturing in a graphic manner the South as it had really been made devastate by Slavery, the gloss of meretricious apparent prosperity was brushed off, and the practical argument against Slavery, showing it as false in economic system as it was in morals, was never more strongly presented. His works had great influence at the North in correcting that delusion of admiration with which many had regarded the South as developed by Slavery. Thenceforward they knew Slavery as she was—both a moral wrong and an economic blunder!

But all other literature of America affecting slavery must give grand place in influence, as I conceive, to Mrs. Stowe, and especially to her "Uncle Tom's Cabin." Compared with this, what other work of imagination has ever achieved so much in directly affecting the opinions and consequent actions of men? It was a mighty lever. Beside it, to my apprehension, the speeches of Phillips and the pages of *The Liberator* held no audience, no readers. Editions past reckoning—translations into every civilized tongue—a million copies sold! Now, even, thirty-eight years after its issue, everybody reads it—and the masses throng to witness its scenic representation! To-day, Uncle Tom's Cabin divides with the Circus and Base Ball the honor of being the great American pastime! Differing with the critics, I would maintain too, that, tremendous as was its outcome of influence on the slavery question, it by no means owed all its popularity to that issue to which it was so timely addressed. If it were so, on what ground doth it hold its perennial tenure of life, and why did foreign readers, to whom our slavery was never a vital issue, hold it in such admiration? It was a work of art—of literary genius of the first order.

> "Imagination's world of air,
> And our own world of gloom and glee,
> Wit, pathos, poetry were there—
> And death's sublimity!"

Had I time, I should like to recall my own vivid impressions of the book, the circumstances under which it came to me and the conquest to anti-slavery sentiments that it compelled in my mind. One grand purpose it certainly achieved. It idealized the African negro to the minds of the American people. Before that, he was wholly a commonplace, if not indeed a degraded creature in our contemplation. We regarded him either as doing well enough in "the position wherein he was placed," or if as wronged, then with that "pity which is akin to contempt." After reading Uncle Tom's Cabin we could so regard him no longer—but as a man! In the different types therein presented, Uncle Tom, Topsy, George Harris and the rest,—

> "A man so various that he seemed to be
> Not one, but all mankind's epitome."

and, in grand old Uncle Tom, he became hero, saint and martyr as veritable as any of the olden time. Above all, he was a man not content with his condition, but one who panted for liberty, and who would, if need be, fight for it. And this view found a striking exemplification of its truth to my apprehension at the very time when the book was issued, even in my own immediate neighborhood. A slave holder in neighboring Maryland lost a slave. Learning that his man was harboring near the little village of Christiana, Pennsylvania, Mr. Edwin Gorsuch, the owner, determined to reclaim him under the recently enacted (though obnoxious) Fugitive Slave Law. Proceeding with son and nephew to Philadelphia, he procured the U. S. Marshal and posse and came by rail to take his slave, Oct. 1, 1855. Well do I recall "that pleasant morn in the early fall." The signal of a horn was sounded, and the blacks of the vicinity gathered in. The posse surrounded the house, and Mr. Gorsuch called for his slave to surrender. Leaning out of the window of the cottage, the slave warned his master to desist, for he would never be captured alive. The assault was made however, the fight began and soon the master fell dead, the son wounded, and

the marshal and his posse fled, hotly pursued by the excited blacks. Before the attack however, he had summoned to his aid a white man who had ridden up to survey the proceedings. This man, an Abolition Quaker, one Castner Hanway, refused to assist. For this crime he and several others were afterward arrested and tried for treason. After a long imprisonment the trial came off, Hanway's being made a test case, and that "Great Commoner" Thaddeus Stevens defending him as chief counsel. He was finally acquitted and released, but with health greatly impaired from his confinement,

> "Singing of Freedom through the bars
> Of Moyamensing jail:"—

as Whittier chronicles it. I have omitted to state that the fugitive himself escaped, being forwarded the night after the affray, via the Underground Railroad to Canada. This, I think, was the first instance where a slave had resisted capture unto death, and the case of George Harris was verified.

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Thus crudely and hastily I have ventured to suggest a few of the leading forces which, in my opinion, operated toward the forming of the great Republican party. I am far from assuming however that I have included all. Possibly—very probably—you will differ widely with me, even in my estimate that these were among the chief ones, I would be far indeed from underrating others, especially that of the powerful influence of our great orators and worthy leaders of this eventful period;—grand editors, preachers and statemen: Greely, Beecher, Seward, Chase, Sumner and Lincoln. These, by tongue and pen, in the press, in Congress, on the platform and on the stump, aroused and moulded the sentiment of the great North to a spirit of determined resistance to any further encroachment on the part of slavery. Grand utterances, striking phrases, which sound like inspired prophecies, fell from the lips of these men during that memorable struggle which marked the birth of the party. Some of these have survived even above the din of subsequent battle and come down to us as historic—"The higher law" and "Irreconcilable Conflict" of Seward—and "This Union cannot permanently exist half slave, half free"—of Abraham Lincoln. In view probably of his ofttime conservative position toward slavery during the war, it has been somewhat of an axiom that the first martyr president is to be regarded as follower rather than a leader of advanced party opinion on this question. It has often been declared that Abraham Lincoln was never an educator of public opinion on this vital subject, that he but followed as the people led. Waiving any discussion as to his course during the early period of his presidency, let me here suggest my sincere conviction that no one man did more toward moulding public opinion in the west in opposition to slavery extension, and thereby in preparing the ground and sowing the seed of Republicanism in its early estate, than Abraham Lincoln. If you will kindly bear with me a few moments longer I will instance a reminiscence which bears upon this subject.

Thirty-six years ago, next fall, an Eastern boy found himself one bright day at the town of Bloomington, Illinois. He was from Pennsylvania, and prospecting for a location in the great West. It was a memorable day for him, for three things: He had that day first heard of the town of Lawrence—he sat down to dinner with Stephen A. Douglas, and afterward heard a speech from "The Little Giant," who was then probably the most noted man of his country—and then, for the first time, saw and heard speak in rejoinder, a man as yet wholly unknown to fame, but whose name has since resounded throughout the world—Abraham Lincoln.

After this dinner, we proceeded to a grove in the outskirts of Bloomington and listened with great interest to the speech of Stephen A. Douglas. The protracted struggle over the Kansas Nebraska act,

which had passed Congress during the previous session, had convulsed the country. Douglas, the responsible father of the measure, was now on the stump to defend his course and win back the old-time allegiance of the people of Illinois, which he had well-nigh lost through their indignation at the Repeal of the Missouri compromise.

For two long hours at Bloomington he strove hard to win over the people to his "Squatter Sovereignty" views, and to reconcile them to that repeal. It was a herculean effort, and exhausted every species of rhetoric of which he was master, and all manner of argument and of sophistical reasoning. He neglected not the minor but ofttimes effective resource of flattery, and the people of the West and especially the citizens of Illinois, were complimented extravagantly. In vain. The people of Bloomington were still too freshly indignant. And yet the argument for "Squatter Sovereignty," or, as Douglas termed it, "popular sovereignty," was artfully and most plausibly put. "You people of Illinois, when you established your State, claimed and exercised the right to decide upon your own domestic institutions, that of Slavery included. You said when you formed your Constitution that the institution was not suited to your wants, and you put it out. Have you lost in intelligence, have you lost in political virtue, that when you or your sons go to Kansas you shall not have the privilege there, or will you deny to others who shall go instead, the settlers of that fair young territory, what you have claimed and exercised for yourselves? Shall you or they lose these rights which they have always exercised at home, by simply crossing a river or stepping over an invisible boundary line? Dare you not trust the people with this as with all other questions? And if you claim the right to take with you and enjoy your property when you remove there, shall not your fellow citizens from the South claim the right to transport their property there, likewise? When the people in due time come to frame a State Constitution for Kansas or Nebraska, let them decide the questions of their institutions for themselves, in perfect freedom and untrammeled by any restrictions from any quarter. It is their right as American citizens."

This seemed specious, but it had a hollow and false ring to my boyish ears, and so it had to those of the multitude assembled. His speech elicited but little applause at any time. They listened with attention, but they believed it false and they wanted it answered. At its close an enthusiastic Democrat sprang to his feet, swinging his hat and shouting for "Three cheers for Stephen A. Douglas." The first cheer was responded to by perhaps forty "scattering" voices in the vast crowd, the second, by not more than half a dozen, and the last broke down utterly, with not a single voice but that of the man who had proposed it. Never did an emotion of disgust and rage sweep over a human countenance more visibly than at that moment on the face of Stephen A. Douglas, intensified, if possible, when a voice in the crowd sang out, "Lincoln!" Immediately the audience as one man were shouting "Lincoln! Lincoln!"—a name which then had scarcely been heard outside of a few counties of Illinois. This, it will be remembered, was years before the grand debate with Douglas which made his name known to the whole country, and, as yet, he was an humble country lawyer. In a few moments, a tall, thin form arose in a wagon on the outskirts of the crowd, and its owner said in a few words that this meeting belonged to Mr. Douglas, but if anybody desired to hear him speak in reply, they could do so at the Court House that evening. When the writer attended the speech at the court house that night, it was more from idle curiosity than from any anticipation that this unknown, gaunt, and ungainly country lawyer would be able to reply to Douglas, the most noted stump speaker of the day, with a reputation as orator and

statesman almost as wide as the English language.

I yet recollect well the second story of the Bloomington Court House, the one bare room, with sloping ceiling, the little pine "stand" at one end, with its tallow candle, which only served to render more ungainly the tall form and awkward presence and attitude of Abraham Lincoln. It required but a few moments of his speech, however, to apprize me that he was already the idol of the liberty-loving people of that section, and not much longer for me to realize that he was a born master of the minds of men.

I shall not attempt even the briefest retrospect of that speech. It was a revelation that illumined the whole question with lines of light before which the illusive list of rhetoric which Douglas had spread over it fled away and disappeared. In a complete but succinct review of the whole political history of the struggle, he successfully controverted all the "Little Giant's" leading propositions, and demolished totally the whole fabric of sophistical reasoning so elaborately built thereon, clearly demonstrating the different ground upon which Slavery stood from that of other political institutions, both in moral right and political obligation. He swept away at one stroke all the pernicious sophisms with which Douglas had surrounded the plausible name of "popular sovereignty," and left it exposed in its bare deformity, a pitiful political trick and pretext to afford a new opportunity to outrage the laws of God and humanity. "Mr. Douglas has told you that you should carry with you to Kansas all your rights and privileges as citizens of the States, and of one common country. I do not deny it. I cheerfully accord to you, to every man and everywhere, the full exercise of every civil and political right which God has given you, and the constitution has recognized—but, before God and in the presence of American free-men, I do deny your right or the right of any set of men, to make, on soil once consecrated to freedom, of any fellow human being a *slave.*"

It was apparent at the close of Mr. Lincoln's speech that the convictions and sympathies of the large audience were with him, and that Mr. Douglas, in his labored effort, had signally and totally failed.

B. W. WOODWARD.

SEMINARY REPORTS.

Money In Politics.

IN the meeting of the Seminary on November 11th. Prof. Blackmar made some remarks on the value of current periodical literature to the student of conomics and sociology.

A paper on Money in American Politics was then read by Mr. Cooke, which was largely based on an article in the Century by Prof. Jenks. There are certain legitimate expenditures made with a view to influence elections, but these consume only a small proportion of the money placed at the disposal of campaign committees by the assessment of candidates and office holders, and by voluntary contribution. Statistics on the proportion of corruptible voters followed.

Among remedial measures proposed are more stringent naturalization laws, the secrecy of the ballot, limitation of expenditure and the compulsory publication of accounts, and the requirement of higher educational and moral qualifications in the voter. The disfranchisement of all concerned in bribery, and the unseating of successful candidates in whose interest it has been employed are more direct measures.

Legislation on these lines would diminish the corrupt use of money, but means of evasion will continually be found until an awakened public sentiment refuses longer to countenance in politics what it would not in private life.

Mr. Cramer, who was called on to fill an unexpected vacancy, spoke of the condition of affairs in England prior to the Corrupt Practices legislation of 1883. Venality was far more common then than now in America. The laws passed in 1883, however, went far more into detail than our legislation, and have in great measure stopped the crimes at which they were aimed.

The discussion brought out the methods of collating statistics on the venality of voters. Those presented by such men as Professors McCook and Jenks are certainly trustworthy.

The Behring Sea Controversy.

AT the Seminary meeting on Friday, February 3d, Mr. Springer read a paper on the Behring Sea Controversy. The following is a brief abstract of the paper:

In 1886 began a series of difficulties in regard to the Behring Sea seal fisheries, which have not yet been successfully settled. These difficulties grew out of the fact that foreign vessels, chiefly English, had for some time been killing seals in the Behring Sea, an act which the United States Government held to be unlawful. The question as to whether or not foreigners have the right to kill seals in the Behring Sea is the one now being considered by the Behring Sea convention.

The express points to be settled by this convention are four, namely: When Russia possessed Alaska, did she have any just right to the sovereignty of the Behring Sea? What are the exact bounds of the Behring seas? Did the rights which Russia possessed over the Behring Sea pass with Alaska, in the treaty of 1867, to the United States? and has either the United States or England any just claim for damages?

The first of these points—Russia's former rights in Behring Sea—to be settled by the convention has been widely discussed. At the time Russia owned Alaska and claimed to have control of the Behring Sea, difficulties arose concerning the seal fisheries. The Russian emperor issued a ukase prohibiting foreigners from fishing for seal in the Behring Sea. England and the United States both immedi-

ately took offense at the proclamation and entered into diplomatic negotiations with Russia with regard to the legality of the latter's claim in the Behring Sea. Much time was spent in attempting to negotiate a treaty. A settlement was finally arrived at which in fact settled nothing, but merely parried, for the time being, the trouble which was inevitable.

The second point to be settled by the convention will be scarcely less difficult of adjustment than the first. . The bounds of the Behring Sea have been defined in a number of treaties and conventions, but the exact extent of this sea is still doubtful.

A decision in regard to the third question will be arrived at with no less difficulty than in the preceding cases. If, in coming to a conclusion upon the first question, the convention decides that Russia never had any legal claim to the government of the rights in the Behring Sea, then this third question will of necessity disappear; but if, on the other hand, it is decided that Russia had a just right in the Behring Sea, then a long discussion will ensue relative to the third question.

The last question to be decided depends wholly on the settlement of the preceding ones. A number of English vessels have been captured in the Behring Sea by United States cruisers. Several vessels captured in this manner have been treated as prize ships by the United States government. Now it depends on the rights which the United States possesses over the Behring Sea, as to whether she had a right to seize British ships in those waters. In 1886 three British Columbian sealing vessels were captured in the Behring Sea and confiscated by the United States government. In 1887 five English vessels were caught killing seals in the Behring Sea and were promptly taken to Sitka and sold by order of the United States government.

The convention is trying at present to bring about an amicable settlement of these difficulties. This convention consists of two representatives from the United States, two from England, and one each from France, Italy, and Norway and Sweden. Its next meeting will be held during the month of March, in Paris.

The Behring Sea contains the only seal fisheries of any importance in the world. Hence it is quite important that some amicable settlement may be arrived at, by which the sealing industry may be preserved and fostered.

At the close of the reading a discussion followed with especial remarks by Professor Hodder. Prof. Blackmar then made a few remarks on current events, the Hawaiian trouble, and the loss of great men, Gen. Butler, ex-President Hayes, and Mr. Blaine receiving appropriate attention.

Recent Phases of the Immigration Question.

AT a Seminary held January 20th, Mr. Budd read a very interesting paper on Immigration. This well worn subject was very thoroughly discussed by Mr. Budd. Many new phases of the question were presented. The causes of immigration, the history and statistics of the subject and the general and special results of foreign immigration to the United States were thoroughly developed. The discussion brought to light the impracticability of the scheme to suspend immigration for one year. This phase of the question was considered in the light of political filibustering.

- SEMINARY - NOTES. -

PUBLISHED ON THE FIRST DAY OF OCTOBER, NOVEMBER, DECEMBER, FEBRUARY, MARCH, APRIL AND MAY, BY THE SEMINARY OF HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCE. State University, Lawrence, Kansas.

Frank W. Blackmar.
Frank H. Hodder, - - - - *Editors.*
Ephraim D. Adams,

Terms, Ten Cents a Number, - Fifty Cents a Year

THE purpose of this publication is to increase the interest in the study of historical science in the University and throughout the State, to afford means of regular communication with corresponding members of the Seminary and with the general public—especially with the Alumni of the University, and to preserve at least the outlines of carefully prepared papers and addresses. The number of pages in each issue will be increased as rapidly as the subscription list will warrant. The entire revenue of the publication will be applied to its maintenance.

Address all subscriptions and communications to

F. W. BLACKMAR,
Lawrence, Kansas.

THE success of the moot senate has led students from the first and second year classes to organize a house of representatives. The first meeting was attended by about forty and there is every sign of great interest in the work. The senate and house will act together as nearly as possible in the manner of the Senate and House at Washington. These college organizations have the advantage of directing attention to great public questions and of familiarizing students with the methods of government and the details of parliamentary law. If the house succeeds as well as the senate has, it will be well worth while.

A NEW library building has been one of the crying needs of the University of Kansas for many years. A place where books can be secured in a fire-proof building is one of the essentials; a place where books can be arranged for their best use in the accommodation of students and instructors. The attention of the public has been called to this great need again and again and it was hoped sometime that the legislature would make possible the construction of such building by sufficient appropriation. In an unexpected way the library building is to be provided for. The magnificent gift of William B. Spooner of $90,000 to the University will probably be used for the erection of a library building. Chancellor Snow in his recent report has so recommended it and without doubt his recommendation will prevail. The gift was made on account of the relationship of Mr. Spooner and Chancellor Snow, and especially on account of the great work which Chancellor Snow has done in the realms of science in the West. Naturally it would appear, from the circumstances of the gift, that this fund would have been devoted to the special development of science in the University, but Chancellor Snow has wisely seen fit to devote it to supply the most pressing need of the University. Had Chancellor Snow chosen to devote it to the building of a new science hall, everybody would have said it was right that it should be so used, as the fund should be disposed according to his desire. As it is, Chancellor Snow has placed the fund in a way in which it will benefit all departments of the University alike and doubtless add much to the fame and honor of the generous benefactor of the college. Spooner Library, built of stone and iron, by the judicious use of $90,000, containing the library which is to serve all departments of the University through the coming generations, will be a fitting monument to him who thought of the advancement of education in the far West.

THE department of Economics and Sociology in Leland Stanford Junior University, is to be represented by some very strong men. For the present, Dr. Clark, Dr. D. A. Ross of Cornell, and Dr. A. G. Warner, present superintendent of charities in the District of Columbia, and Dr. Elliott will compose the teaching force.

This lays a good foundation for the work in the Stanford University. Doubtless it will be enlarged and improved as time makes new demands, for President Jordan, though a special scientist, realizes the growing importance of the study of economic and social sciences.

"COLUMBUS and His Discovery of America," is the title to numbers ten and eleven of the tenth series of the Johns Hopkins University Studies. This volume contains first, an oration on "Columbus and His Discovery of America," by Prof. Herbert B. Adams, followed by an oration on "The Discovery of America," by Prof. Henry Wood, both of Johns Hopkins University. These able and interesting orations are followed by a curious article on "The First Jew in America," and another of equal interest on "Christopher Columbus in Oriental Literature." There is apended to this an excellent list of "Bibliographies on the discovery of America." To the student of Columbus and the Discovery, this book is exceedingly valuable and interesting as presenting new phases of the great subject. Also should be mentioned the list of memorials which are contributed to the life and service of Columbus, in different parts of the world. Some sixty-five of these are mentioned. It is interesting to note that the first erected in America was one at Baltimore in 1792 by Chevalier d'Anmour on his private estate. It is an obelisk forty-four feet and four inches high, made of stuccoed brick. The volume is closed by a note on "Columbus Portraits." Of al Columbus literature it would be quite impossible to crowd more of interest andl value within the short space of eighty-eight pages comprising this volume. It is deserving of a more lengthy notice than this.

PRESIDENT SCHURMAN, of the Cornell University, in his inaugural address made a strong plea in favor of State aid to the institution. He shows that though the State never gave to the University a single dollar from her own treasury, she requires the University to make an annual expenditure of $150,000 for instruction to students receiving free scholarships, and in the name of justice, he asks that this expense be borne by the State.

In the course of his argument President Schurman reviews the provisions made for the State Universities in several of the States. In Michigan the University receives, in addition to special grants, the income of a tax of one-twentieth of a mill on the total taxable valuation of the State. In Wisconsin the University receives the income of a one-tenth mill tax. This tax is supplemented by special appropriations which in the three years from 1885 to 1888 amounted to $350,000. California established for the support of her University a perpetual tax of one-tenth of a mill, which now yields about $100,000 annually. Nebraska gives to her University the income of a three-eighths mill tax, which is the "Highest University tax in America." In Ohio the University tax is one-twentieth of a mill. These taxes varying from one-twentieth to three-eights of a mill are intended to defray running expenses, while extraordinary expenses are usually provided for by generous special appropriations.

In Kansas the act for the government of the University provides a tax sufficient to yield $75,000 annually. This form of provision has the advantage of yielding a definite sum which can be counted upon with certainty. It has the disadvantage of strictly limiting the income of the University so that, as the State grows in wealth and population, there is no corresponding growth in the revenue of its chief educational institution which may enable it to meet the increasing demands upon it. This fact makes it the more necessary that the Legislature provide liberal special appropriations in order that the University may keep abreast of sister institutions in other States and may offer the youth of Kansas as broad and liberal an education as the youth of other States find at home.

The School of Economics, Political Science and History at Wisconsin University is in a very flourishing condition. Under the management of Dr. Richard T. Ely the work is being carried on with force and skill. The first important requisite to a school of this character in a great University like Wisconsin is a competent corps of teachers and ample support. These we understand that Dr. Ely has at his command. It is just such a school as is now needed in Kansas University to supply the present demands of the territory which the University represents. The faculty of the School comprise the following instructors: Richard T. Ely, Ph. D., Director and Professor of Political Economy; John B. Parkinson, A. M. Professor of Civil Polity and Political Economy; Frederick J. Turner, Ph. D., Professor of American History; Charles H. Haskins, Ph. D., Professor of Institutional History; William A. Scott, A. M., Assistant Professor of Political Economy, and John M. Parkinson, A. M., Professor of Civil Polity. Of special lecturers there are Albert Shaw, Ph. D., on Municipal Problems; Amos G. Warner, Ph. D., on Pauperism, and F. H. Wines, A. M., on Criminology. In addition to this David Kinley, A. B., is Fellow and Assistant in Economics, F. W. Speirs, B. S., Extension Lecturer on Economics, and L. A. Powell, A. B., Extension Lecturer on History. With these twelve men in active service there is little wonder that Wisconsin forges ahead in the above lines. But this is not all, they have three Seminaries, one in History, one in Economics, and one in Public Law. They also have an Historical and Political Science association for citizens and advanced students. More than this the students have access to libraries containing over 200,000 volumes.

In this year of Columbian festivals, and Columbian addresses, and Columbian books, it is curious to note the different views taken of the character of the great discoverer. He is either lauded to the skies, as a man noble in all his ways, or regarded as a self-seeking and often wicked adventurer who was fortunate enough to make a great discovery. Recent publications on Columbus have generally tended to remove much of the halo which has surrounded his name. His deeds in the New World have been harshly criticised, and the greatness of his fame has been diminished. Judged by the light of our times Columbus was at fault in much that he tried to do. Judged in the light of his own times, he was not much better or worse than the majority of his fellow men. Yet after all there is something in Columbus' character which seems to show us the inner nobility of the man. At least there is one period in his life which is in nearly every way admirable; the period when for twelve long years Columbus devoted himself with varying fortunes to the propagation of his great idea.

It is this period of trial and disappointment in the life of Columbus which casts the most favorable light upon his character. As yet untouched by that desire to send back to the old world the wealth and produce of the new,—a desire often leading him to harsh and unchristian like conduct,—Columbus has thus far shown us only such qualities as are admirable,—which deserve all honor. Think of it. How many men would have given the twelve best years of life in a seemingly vain attempt to persuade a disbelieving world that it was ignorant and one man only was wise? Twelve years, spent not in idle assertion of a doctrine, but in unremitting, persistant, toilsome effort. Again and again was Columbus reduced to the last extremity in his enthusiasm for what his contemporaries called the "idle thought of an empty head." But he never faltered in his course. Determination was written in every line of his conduct. "Indefatigable persistence," says Irving, "was the essence of his character." In simpler language it was pure grit, a characteristic always admirable, but yet more so, when

employed in a great cause and by an honorable and upright man.

It is sometimes said that the main thing for which Columbus sought, was aid to discover a new world, in order to plunder it. It is true that he ever talked of the wealth, the gold, the jewels, the produce of these as yet undiscovered countries. Yet, in reading Columbus' character, it does not seem this was the main thing for which Columbus sought. He wished to present to the known world an unknown world, and to have the honor of making the presentation. That was his ambition. He desired for himself and his family a great renown, a distinction above all other men. In his will he cautioned his sons never to be known by any other title than the hereditary one of "The Admiral," conferred upon him by Ferdinand and Isabella. But in order to interest others in his schemes it was a necessity of the times, and indeed of all times, that he should appeal to the love of gold. Columbus should be freed from that petty criticism which pictures him as an avaricious adventurer, merely because wherever he landed in the new world he asked first of all for gold from the natives.

Moreover Columbus himself placed as one of the first results of a successful voyage of discovery, the renewal of the crusades for the recapture of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. This was no doubt a fanciful idea, yet it shows us the deep religious side of the man. The idea of a crusade did not seem acceptable as wise to either the Crown or the Church, but to Columbus it was a fond thought even to the day of his death.

Columbus was by nature an enthusiast. His twelve years of effort did not change him in this respect, but only tended to make him mose earnest. For that constant enthusiasm and self sacrificing effort during the years of unrewarded toil, there can be but sympathy and esteem.

THEORY of Wages, by Herbert M. Thompson, M. A., published by MacMillian & Co., is the last addition to the wages discussion. It is taken up chiefly with a review of theories already propounded and something on the line of our American authors, Clark, Ross, Ely and others. The vital point, and indeed the most original of the book, is the application of this theory to the eight-hour question. In this, Mr. Thompson shows the great variation and complication of the laws of distribution, and demonstrates the difficulty of the application of the dynamic law of distribution, and the law referring to equal returns to the last increment. Especially in respect to the eight-hour law he demonstrates quite conclusively that the result of the reduction of the hours of labor must necessarily involve the consideration of the increase or decrease of the total product of industries, or the increase or decrease of land, or the effect on rent of land, and the effect on the amount of capital or the rate of interest and the increase or decrease in the supply of organizing power as well as in the profits of the managers of the business. All this makes the effects of the eight-hour law very complex in their nature. The wide range laid down by Mr. Thompson will furnish food for thought. There are many who reason theoretically about an eight-hour law as if its sole effect would be seen directly in the increase or decrease in wages, and perhaps have something to do with production. The most difficult problem of a general eight-hour law belongs to applied economics, that of regulating and enforcing such law after it has been made.

A VERY valuable paper was read before the Seminary on Friday, Jan. 13, by Hon. James Humphrey, of Junction City, on Political Economy in its relation to Legislation and Government. The students and instructors were greatly interested in the paper. It is the intention of the editors to publish all or a part of the paper in a future edition of the NOTES.

THE two principal articles in this issue of SEMINARY NOTES were read before the Seminary by their respective writers, Mr. Meserve and Mr. Woodward.

THE "Formation of the Union," by Professor A. B. Hart, of Harvard, is the second volume in Longman's series of "Epochs of American History." The period covered is from 1750 to 1829. The work is in every respect an excellent one. Though much condensed, it is interesting reading. The careful division into topics adapts it for use as a text book in the class room or as a basis for wider study in the hands of the general reader. The most notable single feature of the book is the careful bibliographical notes and references which give the student an introduction to the literature of the period and continually invite him to further reading. Our only regret is that two volumes instead of one were not given to the period.

"THE Social Condition of Labor," appearing in several of the leading magazines, written by Dr. E. R. L. Gould, will be received with great satisfaction by all economists and other persons interested in rational statistics. The real condition of labor in Europe has been practically unknown except in a general way. No question has been of more trouble to the student of labor and wages than this, and it is to be hoped that Mr. Gould will continue his scientific researches until we shall have a complete understanding of the actual condition of labor in Europe. It has been the custom of orators and writers to make invidious comparisons between the laboring classes of Europe and America. These have been based upon half-knowledge of the actual condition of affairs in Europe. Nearly all of the information on wages and labor which we have used from time to time, has been of a fragmentary nature. The evil influence of this partial knowledge has been greatly intensified by the attempts of economists and statesmen to prove preconceived notions. As it is, the question of real and nominal wages in reference to Europe and America has never been settled. The work of Dr. Gould will throw much light on the subject and if continued in the discriminating and thoughtful manner in which it has been commenced, will make a final solution of the problem possible. As an example of Dr. Gould's method, the case of investigating the condition of laboring classes by comparing the wages received by each laborer, is exploded by ascertaining the different conditions of family life in Europe and America. In Europe the children remain longer under the same roof than they do in the United States and more contribute to the general support of the home. Consequently the only way to obtain the real wages of labor is to estimate the actual necessaries, comforts, or luxuries enjoyed by families of the same number, under similar conditions of frugality and industry.

It is much to be deplored that we have so few good statisticians in the United States who, like Dr. Gould, are willing to collect sufficient data, and are at the same time able to draw from them proper conclusions. An improvrment in the methods of gathering and handling statistics would have a great influence in the improvement of our administration in the United States—an improvement greatly needed at present.

COURSES OF STUDY

IN

HISTORY AND SOCIOLOGY.

FOR 1892-93.

F. W. BLACKMAR, PH. D.
F. H. HODDER, PH. M.
E. D. ADAMS, PH. D.

Instruction in this department is given by means of lectures, conferences, recitations, discussions, and personal direction in study and research. As the library is an indispensable aid in the pursuit of the following courses of study, students are expected to become acquainted with the best methods of collecting and classifying materials, and of writing and presenting papers on special topics. All lectures are supplemented by required reading and class exercises.

The work of the department now embraces five principal lines of study, namely: European History, American History and Civil Government, Political Institutions, Sociology or Social Institutions, and Political Economy.

The following studies are offered for 1892-'93:

FIRST TERM.

1. **The History of Civilization.** Lectures daily, at 8:30. Ancient Society, and the intellectual development of Europe to the twelfth century. Special attention is given to the influence of Greek philosophy and the Christian church on European civilization, the relation of learning to liberal government, and to the rise of modern nationality.

2. **French and German History.** Daily, at 9:30. Descriptive history. Text-book.

3. **Historical Method and Criticism** Tuesday and Thursday, at 9:30. Examination and classification of sources and authorities. Analysis of the works of the best historians. Library work, with collection and use of material, notes, and bibliography. Special attention to current historical and economic literature.

4. **The History of Education and the Development of Methods of Instruction.** Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, at 9:30. This course may be taken with No. 3. A course for teachers.

5. **English History.** Daily, at 11. Descriptive history. Text-book.

6. **Journalism.** Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, at 12. Lectures, laboratory and library work. English: Twenty-five lectures by Professors Dunlap and Hopkins; 15 lectures on the history and ethics of journalisn, by Professor Adams. Newspaper bureau. The principal object of the bureau is to enable students to form habits of systematic reading, to keep informed on the topics of the day, and to preserve clippings properly filed and indexed. This course will be found highly beneficial to students who desire a special study in magazines and newspapers as a general culture.

7. **Statistics.** Tuesday and Thursday at 12. Supplementary to all studies in economics and sociology. The method of using statistics is taught by actual investigation of political and social problems, lectures, and class-room practice. The history and theory of statistics receive due attention.

8. **American History.** From the earliest discovery to 1763. Lectures, topical reading, and recitations. Three hours a week at 2.

9. **Local and Municipal Government.** Lectures and topical reading. Two hours a a week at 2.

Courses 8 and 9 are intended to be taken together as a full study, but may be taken separately.

10. **American History.** Presidential administrations from Washington to Jackson. Daily, at 3. Open to Seniors in full standing, and to other students upon approval of the instructor.

11. **International Law and Diplomacy.** Lectures and recitations. Two hours a week, at 4.

12. **Political Economy.** Daily, at 4. The fundamental principles are discussed, elaborated and illustrated by examples from present economic society. A brief history of Poiitical Economy closes the course.

SECOND TERM.

13. **Institutional History.** Lectures Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, at 8:30, on comparative politics and administration. Greek Roman, and Germanic institutions compared. Historical significance of Roman law in the middle eges. Short study in Prussian administration.

14. **Renaissance and Reformation.** Tuesday and Thursday, at 8:30. Lectures. The revival of learning with especial reference to the Italian renaissance. A careful inquiry into the cause, course and results of the Reformation. This course may be taken as a continuation of number 1.

15. Political History of Modern Europe. Tuesday and Thursday at 9:30. Text-book.

16. Federal Government and the French Revolution. Lectures, Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, at 9:30, on Switzerland. The Italian republics and the States General of France.

17. Constitutional History of England. Tuesday and Thursday, at 9:30. This course may be taken as a continuation of number 5. Text-book and lectures.

18. Elements of Sociology. Lectures, Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, at 11. Evolution of social institutions. Laws and conditions that tend to organize society. Modern social institutions and social problems.

19. Charities and Correction. Tuesday and Thursday, at 11. Treatment of the poor from a historical standpoint. Modern scientific charity. The treatment of criminals. Prisons and reformatories. Practical study of Kansas institutions. This course is supplementary to number 18.

20. Land Tenures. Lectures, Tuesday and Thursday, at 12. This course treats of primitive property, the village community, feudal tenures, and modern land-holding in Great Britain and the United States. This course is mainly historical, and is an excellent preparation for the study of the law of real property.

21. American History. Continuation of course 8. First half-term: History of the Revolution and the Confederation, 1763 to 1769. Second half-term: Brief summary of the constitutional period, with Johnston's "American Politics" as a text-book. Three hours a week, at 2.

22. Constitutional Law. History of the adoption of the constitution, and a study of its provisions. Twice a week, at 2. Forms, with course 21, a full study, but may be taken separately.

23. American History. Continuation of course 10. Presidential administrations from Jackson to Lincoln. Daily, at 3.

24. Mediæval History. Two-fifths of the second term of the Freshman year. For all students whose admission papers show that they have had elementary physics, hygiene and chemistry. Daily, at 3. Text-book.

25. Principles of Public Finance. Lectures on public industries, budget legislation, taxation and public debts. Open to students who have studied political economy one term. Two hours a week, at 4.

26 The Status of Woman. Conferences. Tuesday and Thursday, at 4. Industrial condition, including a study of labor, wages, etc. Woman in the professions. Their political and legal abilities and disabilities. Property rights. Condition of woman in Europe and the Orient. Social questions.

27. Advanced Political Economy. Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, at 4. Consisting of (*a*) lectures on applied economics; (*b*) practical observation and investigation; and (*c*) methods of research, with papers by students on special topics. This course is a continuation of number 12.

General Seminary, on Friday, at 4. Students in History and Sociology are required to attend the Seminary unless excused by special arrangement. Full credit will be allowed for time spent in Seminary work. At the beginning of the term, students may elect other work in place of the seminary, if they choose.

SUGGESTED MAJOR COURSES FOR UNDER-GRADUATES.

I. Economics. Courses 7, 12, 18, 19, 20, and 27.

II. European History. Courses, 2, 3, 5, 13, 15, and 16.

III. American History. Courses 8, 9, 10, 21, 22, and 23.

IV. Social Institutions. Courses, 1, 12, 14, 18, 19, and 4 (or 26).

V. Political Institutions. Courses 3, 7, 9, 15, 13, 16, 17, 20, and 22.

GRADUATE COURSES.

Persons desiring to take the degree of A. M. may do so by the completion of any one or all of the following courses. The work is carried on by the investigation of special topics under the personal direction of the instructor. An hour for conference will be arranged for each student. The courses extend throughout the year.

I. American History. Open to graduates and students who have studied American History two years.

II. Economics. Open to graduates and students who have taken the undergraduate work in political economy. Courses 12, 27, and 8.

III Political and Social Institutions. Open to graduates and students who have taken the undergraduate work in the history of institutions and sociology. Courses 12, 27, and 7.

The above courses are for students who desire proficiency in a special line. These courses will not in any way interfere with the general rules of the Faculty respecting graduate work.

(Catalogue, 1891-'92, pp. 120, 121.) By these rules, a graduate student may take any of the 27 courses mentioned above (except 15 and 24) as a preparation for the degree of A. M.

Preparation for Entrance to the University. The time spent in the high schools in the study of history is necessarily limited. For this reason it is essential that the greatest care be exercised in preparing students for entrance to the University. At present very little history is required in the Freshman and Sophomore years, and the students enter upon the study of the Junior and Senior years without thorough preparation for the work. It would seem that the aim should be for all those who contemplate entering the University to learn the story of nations pretty thoroughly. A general outline of the world's history with a special study of the United States History and government represents the field. But this outline should be more than a mere skeleton of facts and dates. It should be well rounded with the political, social, and economic life of the people. Students will find a general text-book, such as Myer's, Sheldon's, or Fisher's, indispensible; but the work of preparation ought not to stop here. Such works as Fyffe's Greece, Creighton's Rome, Seebohm's Era of Protestant Revolution, Cox's Greece, and others in the Primer, Epoch, and Stories of Nations series ought to be read. The object of this reading is to familiarize the student with the political and social life of the principle nations of the world. For this purpose everything should be as interesting as possible. Such an interest should be aroused that the student would not be puzzled over dates and threadbare facts, but would seize and hold those things that are useful on account of the interest his mind has in them. That history which is gained by a bare memory of events is soon lost. It grows too dim for use and consequently leads to confusion. With the story of the nations well learned the student comes to the University prepared for the higher scientific study of history and its kindred topics. He is then ready for investigation, comparison and analysis. He then takes up the real investigation of the philosophy of institutions and of national development. He is then ready for the science of Sociology, Institutional History, Political Economy, the Science of Government, Statistics or Political Economy. Students who enter the University without this preparation find it necessary to make up for it as best they can by the perusal of books, such as those mentioned above.

STUDENTS' LIBRARIES.

Every student in the University should lay the foundation of a good working library. Such libraries are not "made to order" at some given time, under specially favorable financial conditions—but are the result of considerable sacrifice, and are of slow growth. The wise expenditure of even ten dollars in each term will bring together books which if thoroughly mastered will be of great assistance in all later life. Room-mates, or members of the same fraternity, by combining their libraries and avoiding the purchase of duplicates, can soon be in possession of a most valuable collection of authors. Assistance in selecting and in purchasing will be given upon application.

The prices named below are the list prices of the publishers.

Students are required to purchase books marked with an asterisk.

American Book Company, Chicago.

Manual of the Constitution, Andrews ... $ 1.00
Analysis of Civil Government, Townsend ... 1.00
Civil Government, Peterman ... .60
History of England, Thalheimer ... 1.00
Mediæval and Modern History, Thalheimer ... 1.60
Outlines of History, Fisher ... 2.40
General History of the World, Barnes ... 1.60
Political Economy, Gregory ... 1.20
Lessons in Political Economy, Champlin ... .90

Ginn & Co., Boston and Chicago.

Ancient History, Myers & Allen ... $ 1.50
Mediæval and Modern History, Myers ... 1.50
Political Science and Comparative Law, Burgess, 5.00
Macy's Our Government ... .75
*General History, Myers ... 1.50
Leading facts in English History, Montgomery ... 1.12
Philosophy of Wealth, Clark ... 1.00
Political Science Quarterly, Yearly ... 3.00
Washington and His Country, Fiske ... 1.00

Harpers, New York.

*History of Germany, Lewis ... 1.50
*International Law, Davis ... 2.00
*Political History of Modern Times, Mueller ... 2.00
*Short English History, Green ... 1.20
Civil Policy of America, Draper ... 2.00
History of English People, Green, 4 vols ... 10.00
History of United States, Hildreth, 6 vols ... 12.00
The Constitution, Story ... .90

Holt & Co., New York.

*American Politics, Johnston ... $ 1.00
American Colonies, Doyle, 3 vols ... 9.00
American Currency, Sumner ... 2.50
History of Modern Europe, Fyffe, 3 vols ... 7.50
Political Economy, Walker ... 2.25

Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

Discovery of America, Fiske, 2 vols ... $ 4.00
American Commonwealths, 14 vols., each ... 1.25
American Statesmen, 24 vols., each ... 1.25
American Revolution, Fiske, 2 vols ... 4.00
Critical Period of American History, Fiske ... 2.00
Epitome of History, Ploetz ... 3.00
Christopher Columbus, Winsor ... 4.00

Appleton, New York.

Dynamic Sociology, Ward, 2 vols ... $ 5.00
History of Civilization, Guizot ... 1.25
Political Economy, Mill, 2 vols ... 6.00

Cranston & Stowe, Chicago.

*Political Economy, Ely ... $ 1.00

Macmillan, New York.

Constitutional History, England, Stubbs, 3 vols. $ 7.80
Principles of Economics, Marshall, vol. I ... 3.00

Armstrong, New York.

*Democracy in Europe, May, 2 vols ... $ 2.50

G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London.

*American Citizen's Manual, Ford ... $ 1.25
Unwritten Constitution of the U. S., Tiedeman ... 1.00
History of Political Economy, Blanqui ... 3.00
Introduction to Eng. Econom. Hist. and Theory, Ashley ... 1.50
Indust. and Com. Supremacy of Eng., Rogers ... 3.00
Economic Interpretations of History, Rogers ... 3.00
Constitutional History of the U. S., Sterne ... 1.25
*Tariff History of the United States, Taussig ... 1.25
The Story of Nations, 34 vols., each ... 1.50
Heroes of the Nations, 12 vols., each ... 1.50
American Orations, ed. by Johnston, 3 vols., each 1.25

Callaghan & Co., Chicago.

Constitutional History of U. S., Von Holst, 8 vol $25.00
Constitutional Law of U. S., Von Holst ... 2.00
Political Economy, Roscher, 2 vols ... 6.00

Crowell, New York.

*History of France, Duruy ... $ 2.00
Labor Movement in America, Ely ... 1.50
Life of Washington, pop. ed., Irving, 2 vols ... 2.50
Problems of To-day, Ely ... 1.50

Little, Brown & Co., Boston.

History of Greece, Grote, 10 vols ... $17.50
Parkman's Works, per vol ... 1.50
Rise of the Republic, Frothingham ... 3.50

Longmans, Green & Co., New York.

Epochs of Ancient History, each vol ... $ 1.00
Epochs of Modern History, each vol ... 1.00
Political Economy, pop. ed., Mill ... 1.75
The Crusades, Cox ... 1.00

Scribners, New York.

*American Diplomacy, Schuyler ... $ 2.50
History of Rome, Mommsen, 4 vols ... 8.00
Lombard Street, Bagehot ... 1.25
Silent South, Cable ... 1.00

Silver Burdett & Co., Boston.

*Historical Atlas, Labberton ... $1.50 or $ 2.00
*Historical Geography of U. S., MacCoun ... 1.00
*Institutes of Economics, Andrews ... 1.50
Institues of General History, Andrews ... 2.00

Dodd, Mead & Co., New York.

History of United States, Schouler, 5 vols ... $11.50

D. C. Heath & Co., Boston.

*The State, Woodrow Wilson ... $ 2.00
Principles of Political Economy, Gide ... 2.00
Methods of Teaching History, Hall ... 1.50
General History, Sheldon ... 1.60
*Old South Leaflets, 22 Nos., each ... .05
History Topics, Allen ... 25
State and Fed. Governments of the U. S., Wilson 50
The American Citizen, Dole ... .90
Comparative View of Governments, Wenzel ... .20
Studies in American History, Sheldon—Barnes ... 1.12

SEMINARY NOTES.

State University—Lawrence, Kansas.

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SEMINARY OF HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCE.

All students connected with the department of History and Sociology are, by virtue of such connection, members of the Seminary. All students are expected to attend the Seminary unless excused by the instructors of the department. Students are credited with the time spent in Seminary work.

The meetings of the Seminary are held every Friday, in Room 15, University Building. Public meetings will be held from time to time, after due announcement.

The work of the Seminary consists of special papers and discussions, on topics connected with the Department mentioned; prepared as far as possible from consultation of original sources and from practical investigation of existing conditions, under the personal direction of the officers of the Seminary

Special assistance in choice of themes, authorities, etc., is given members of the Seminary who have written work due in the department of History and Sociology, or in the department of English, or in any of the literary societies or other similar organizations in the University; on condition that the results of such work shall be presented to the Seminary if so required.

In connection with the work of the Seminary, a Newspaper bureau is maintained. In this the leading cities of the United States are represented by some twenty daily and weekly newspapers. The principal object of the Bureau is to enable students to form habits of systematic reading, to keep informed on the current topics of the day, to study the best types of modern journalism, to learn to discriminate between articles of temporary value only and those of more permanent worth, to make a comparative study of editorial work, to master for the time being the current thought on any particular subject, and to preserve by clippings properly filed and indexed, important materials for the study of current history and public life—to *make* history by the arrangement and classification of present historical matter.

Special investigation and study will be undertaken during each year, bearing on some one or more phases of the administration of public affairs in this state; the purpose being to combine service to the state with the regular work of professional and student life. In this special work the advice and co-operation of state and local officials and of prominent men of affairs is constantly sought, thus bringing to students the experience and judgment of the world about them.

Graduates of our own University, or other persons of known scholarly habits, who have more than a passing interest in such work as the Seminary undertakes, and who are willing to contribute some time and thought to its success, are invited to become corresponding members of the Seminary. The only condition attached to such membership is, that each corresponding member shall prepare during each University year one paper, of not *less* than two thousand five hundred words, on some subject within the scope of the Seminary; and present the same in person at such time as may be mutually agreed upon by the writer and the officers of the Seminary, or in writing if it be found impossible to attend a meeting of the Seminary.

The library of the University and the time of the officers of the Seminary are at the service of corresponding members, in connection with Seminary work—within reasonable limits.

More than twenty gentlemen, prominent in official and professional circles, have already connected themselves with the Seminary, and have rendered very acceptable service during past years.

The officers and members of the Seminary will gladly render all possible assistance to any public officials who may desire to collect special statistics or secure definite information on such lines of public work as are properly within the sphere of the Seminary.

Any citizen of Kansas interested in this work is invited to correspond with the Seminary, and to be present at its meetings when possible.

FRANK W. BLACKMAR,
Director.

FRANK H. HODDER,
Vice-Director.

EPHRAIM D. ADAMS,
Secretary.

THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE EIGHT HOUR LAW.

IT is not the purpose of this paper to advocate the merits or to present the objections to what is popularly known as the "Eight-hour Law," or to champion any one of the many "plans" for lessening the daily hours of toil so earnestly urged by enthusiastic labor reformers. The substitution of machinery for manual labor, constantly progressing during the last fifty years, has revolutionized our methods of production, obviated the necessity for exhaustive physical toil and rendered the old "sun-up to sun-down" system of labor obsolete. Our facilities for production have enormously increased. This sudden and radical change has thrown our industrial system "out of joint," and modern thought is largely directed to the solution of the problem how best to set it right; but customs and usages closely interwoven with our social fabric are not readily loosened. The world is naturally conservative, and changes and innovations rarely keep pace with the desires of impatient and enthusiastic reformers. Nevertheless, the world does move, old customs give way to new, and ultimately the benefits resulting from the utilization of the powers of steam and electricity will be equitably distributed.

The legislature of 1891 provided that eight hours should constitute a day's work for all laborers, mechanics *or other persons* employed by or on behalf of the state of Kansas, or by any county, city, township or other municipality, and that not less than the current rate of per-diem wages should be paid. This law took effect about July 1, 1891. In response to numerous letters of request, I undertook to learn to what extent the law was observed, and addressed a circular letter to all of the county clerks, to the clerks and police commissioners of cities of the first class, and to the heads of the state charitable and reformatory institutions. In order to learn how the champions of organized labor regarded the law, I also addressed circulars to some forty or fifty prominent Knights of Labor and members of trades unions located in different parts of the state. In my letter of inquiry I asked as to the number of persons (excluding those working on salaries fixed by the legislature) employed directly or by contractors since the law took effect, and how many of these had been required to work only eight hours as provided by law. In reply, I received answers from ninety-three county clerks and from all of the clerks of the six cities of the first class. I also received answers from the chairmen of five of the six boards of police commissioners, from the heads of the state institutions, from the chief firm of contractors employed on state work, and from the members of labor organizations living in nine different cities. The result of this investigation is submitted in Part I, of the Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics for the year 1891. The law had not been long enough in force to enable the Bureau to draw any very definite conclusions as to its merits or demerits, but as a rule the replies received were anything but encouraging.

Of the ninety-three county clerks responding, but twenty-two reported that any attention whatever was paid to the law, and of this number only four commended its workings. Fourteen assailed it bitterly. One clerk wrote: "We entirely ignore it, and only regret that our statute books should be disgraced by such an infamous law." In the working of road tax, the reports show that the law was rigidly observed—one clerk being under the impression that there was a standing

reward for the discovery of any person who "ever worked over eight hours on a road." In the case of the twenty-two counties reporting a partial observance of the law, the deputies and clerks employed in the county offices are reported as highly pleased, and, as a rule, in their case it is scrupulously observed. In the cities of the first class the law seems to have been partially observed, in Leavenworth, Atchison, Kansas City and Topeka so far, at least, as street work is concerned; it is ignored in Fort Scott, except in the matter of poll tax; while in Wichita work is done by the hour, as had heretofore been the custom. The only city which has honestly tried to comply with the law seems to have been Topeka. In this city an ordinance making eight hours a day's work for all laborers and employees (except firemen and policemen) has been enacted, and it is observed in all city work. The Wichita city clerk writes that fifteen cents per hour is paid laborers and thirty cents per hour for teams engaged in city work; but that officers and emyloyees who are paid by the month obey the eight-hour law and are highly pleased with it. Referring again to the replies received from county clerks, one, who is evidently something of a pessimist, thinks the law lacking in "practical sense." He says: "The less hours any one labors, the less wages he gets, and the more time he has to sit around, spend what he earns, and complain of hard times and everything else in general." Another thinks the law impracticable, and gives as a reason that he has always been a farmer and obliged to work all day. He claims that as a county clerk, both himself and his assistants work from ten to sixteen hours daily. Here are some other opinions, hastily selected: "Laborers should be paid according to the work done. You cannot by legislative action regulate the natural law of supply and demand, nor fix the price of a day's labor, whether it be of eight or twenty hours' duration." "The law is a farce. If ten hours' labor is worth $1, no contractor will pay over eighty cents for eight hours." "The law is a fraud. A man has no right to be let off with eight hours per day simply because he works for the public." "I think the eight-hour law is a farce and should be declared unconstitutional."

But the returns were not all condemnatory. Here are some, taking a more favorable view of the law: "The law has been observed and general satisfaction prevails." "The deputies in the county offices work eight hours per day." "The law has been obeyed in county and township work." "Observed in township work." "We have what is called 'sandhill roads,' which are kept in repair by contractors, and I learn that the law is obeyed by them." "The eight-hour law has been observed in all county and township work, so far as I know, since it took effect, and seems satisfactory to all concerned." Here is what some of the labor representatives say: "No notice taken of the law, not from a spirit of antagonism on the part of the authorities, but because the city has not been asked to recognize it." "Laborers and foremen have worked only eight hours for this city since the law took effect. In emergencies, when longer hours have been required, they have been paid *pro rata*." "Work is done for the city by the hour; no attention paid to the law." "The law here is a dead letter." "The law should be so amended as to apply to other industries than those coming under state jurisdiction." "I am pained to say that this law is regarded with indifference, as is the case with many other laws upon our statute books in which officials are not personally interested. The only means to secure the enforcement of the law is to elect men to office pledged to its enforcement, and hang them higher than Haman if they fail to do it." All but one of the superintendents of our state charitable institutions regarded the law as impracticable. This one thought it practicable, but doubted if the changes in the institution over which he had charge, which a compliance with the law would

require, were for its best interests. None of these institutions comply with the law. It may be remembered that the Warden of the Penitentiary, by agreement with the Attorney General, submitted the matter to the Supreme Court. The constitutionality of the law was not directly passed upon, but the Court ruled that it did not apply to the officers or employees of the penitentiary, because they were paid a stipulated annual salary; but intimated that it might apply to laborers and mechanics employed by or on behalf of the state in other capacities. The police commissioners, without exception, regarded the law as impracticable so far as the police force was concerned.

In order to obtain official information touching the status of the movement towards shorter hours of labor in other states, I communicated with the labor departments throughout the country, and found that while some states had legislated upon the subject, the law was, as a rule, a dead letter so far as practical results were concerned. In 1879, California, by constitutional enactment, provided that "eight hours should constitute a legal day's work on all public work," but the commissioner says that it is almost entirely ignored. The law of 1887, prohibiting the employment of women and also of minors under sixteen years of age, is *partially* observed in Connecticut. In the *absence of contract*, eight hours was made a legal day's work in Illinois as long ago as 1867, but the commissioner says that "no attention has ever been paid to it." The contract provision makes it abortive. The Indiana commissioner makes practically the same report regarding a similar law passed by the legislature of that state in 1887. Maine passed a law in 1887, restricting the labor of women to sixty hours per week, but providing that they might contract to work in excess of this limit to the extent of sixty hours a year, not exceeding, however, six hours in any one week. The commissioner says that in 1890 complaints were made to him that certain mills were working their female help sixty-six hours per week, and that when he remonstrated with the managers they answered him that they were simply working out the six extra hours allowed under the law. The commissioner thinks this proviso enables unscrupulous employers to evade the law, and that it should be repealed. In 1885 Michigan fixed the limit of a day's work at ten hours, but the commissioner says that very little attention is paid to it. Minnesota fixed the limit of a day's work for women and children employed in factories at ten hours, as long ago as 1868, but retained the vicious contract clause. The operation of the law is described by the commissioner as follows: "The law simply provides that no woman shall be *compelled* to work more than ten hours daily; and one employer whom I ordered to desist from working his female help twelve and one-half hours per day, simply discharged them, and in hiring again required them to sign a voluntary agreement to work twelve and one-half hours. Literally, this would not be compulsory, for by the terms of their engagement they voluntarily agreed to work the extra hours." Missouri passed an "eight-hour law" in 1867, but the commissioner says it is a dead letter, and if employees insist on its observance, employers evade it by paying by the hour. Nebraska passed an eight-hour law in 1891, and the commissioner is now investigating its working. Ohio passed an eight-hour law in 1886, but the contract proviso renders it inoperative. Pennsylvania did the same in 1868, but the "exceptions" were so numerous that the commissioner says that it is a failure. Wisconsin passed the law in 1867. The law is enforced generally in the building trades, "through the persistence of the workmen," to quote the words of the commissioner. The Colorado, Iowa, New Mexico, North Carolina, North Dakota, Texas and Utah commissioners report that no laws exist regulating the hours of labor. The New York commissioner writes

as follows: "The principle of an eight-hour day is clearly recognized, and is applicable to all classes and conditions; but, unfortunately, the word of promise to the ear is broken to the sense by the overwork proviso, which reduces the arrangement to a mere matter of contract. * * * The same faint-hearted consideration for the protection of the laborer is met with in the laws of other states, clearly showing that sentiment has been in favor of the reduced hours, but that second thought has made it a matter of contract. * * * The demand for a general eight-hour day is the newest feature of reform in labor arrangements. The constitutional right of legislative bodies to interpose between employers and employed will scarcely be disputed, in the question of hours, any more than in the questions of health or morals. If the hours of work cannot be regulated, neither can the conditions for ventilation, health or bodily safety against fire or accident. All factory or labor laws really hinge on the need of protecting the humble and lowly against the inhumanity or ignorance of their employers. This is the function of all legislatures, except where their powers are expressly defined and limited." Since June, 1890, nine hours have constituted a day's work in Massachusetts, for all laborers, workmen and mechanics in state and municipal employ, and according to the report of the Labor Bureau, the law is observed. A summary of the Labor Report for 1889 shows that in this state (Massachusetts) ten hours is the normal day's work in 82 per cent. of the manufacturing establishments. About one in four, however, say that shorter hours are the rule on Saturdays. Only one per cent. of the entire number report the working-time to be in excess of ten hours. In commenting on the effect which short hours of labor would produce, the commissioner, Mr. Wadlin, who has made a study of the subject, says: "A current political economy has made the question of profits its central idea, and has constantly taught that only as wages fell could profits rise. A somewhat different economic theory is possible. This rests upon the fact that the mass of the people must always furnish the market upon which the manufacturer depends for sales, and therefore for profits; if higher wages and shorter working time tend to raise the standard of living among the workers, then they also tend to increase the profits. Production is only limited by the demand, and consumption is limited by lack of employment and low wages. If employment, although less per day, were continuous, or if more persons were employed, although for less time each day, the sum of wages might be increased with a resultant increase of consumption and consequently of production, culminating in a gain both in profits and wages."

In brief, our Kansas law provides that eight hours shall constitute a legal day's work for all laborers and mechanics, and, in substance, for all other persons not paid a regular stated salary, who are in any way in public employ, and that the wages paid shall be the same as are paid by private employers for a full day's labor. The reports received by the Bureau show that 1,428 persons are directly or indirectly employed by the state, county and municipal organizations; but these are probably not more than one-half the actual number, which of course varies, depending largely upon the amount of public work in progress in the several cities and counties; but this class of employee is at all times sufficiently large to exercise a pronounced influence upon surrounding labor, and to form an important factor in regulating the hours of the working-day. It is only of late years that legislatures have ventured to positively regulate the employment of women and children in the interest of public health and morality. The idea that the parent was the natural guardian of the child and that the law was powerless to interfere, had prevailed from time out of mind, and the right of any man to sell his labor for as many consecutive

hours as he may choose, has never, until very recent years, been seriously questioned; and while it is conceded that the struggle for shorter hours must be made mainly by the working-people themselves, the conviction that legislative action is not only necessary but legitimate in accomplishing the result, is rapidly forcing itself upon the public mind.

F. H. Betton.

THE RELATION OF POLITICAL ECONOMY TO DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT.

AFTER the formation of the constitution and its adoption as the fundamental law of the union, two great questions arose in American politics which overshadowed all others, and upon these public opinion remained divided up to the period of the late war between the states. Those questions related to slavery, and the nature of the bond and relationship existing between the states and the federal union. Many other questions arose from time to time, connected with the administration of our domestic and foreign affairs, but these were of comparatively transient interest. They received a coloring and bias from the two supreme questions indicated, and they affected the current of our national life and history chiefly through their bearing upon these. All other questions were subordinate, whether they related to fiscal policies or tariff, to the settlement of international complications, or the administration of our great public land system, but these great questions were fundamental and vital, and upon their true solution depended the future solidarity and perpetuity of the union. The question whether or not the United States were a confederation merely of consenting states, or a national republic welded together by the constitution into a solid and indivisible unit, enlisted. the loftiest eloquence of the statesman and the most luminous judicial exposition, and the country was steadily marching towards its true solution when an outburst of war put an end to peaceful discussion, and set at rest forever the two questions that had vexed our national life.

The more elaborate system of taxation which the exigencies of war forced upon the country, has given rise to a new set of questions of very grave import and of far reaching consequences. These have relation to the nature of, and the extent to which the power of taxation may be used to foster and protect special interests. In them are involved questions of justice and expediency, rather than points of law. It is contended, however, that the power of federal taxation is subject to constitutional limitations; on the one side it is held that the primary object should be to raise necessary revenue for the objects of government, and that whatever of protection results from a distribution of the burden of taxation is incidental; on the other it is contended that the whole subject is at large in the discretion of Congress, and that that body is not limited either as to the objects of taxation or its chief purpose. There is no express limitation of the power of taxation in the constitution, and the argument for legal limitation upon the exercise of the power must rest upon such implications as arise out of considerations connected with the primary purpose of government by a democracy, and that equality of rights and justice among all the people which underlies the constitution. It is no part of my purpose to discuss the legal aspects of this matter, but to set forth briefly several of the questions that are upon us and the importance of a correct settlement of them.

These questions were somewhat sharply defined in the platforms of the parties which, at the late presidential election,

sought the suffrages of the people for their respective nominees for president and vice president of the United States. Those which I have selected for consideration relate to the tariff and the coinage.

The Democratic platform denounces protection as the taxation of the great majority for the benefit of the few. It declares it to be a fundamental principle that the federal government has no constitutional power to impose and collect tariff duties except for the purposes of revenue only, and demands that the collection of such taxes shall be limited to the necessities of the government when honestly and economically administered. The platform further points to an array of evils claimed to have arisen from a pursuit of the opposite policy, chief among which is a reduction instead of a promised increase in the rate of wages of laboring men, a depression in business, frequent strikes in various branches of industry, and the heavy and increasing burden borne by agriculture consequent to the restriction of foreign trade.

The Republican platform, on the other hand, reaffirms the doctrine of protection, and attributes the prosperous condition of the country largely to the adoption of that policy. It affirms the principle that on all imports coming into competition with the products of American labor there should be levied duties equal to the difference between wages abroad and at home, and it further asserts that the prices of manufactured articles of general consumption have been reduced under the operations of the tariff act of 1890, a statement which, if true, would indicate that its operation had been contrary to the purposes of its framers. The platform of the People's party exhibits an appalling statement of public evils, but attributes them to other causes than the tariff. The Prohibition party believes in a retaliatory tariff; that is, if foreign governments tax their people on their importations, we should follow their example and tax ours likewise. It will thus be seen that there is a wide divergence of opinion among the people in respect to governmental policy upon subjects of most grave and immediate importance.

Upon the question of the currency, the Democratic and Republican parties speak the same voice. The Democratic platform holds to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and to the coinage of both gold and silver without discriminating against either metal or charge for mintage, but the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable values, or be adjusted through international agreement or by such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets and in the payment of debts; and that all paper currency shall be kept at par with and redeemable in such coin. The Republican platform holds that "The American people, from interest and tradition, favor bimetallism and it demands the use of both gold and silver as standard money, with such restrictions and under such provisions, as will secure the maintenance of the parity of values of the two metals, so that the purchasing and debt paying power of the dollar, whether of silver, gold or paper, shall be at all times equal."

At first glance it would seem that this agreement of the two great parties upon the legislative policy to be pursued in respect to the coinage and currency would leave no element of uncertainty or ground for contention. But as a matter of fact it settles nothing. It leaves every difficulty connected with the subject unsolved. So long as the coinage is made up of two metals of diverse values there must be a ratio fixed to express the unit of each. At this point the men who framed and supported the coincident propositions of the platforms of the two great parties are in conflict with each other and among themselves. Yet this is the vital point. Upon its determination depends whether

the exchange value of gold and silver dollars shall be equal. It is contended on the one hand that the intrinsic and exchangeable value of the dollar, whether of gold or silver, is dependent upon the market price of those metals, on the other that the government stamp creates the dollar, and that it is not a material consideration whether the metal of which it is composed is worth sixty cents or one hundred, or whether the metal in the silver dollar is equal in market value to the metal in a gold dollar, that the stamp of the government will equalize the exchangeable value of the two metals notwithstanding the wide difference at the present ratio of coinage between the two. This is an old superstition which, in spite of reason and experience, still dominates the minds of many persons.

All exchangeable commodities, including gold and silver, are the products of labor. In the long run, or speaking generally the exchange value of all commodities is determined by the cost of production. By this it is not meant that every man who expends labor upon the production of any particular commodity is assured of a price which will compensate his outlay, nor yet that the like labor of all men will meet with equal reward. There are numberless circumstances that tend to destroy, or rather render impossible, an equality of compensation for like kinds and amounts of labor. Take for example the labor expended in the raising of grain, the amount of each producer's profit depends upon the fertility and situation of his land, the amount of capital invested in it, and the favorableness or unfavorableness of the season for growth of crop and harvest. The compensation derived from this line of production will be as various as the diversity of conditions and circumstances of the producer. When at any time by reason of favoring conditions the amount of wheat produced exceeds the demand for it, the least favorable wheat lands will be turned to other lines of production. And when the surplus has disappeared and the price has risen so as to compensate for the cost of production on the poorer lands these will be restored to that line of production. When production is no longer profitable it will cease, while increasing profits stimulate production, and by this means the equilibrium between supply and demand is restored. The inequality in circumstances and conditions attending industrial pursuits, the inability to apportion production to demand so that no excess will be left of one commodity over another, leads to fluctuation in price or exchangeable value, inflicting losses at one time and affording unusual profit at another. But the ultimate criterion or regulator of exchangeable value is the labor cost of commodities.

This is as true of gold and silver as of anything else. If the exchangeable value of these metals diminishes, that is, if it requires a greater amount of the metal than formerly to purchase the same number of shoes or amount of cloth, their production will cease to be profitable in the least productive mines, just the same as the production of wheat must be abandoned in the poorer fields when the price is low, and production will diminish. This process will go on until the equilibrium is restored between supply and demand. Is it the duty of the government to attempt to create or maintain artificial prices for labor and capital engaged in one line of industry rather than another? There is only one way in which it can accomplish this as to silver production, viz., to prohibit all importations and buy up most of the product of our own mines. This last it has been doing for several years, and for the past two years it has purchased and hoarded up half of the annual product of the world, suffering thereby an immense loss by reason of its constantly diminishing price. If the production of silver at present market prices for that commodity was unprofitable, its aggregate product would diminish. The fact that it does not is proof that its

production is attended with fully, if not more than, the average profit derived from other industrial enterprises.

Philip I, King of France, mixed with the livre tournois of Charlemagne one-third alloy, imagining that since he held the monopoly of the power of coining money he could do what every merchant does who holds the monopoly of a product. As soon as the fraud was suspected his money was reduced to its true value. During the reigns of the Stuarts of England the practice prevailed of clipping and hammering the silver coins of the realm. This was rendered possible without easy detection by the defective method of coinage. This debased coinage sank in exchangeable value in even greater proportion in many instances than the amount of silver clipped from them, from the element of uncertainty surrounding them. All except the credulous accepted the coins by weight and these were systematically robbed. In the reign of William it was determined that this debased coinage should be called in and recoined. In that day there were men who insisted that a shilling containing ninepence worth of metal would pass as readily and for as much as a twelve penny shilling. Macaulay thus describes them: "Those politicians whose voice was for delay gave less trouble than another set of politicians, who were for a general and immediate recoinage, but who insisted that the new shilling should be worth only ninepence or ninepence halfpenny. At the head of this party was William Lowndes, Secretary of the Treasury, and Member of Parliament for the borough of Seaford, a most respectable and industrious public servant, but much more versed in the details of his office than in the higher parts of political philosophy. He was not in the least aware that a piece of metal with the king's head on it was a commodity of which the price was governed by the same laws which govern the price of a piece of metal fashioned into a spoon or buckle, and that it was no more in the power of parliament to make the kingdom richer by calling a crown a pound than to make the kingdom larger by calling a furlong a mile. He seriously believed, incredible as it may seem, that if the ounce of silver were divided into seven shillings instead of five, foreign nations would sell us their wines and silks for a smaller number of ounces. He had a considerable following composed partly of dull men who really believed what he told them, and partly of shrewd men who were perfectly willing to be authorized by law to pay a hundred pounds with eighty." This was two hundred years ago. Since then the world has been flooded with arguments to illustrate and enforce the obvious truth stated by Macaulay.

Yet to-day a majority of the senators and a large number of the house of representatives of the American congress stand where William Lowndes stood two hundred years ago. It requires constant watchfulness and struggle on the part of the enlightened part of the American congress to prevent the credit and business of the country being swamped by the ideas of William Lowndes. If you will take the pains to follow the debates in those two bodies upon economic questions of national importance and concern, you will discover that one-half the members believe that the laws of the universe have no application to the United States of America.

It is a familiar and constant claim on the part of those who advocate unlimited coinage of silver, with the restoration of full legal tender quality, that the decline in the market price of that metal is due to its demonetization by the United States and the nations of Europe. Doubtless this has in a measure contributed to that result, but to what extent it is impossible to say. But the primary cause of demonetization was the too rapid increase in the volume of silver and the decline in its exchangeable value. The annual product having more than doubled within recent

years over former periods, that commodity began to experience the influence of the same law that determines the exchangeable value of all other products of human labor. If a man produces twenty bushels of wheat when ten will suffice for the demand, the twenty bushels would sell for less than ten if ten only had been produced.

A recent and famous illustration of the operation of this economic law is furnished us in the beef and cattle trade. Twenty years ago the butchering and meat packing business began to be organized upon a large scale. Great packing establishments were organized in several commercial centers, and facilities were provided for economizing in a most remarkable manner the processes of preparing meats for consumption. Simultaneous with this, and as one of its attendant facilities, arrangements were made by transportation companies to give this meat product a wide distribution over the country, and to countries beyond the seas, by means of cars and ships constructed with cooling compartments. The effect of this was soon felt in cheapening meats for consumption and increasing the demand. This greatly and rapidly augmented the demand for beef cattle and their price rose rapidly and the breeding and preparation of live stock for market became extremely profitable. This soon became a favorite business and very large amounts of additional capital and labor were determined by the unusual profits attending the business, into that line of production. With careful breeding and preservation of herds live stock multiplied with amazing rapidity, and in a few years the great plains to the west of us were swarming with vast herds where not a hoof had been seen before. These as fast as they became fit were thrown upon the market. The herds continued to increase and the number carried to the slaughter house increased likewise. This continued until the demand for fresh beef at the old prices was more than supplied and the price declined. The declining tendency continued in proportion to the excess of supply over demand at the last price, until the cattle raisers were annihilated with the superabundance of their own wealth. What had actually occurred was this, the cattle raisers had produced an excess of beef over that proportion of all other commodities which was available for exchange for beef. This excess could only be disposed of by accepting in exchange for beef a less amount in quantity or value of other commodities than before, and this is effected by what is termed lowering the price. The distress and disaster that overtook the cattle men was of so dire a character as to strongly attract public attention, and congressional and legislative committees were appointed to inquire into and report upon the causes of these low prices for live stock with a view to legislation to arrest this destructive tendency towards a great industrial interest. It was boldly proclaimed by these wise men upon the floor of congress and the state legislatures that the low ruling price of beef cattle all over the world was due to the wicked conspiracy of four American butchers, who were called by way of distinction "the big four." It was confidently and gravely announced that "the big four" had cornered and were ruthlessly dominating the price of the meat products of the civilized world. These committees investigated, but whether their inquiry increased their knowledge on the subject was never revealed. Many ruined cattlemen still think that they were the victims of "the big four," but science teaches that they were tossed upon the horns of too many Texas cows. At the present time the rate or price of beef cattle is advancing. What has taken place to bring this about is the increase in quantity of other commodities and a decrease in the excess of beef in its relation or proportion to those other commodities.

The production of silver is undergoing the like process of degeneration with less

chance of recovery, since the cattle were consumed, but the stock of silver still remains, and each added increment of production swells the volume. It must not be supposed that the act of 1873 demonetizing silver arrested the coinage of that metal. For the eight years succeeding the passage of that act the silver coinage of the United States exceeded by $6,619,385 the total silver coinage of the country up to that period. Subsequently the government has vastly increased its purchases of silver making that metal the basis of a representative currency in the form of silver certificates. The government is at this moment staggering under the weight of a load of silver and approaching a monetary crisis which, if not arrested, will unsettle all values and ingulf the industries of the country in common ruin. Upon the subject of silver the legislation of the country is in sharp contention with an economic law which can not be thrust aside, and whose operation is as sure and relentless as fate.

Some of the prominent advocates of silver acknowledging that the cost of production ultimately determines the exchangeable value of the product, nevertheless maintain that the aggregate cost is equal to the par value, reckoned at the gold standard, of that metal counted in dollars. That is, that there is as much labor expended in the production of a silver as of a gold dollar. In this are estimated the money and labor expended in fruitless prospecting and sunk in unprofitable mines. While it is probable that these sources of loss are greatly exaggerated, it remains that they do not become a charge or burden on the silver produced. The losses of those who search in vain for hidden treasure are not compensated out of the profits of those who find it. The great bulk of that product is produced at a high rate of profit at present prices, and the whole at an average rate of profit to cover risks and make the business tempting. If this were not the case the production of the metal would presently fall off.

The argument most commonly used is that, by the demonetization acts the purchasing power of gold has been augmented, that relatively to gold all other commodities have been cheapened by them, and that thus the demonetization of silver is the result of a conspiracy against the working classes. If this were true it would point their strongest condemnation. Those who make the statement stop short of offering any proof of its correctness. Evidence approaching to anything like proof of this must necessarily take into account the extent to which prices have fallen in consequence of the greater productiveness of labor by the application of improved machinery and economizing processes, by swifter despatch of business and cheaper systems of distribution of commodities, in their transportation over lands and seas and the handling of dealers. It is not sufficient to point to the fact that a certain amount of gold will buy a greater quantity of most classes of commodities than the same amount would twenty years ago. If this were not the case it would argue that the fertile genius and the vast energies of mankind had been fruitlessly exerted and failed of their purpose. That purpose is to continually add to the sum of human comfort and well being and advance the civilization of the race. But the proof, such as exists, points to a different conclusion. As to the compensation of purely personal services and the prices of those commodities the production of which has not been facilitated and accelerated by inventions and machinery, there has been no decline.

It has become a familiar claim on the part of those who advocate unrestricted silver coinage, that the existing stock of money is insufficient to meet the demands or requirements of business. No proof is ever offered of this. There is evidence on the subject in abundance and it utterly refutes their claim. In addition to the increase in the silver coinage and paper money representing silver since the demonetization acts, the figures for which, cov-

ering a portion of that period, have been given as respects the United States, there has been recently an unusual increase in the gold reserves, that is, in gold used as money. Professor Laughlin estimates the increase in the gold reserves in the principal banks of the United States and Europe to have been from $477,000,000 in 1870–80, to $836,000,000 in 1885. According to the same authority there was in 1871–74, $1 in gold for every $3.60 of the paper circulation of the civilized world. In 1885 the gold reserves had increased so as to reduce the proportion of paper circulation to gold to $1 of gold for every $2.40; this, too, notwithstanding the total note circulation increased during the same time to the extent of $464,000,000, or 29 per cent. Quoting from the same authority, it appears that in 1870-74 the gold reserves amounted to 28 per cent. of the total note circulation, and 64 per cent. of all the specie reserves. In 1885 the gold bore a larger ratio to a larger issue of paper, or 41 per cent. of the total note circulation, and 71 per cent. of the specie reserves. "This," says Prof. Laughlin, "is a very significant showing. What it means, beyond a shadow of doubt, is that the supply of gold is so abundant that the character and safety of the note circulation has improved in a signal manner."

The output of the gold mines has enormously increased in recent years. Before 1840 the annual production was $14,000,000. It rose to $157,000,000 about the year 1853, from this it declined until in 1885 the product amounted to $101,000,000. There is no evidence that any less use has been made of silver as money since its demonetization. In this and a number of other countries its use has been greatly increased.

In any attempted estimate of the sufficiency of the present volume of money to perform with ease and efficiency the work of the world's exchanges, a very partial view only is obtained by ascertaining the actual increase in the legal circulating medium. The lowering of prices in most classes of commodities by means of reduced cost of production would of itself, without an addition to the currency, increase the proportion of money to the ratio of exchanges to be made. The rapidity of transit over land and sea has increased 50 per cent. within twenty years. Within recent years the telegraph has come into every day use for the transmission of money, or credits, which perform the functions of money, in the world's business arrangements. Banking facilities since 1840 have increased elevenfold and the world's commerce but threefold. Vastly increased use is now made of checks, of credits, drafts and bills of exchange, and these form a species of circulation representing commodities, safe, economical and convenient. The establishment and use of clearing houses is another expedient that greatly increases the efficiency of money by economizing its use. In proportion to the volume of the world's commerce and the exchanges to be effected, I think I hazard nothing in saying that the monetary facilities existing to-day are greater than ever before. These facts, however, possess but scant significance to that class of persons among us (and they are by no means a small body) who believe that the government is an omnipotent instrumentality, that it can create wealth and insure prosperity.

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It seems singular, indeed, that, after one hundred years of Adam Smith, in a democratic republic, the doctrine of dearness should find numerous and powerful adherents. The advocates of high protection have changed the ground of their plea for its continuance. Formerly its purpose was held to be the fostering, and encouraging the establishment of infant industries, by furnishing such incidental protection as a discriminating imposition of revenue duties would afford. Such a plea would now be consciously ridiculous in the face of the fact that those infant industries have become colossal, and that to

now reap the full benefits of the protective duties which have been thrown around them, it has been found necessary in many of the departments of production to form trust combinations to forcibly limit production and create artificial or high prices, and to sell their surplus manufactures in the markets of the world in competition with the free trade and so-called pauper labor countries of Europe. The infant industries never demanded more than 30 per cent. tariff, the giants demand 50 per cent.

The plea is now put forth that this high tariff is necessary to maintain the difference between the wages paid to laboring men here and those paid in Europe. This is a fallacious pretense. There is no principle more firmly established in the science of political economy than this—that high wages for labor are neither created nor maintained by a tariff, whether it be high or low. I undertake to say further, that the condition of labor and the various compensations it is able to command today in all industrial countries, furnishes the amplest proof of that principle. Among the industrial countries of Europe there exists a considerable similarity in respect to natural resources, the character of the laboring classes and the progress and status of industrial pursuits. It would naturally be expected that the average rate of wages paid the working classes would be substantially the same in all those countries.

Fifty years ago, when all alike were under the blessings of protection, this was the case. But within that period one of those countries—England—shook off the protectionist regime and embarked on a career of free trade; the rest, meanwhile, increased their protection by building higher the wall. Wages advanced under free trade more than 50 per cent. in England and remained stationary in the protectionist countries. We are constantly pointed to the fact that the rate of wages paid in free trade England is below the rate paid in like industries in this country. This does not prove the protectionists' point, it simply emphasizes the difference in natural conditions between the two countries. The conditions that affect the wage rate are similar in the free trade colony of New South Wales to those that exist in the United States, and as high a rate of wages is paid in one country as in the other. The average wages paid to labor engaged in the protected industries in this country is no greater under a tariff of 50 per cent. than were paid when the tariff was only 15 per cent. It is claimed that wages in those classes of industries which receive the benefit of protection have, on the whole, rather receded than otherwise as the tariff advanced. Whether this is so or not, it hardly admits of doubt that the ultimate effect of the operation of high tariff duties is to force a decline in the wages of the working classes.

No one will contend that, as a rule, employers pay more for the kind and amount of labor which they require than is needful to secure it. Laborers discover that the benefits derived from enhanced protection do not reach them. Whenever employers perceive that they can secure the labor they need at a reduced price, they propose a reduction of the wages of their employees. This tendency to reduction may be checked or prevented in those instances where it may be inevitable that a reduction will provoke a strike and the losses ensuing from this may overbalance the advantages of a reduction. Barring the terrorism of the strike and whatever deterrent effects it may have upon the mind of the employer, the wages of the different classes of working men are determined by competition among working men for the work to be done. No employer apportions the wages of his employees with reference to his own profits, unless he has adopted the system of profit sharing among them, and instances of this kind are of very rare occurrence.

Whatever resources or causes may exist to relieve the sharpness or pressure of competition on the labor market, will

exert a tendency to maintain a higher rate of wages than would otherwise exist. Such a resource exists in this country and some of the new colonies of Great Britain, where exceptionally high wages rule, in the large areas of cheap and fertile lands. Here the majority of the laboring men become their own employers, and the number of those who extract a sturdy and manly independence from the soil is constantly increasing. Many of the prosperous farmers of this country have been artisans, mechanics and common laborers. Approximately, manufacturers and other employers of labor must pay a rate of wages equal to the value of a man's labor on the farm. Labor, by reason of its mobility, determines a tendency in wages to a common level, as surely as the freely moving particles of water preserve the level of the oceans. By this I do not mean that the price of expertness and skill can ever reach the dead level of that which commands the services of muscle and bone. But that in like classes of occupations, if a higher rate of compensation is afforded to labor by one employer than another, the one will be crowded with applications for employment, while the other will suffer a diminution either in quantity or quality. And so of nearly all classes of employments, where higher rates of compensation for the labor employed are afforded, this additional attractiveness sets up a competition that brings them down to the normal level. Even the professions have become so crowded that there is only room now at the top.

But what rate of compensation for labor an employer is required to give is ultimately determined by the average productive value of men's labor at the base of the industrial system. Whatever tends to lower the value of this, strikes at the wages of all above, and this is the legitimate and inevitable effect of a tariff. Its purpose and effect is to restrict foreign trade, to cut off or at least diminish importations, and by necessity affect exportations; for all foreign trade is barter. The cotton, wheat, corn, beef, pork and the numerous other products we sell abroad are paid for not in money but in other commodities. Possessing, as we do, the greatest area of fertile soil under genial skies of any nation on earth; employing the vast majority of our own productive labor in extracting wealth from the soil, it results that the greatest bulk and value of our exports consists in the products of the soil. The prices of these at home depend upon an active market for them abroad. If we refuse to take the foreigner's goods he will decline ours. He will seek his supplies of cotton and wheat and beef in other lands. This process has begun and is now going on, receiving whatever of stimulus can be given to it by the American tariff. And thus by striking down the prosperity of the farmer by reducing the productive value of labor on the farm, you aim a blow at the wages of every laborer and every mechanic in the country.

When England adopted free trade, she invited all nations to bring their products to her ports. They came and took away as much as they brought. With the freedom of trade new and large demands quickly arose, production was stimulated, tens of thousands of idle hands were set to work; wages advanced; increased comfort and an improved condition of the laboring classes were brought about; invention lent her genius to quicken and cheapen production, and the better nourished body and brain made the Englishman himself a more efficient machine. Within the past fifty years England has made greater material and political progress than she achieved in the two hundred preceding years.

Is seems to be a fact now well recognized by political economists that the efficiency of production is in large measure dependent upon the condition of the laboring classes, material, intellectual and moral. Ignorance means stupidity, half nourished bodies mean sloth, hunger effaces the feeling of moral responsibility.

Discussing the arguments of American protectionists, Prof. Cairnes remarks: "I would ask such to consider what are the true causes of the high remuneration of American industry. It will be admitted that, in the last resort, these resolve themselves into one great fact of its high productive power. Capitalists and laborers receive large remuneration in America because their industry produces largely. This is the simple and patent fact which all must acknowledge."

England has never feared the competition of the low priced labor of other European countries, but those countries have always been jealous of the competition of the comparatively high priced labor of England. Now it is no part of the functions of government to guarantee or specially provide for the prosperity of one class of its citizens, or the security of their business and profits. For this can only be done by invading that equality of rights among its citizens which is fundamental in democracy. In the very nature of the case protectionism means class legislation, discrimination, the selection of one or a class ot industries to be favored at the expense of the rest. Moreover, it raises false hopes and expectations. It may aid in the development of infant industries but it becomes a formidable obstacle to their expansion. The only path of safety, which is also coincident with the highest interest of the public, is that which falls within the lines of political economy. A government that undertakes to do more than it should, will be required by the people to do more than it can, and will be held responsible for the failure. It is a dangerous thing to foster in the minds of the masses of the people the idea that the government can impart or withhold prosperity. If crops fail, hard times pinch and mortgages increase, the result is attributed to the profligacy of the government. If crops are very bountiful and prices drop, it is due to the bulls and bears, who in a few commercial centers, buy and sell from each other more grain or stocks than they have on hand to deliver. When the tariff goes up and wages go down and great strikes occur in consequence, as was recently the case, the men claim the right to seize and hold forcible possession of their master's works until he is coerced into delivering their share of the plunder. And this claim is advocated as a right by statesmen upon the floor of the national congress.

A reaction from the artificial prices of a boom is owing to a shortness or dearth of money, and since the government can issue millions an hour at no expense beyond that incurred in the operation of an engine and printing press. it is responsible for the bursting of the boom. The statute books of the nation and of many of the states are becoming honeycombed with legislation of a futile character. The longer we keep up the pretense that the government can create prosperity, the greater will be the number of the shortcomings and sins laid at its door. What, then, do you insist that we must accept free trade? That, doubtless, is a fearful alternative, but it seems to me to be the inevitable logic of the principles of democracy. Free trade legislation proceeds upon the fundamental idea that what a man owns is his, that one of the attributes of ownership is the right to dispose of your own earnings or property, or use them in such way as in your judgment will best promote your own interest and welfare, that the knowledge and wisdom of sixty millions of people is greater than the knowledge and wisdom of four hundred of them assembled in congress. Further that, when every man in the country, knowing best his own needs and situation, has, without let or hindrance from the legislative power, so lawfully used his own as to promote, according to his own best judgment, his own interest and welfare, the aggregate of well being and of national wealth will be best secured. This is the philosophy of free trade, and the vital principle of democracy. Protectionism is the antithesis of this. The principle

and spirit of protectionism is mediæval. It is foreign to the spirit and destiny of democracy. The whole course of western civilization tends to the development of personality, to the growth and elevation of individualism, to the narrowing of the sphere of governmental functions. Every scientific discovery, from that of the revolution of the earth to the origin of species, and of evolution as the corollary of the doctrine of the persistence of force, every mechanical invention and improvement, from the printing press to the steam engine, every political advance from Magna Charta to the declaration of American independence, has contributed to the levelling of ranks and the diffusion of power. The final realization of the purpose of democracy lies in the fullest practicable attainment of the inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

JAMES HUMPHREY.

SEMINARY REPORTS.

HAWAIIAN ANNEXATION.

AT the meeting of the Seminary on February 25th, Mr. O. H. Holmes was chosen chairman, in the absence of the regular officers. The subject for discussion was the Hawaiian situation.

The history and geography of the islands were discussed by Miss Wymer. On account of their situation they are of great value as a coaling station to any of the great trading nations having commercial relations with the Orient. A review of the existing treaty relations between the United States and Hawaii was given by Miss Humphrey. The present treaty was negotiated in 1885 and will continue in force something over two years. By the conditions of this treaty the products of the islands are admitted to the United States free of duty and similar concession was made to the United States. The economic and commercial advantages of annexation were presented by Mr. Kinzie. The commercial advantage to the United States results from the location of the islands and their remarkable fertility. The principal products are rice, coffee, sugar, cocoanuts, tobacco and nearly all varieties of fruit. At present, about 90 per cent. of the imports come from the United States, but if any other power should obtain possession of the Hawaii islands, the commercial supremacy of the United States could not be maintained.

The political side of the question was presented by Mr. Sherman. The advantages of possessing the islands in case of war between the United States and an eastern power are very great. A man of war could not well carry sufficient coal to maintain itself for any length of time in the Western Pacific. The Hawaii islands present the only practicable solution of such a difficulty. Our claim is paramount to that of any other nation and as long as there is any possibility that England or Germany may secure a foothold in these islands, the United States should not hesitate to annex them. After the reading of the papers, the question was discussed until the close of the hour. The advantage resulting to Claus Spreckles from annexation was mentioned and explained.

T. D. BENNETT, *Reporter*.

RAILROADS.

AT the meeting of the Seminary on February 5th, Mr. H. Fiegenbaum read a paper on Government Ownership of Railroads, of which the following is an abstract.

Ownership and management of railways by the State is one of the measures suggested to do away with the railroad wrongs. A few of the advantages claimed for government ownership are: (1.) It will do away with competition in a field where competition is undesirable and impossible. (2.) It will put an end to the evils of pooling, stock watering, prevention of legitimate investment, and the construction of parallel and unnecessary lines. (3.) It will purify politics.

Railroads are a monopoly. While there are at times savings in the transaction of a business by a monopoly, when these are desired that line of business should be turned over to the government, either local, state or federal, according to the nature of the undertaking. As at present managed, only a portion of the public derives the full benefit from the railroad monopoly. This result may be partially attributed to want of competition. Offers of service are made only for competitive points and shippers on isolated lines derive no advantage from competitive rates. On the contrary, local rates are kept high to make up for the loss occasioned by the reduction on through freight.

Closely allied to competition is discrimination. The power of railway managers to foster or to injure particular traders, branches of business, or sections of country, is a momentous element of the railroad problem. The charge has been made that the avenue to success in business lies through the grace of the manager of a public highway. As evidence of the gigantic wrongs which railways can inflict through the power of discrimination, witness the growth of the Standard Oil Company, whose agreement with the Central, Lake Shore, Erie, and Pennsylvania railways, enabled it to crush out competition, and thousands of honest producers, and to become the most powerful corporation of its kind in existence. The object of economic life is to secure the happiness and welfare of the masses of the people. The thing to be looked at in this case is the ruin of men engaged in honorable and legitimate business. These men, forming part of the commonwealth, exercise an influence upon the thrift of the nation. This favoritism, shown in the concessions to the Standard Oil Company, is extended to thousands of other enterprises.

Discrimination is but one method of crushing competition. Another is the formation of pools among competing railways. Being subject to no laws, the action of these pools is sometimes arbitrary. If pooling could be legalized, and placed under strict government supervision, local as well as competitive points would be benefited, and the system might be made the most effective aid to public railway regulation.

Cost of operation and efficiency of management, have varied in different countries. There is no reason why federal ownership should not possess just as cheap a service, as enterprising a management, and as effective a working force, as are exhibited by our private companies. Private enterprise has not always taken the initiative in improvements. There is little complaint in Prussia of the political dangers of state ownership. This is attributed to the superb organization of the Prussian civil service. We should have as effective a civil service as any power in Europe. Our civil service is growing better. At any rate, industrial reform must precede reform in our administration. When we have public ownership and management of natural monopolies, public interests and private interests are identified, and the best citizens are on the side of good government.

When railway corporations control legislatures, the time for considering the question of a change is at hand. It would seem that even were the charges made against government ownership to prove true, the evils would at least be no worse than the abuses under which we now suffer. Moreover, there is every reason to believe that as our civil service becomes more effective, and as our people become more enlightened on public affairs and public duties of citizens and officers, that a system of government ownership could be honestly, economically and beneficially maintained.

- SEMINARY - NOTES. -

PUBLISHED ON THE FIRST DAY OF OCTOBER, NOVEMBER, DECEMBER, FEBRUARY, MARCH, APRIL AND MAY,

BY

THE SEMINARY OF HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCE, State University, Lawrence, Kansas.

Frank W. Blackmar,
Frank H. Hodder, - - - - *Editors.*
Ephraim D. Adams,

Terms, Ten Cents a Number, - Fifty Cents a Year

THE purpose of this publication is to increase the interest in the study of historical science in the University and throughout the State, to afford means of regular communication with corresponding members of the Seminary and with the general public—especially with the Alumni of the University, and to preserve at least the outlines of carefully prepared papers and addresses. The number of pages in each issue will be increased as rapidly as the subscription list will warrant. The entire revenue of the publication will be applied to its maintenance.

Address all subscriptions and communications to

F. W. BLACKMAR,
Lawrence, Kansas.

THE papers by Hon. F. H. Betton and Judge Humphrey, printed in this number of the NOTES, are the last addresses delivered by corresponding members before the Historical Seminary.

WITH the February number the *Magazine of American History* becomes the property of the National History Company. The change was made necessary by the recent death of Mrs. Martha J. Lamb, who had edited the magazine since 1883. Gen. James Grant Wilson, one of the editors of the "Cyclopedia of American Biography" and author of a "History of the City of New York," brought out the February number but has since given up the editorship for want of time. The *Magazine* is to be united with the *National Magazine*, formerly the *Magazine of Western History*, but continued under the old title. For the purpose of popularizing the study of American history the publishers offer a number of prizes for historical articles, novels and stories.

A DETERMINED effort is being made to secure the reduction of letter postage from two cents to one. Several letters received from business houses lately have enclosed circulars urging us to write to our congressmen pledging their support of the measure. The reduction of postage rates is a measure which should come as soon as the finances of the postoffice department warrant it but not before. Since the change from three to two cents ten years ago there has been an annual deficit in the accounts of the department. This may be due to unreasonably low rates on second class matter. If so, these rates should be changed. At least the postoffice department should become self supporting before further reduction is made. It is unreasonable that the whole people should be taxed to pay for a service rendered so cheaply to a part. The movement proceeds from what Mr. Fiske has well called the "magic fund delusion," the idea that "Uncle Sam is rich enough to give us all a farm," or do anything else we may happen to want, and that everything we get out of the government is clear gain.

OUR daily newspapers have of late been prophesying that the incoming administration in this country will "make history." By this is meant that there are many great questions awaiting solution which it will be necessary for President Cleveland and a democratic congress to deal with. Every administration and every congress makes history, yet it does seem as if the next few years were to be unusually important ones in the history of this country, and the most important question of all is the tariff. The democratic party is pledged to some change in existing tariff regulations, and if that change is at all radical it will mean a wide spread alteration of existing economic conditions. Such an alteration in economic conditions is of as much importance to citizens of the United States as a change in the form of government.

Its results for good or evil will affect every stage of society. Ought we not, therefore as citizens to attempt to understand the real situation, so that our approval or disapproval may be honestly given to our representatives in congress? What is meant is that a question of such far reaching effect as the advisability of tariff reduction should be studied honestly and not accepted blindly as a matter of party allegiance. Particularly should the young men of the University, and the young women too for that matter, keep themselves informed upon this subject. For the majority of students there will never be a time so available for the study of great political questions as the years spent at the University. Be on the alert to know what is going on. In future times the days now passing may be of the greatest historical interest.

The prospect of the coming of "history making" days is not confined to this country. In England the introduction in the house of commons of a home rule bill for Ireland was an important event in history. Whether the bill becomes a law or not it marks an important step in English politics. The NOTES knows of two students who collected from newspapers every scrap of information which could be obtained bearing upon the bill itself, the speech of Mr. Gladstone in introducing it, and the reply of Mr. Balfour. The bill may fail to become a law, but at any rate Mr. Gladstone's speech will be historic, both because of the man himself and because the speech was a most clear exposition of Liberal views upon home rule for Ireland. Students of history should be on the lookout for such things, for by so doing they not only become familiar with passing political conditions, but obtain a sense of the reality of similar conditions in the past.

Students of history sometimes grow weary of their study, because they fail to see the connection between past and present. The events of the past are looked upon as so many dry facts, having no apparent relation to the present or the future. These facts are to be learned, of course, as a part of the work required in some particular line of study, or because they are facts which it is generally supposed the well educated man should know. The student who is in this condition of mind might just as well stop work in history. The whole duty and the whole pleasure in studying history comes through the insight given into the story of the development of a race or nation, or the growth of a great guiding principle. It is necessary here to be familiar with the facts or details, but these details become of interest as we see their relation to one another and to future development. The limited view of history is likely to be held by one who is a mere "text-book student," i. e., a student whose work is confined to learning the lesson as assigned in the text book. Of course one duty of the teacher is to point out the relations of facts and to emphasize their significance; yet the student must do much for himself.

This editorial is directed particularly to the members of the class in Political History of Modern Europe. There is no method by which the reality and importance of events can be so well obtained as by reading contemporary accounts of those events. In this case the class is about to enter upon the period of the remodeling of Europe through the agency of revolutionary ideas and the growing power of Prussia. There is in the library a contemporary monthly comment upon European movements, covering this period, to be found in Harper's Magazine. "Editor's Historical Record" in that magazine would in itself furnish a fairly good history of the times, while "Editor's Easy Chair" is of the greatest value to the student, because of the bright, short essays it contains upon leading events of the day. There are many other magazines and publications which cover practically the same ground, but if the students of "Modern Europe" will read and understand these essays in Harper's upon the leading events of the day, they cannot fail to see some of the great ideas involved in the mere facts of modern history.

Edward Everett Hale, in a recent address upon the present condition of American politics, finds ground for hope for the future in the fact that so many young men are now studying social, economic and political problems in our colleges. His words relate so directly to the kind of work done in the department of history and sociology that we take the liberty of quoting at length:

"The thought which I wish to bring to you and leave with you, and the thought which is to me full of promise for the future of the republic, is this: That in the years which have preceded this the universities and colleges of this country have not concerned themselves with questions of citizenship, with questions of political science. Thirty years ago the youth of this country were reading the British poets or the British novelists. They were devoting their leisure and their time to English literature. Fifteen years ago they were studying science. They were reading Tyndall and Huxley and Herbert Spencer. Why? Because, as I have said, the universities had not commenced to train men in political science. There was little done in the way of studying economics or social conditions.

It is only since 1880 that the colleges of this country have done anything worth mentioning to educate and train the scholars of the country in political science. The great questions which to-day confront the American people, questions of the control of corporations, the regulation of the great railway systems of this country, questions of methods of taxation, questions relating to the municipal government, questions relating to the currency, to the financial system and the management of public debts—all these great and profound questions are to-day being carefully investigated by the students of American universities. And in this, as I said, it seems to me we can find much that promises well for the future of the Republic."

One of the established institutions of the University of Wisconsin is an annual joint debate between representatives of the two literary societies. The debate is one of the "events" of the year. The question for discussion is agreed upon and nearly a year given to careful preparation. The question for the present year is whether municipal ownership and operation of lighting works and street railways would be desirable in cities of 25,000. The debate fills thirty-five quarto pages, as recently reported in the college magazine, and presented an excellent discussion of the problem. The decision upon the arguments presented was unanimous in the affirmative.

COURSES OF STUDY
IN
HISTORY AND SOCIOLOGY.
FOR 1892-93.

F. W. BLACKMAR, PH. D.
F. H. HODDER, PH. M.
E. D. ADAMS, PH. D.

Instruction in this department is given by means of lectures, conferences, recitations, discussions, and personal direction in study and research. As the library is an indispensable aid in the pursuit of the following courses of study, students are expected to become acquainted with the best methods of collecting and classifying materials, and of writing and presenting papers on special topics. All lectures are supplemented by required reading and class exercises.

The work of the department now embraces five principal lines of study, namely: European History, American History and Civil Government, Political Institutions, Sociology or Social Institutions, and Political Economy.

The following studies are offered for 1892-'93:

FIRST TERM.

1. **The History of Civilization.** Lectures daily, at 8:30. Ancient Society, and the intellectual development of Europe to the twelfth century. Special attention is given to the influence of Greek philosophy and the Christian church on European civilization, the relation of learning to liberal government, and to the rise of modern nationality.

2. **French and German History.** Daily, at 9:30. Descriptive history. Text-book.

3. **Historical Method and Criticism.** Tuesday and Thursday, at 9:30. Examination and classification of sources and authorities. Analysis of the works of the best historians. Library work, with collection and use of material, notes, and bibliography. Special attention to current historical and economic literature.

4. **The History of Education and the Development of Methods of Instruction.** Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, at 9:30. This course may be taken with No. 3. A course for teachers.

5. **English History.** Daily, at 11. Descriptive history. Text-book.

6. **Journalism.** Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, at 12. Lectures, laboratory and library work. English: Twenty-five lectures by Professors Dunlap and Hopkins: 15 lectures on the history and ethics of journalism, by Professor Adams. Newspaper bureau. The principal object of the bureau is to enable students to form habits of systematic reading, to keep informed on the topics of the day, and to preserve clippings properly filed and indexed. This course will be found highly beneficial to students who desire a special study in magazines and newspapers as a general culture.

7. **Statistics.** Tuesday and Thursday at 12. Supplementary to all studies in economics and sociology. The method of using statistics is taught by actual investigation of political and social problems, lectures, and class-room practice. The history and theory of statistics receive due attention.

8. **American History.** From the earliest discovery to 1763. Lectures, topical reading, and recitations. Three hours a week at 2.

9. **Local and Municipal Government.** Lectures and topical reading. Two hours a a week at 2.

Courses 8 and 9 are intended to be taken together as a full study, but may be taken separately.

10. **American History.** Presidential administrations from Washington to Jackson. Daily, at 3. Open to Seniors in full standing, and to other students upon approval of the instructor.

11. **International Law and Diplomacy.** Lectures and recitations. Two hours a week, at 4.

12. **Political Economy.** Daily, at 4. The fundamental principles are discussed, elaborated and illustrated by examples from present economic society. A brief history of Poiitical Economy closes the course.

SECOND TERM.

13. **Institutional History.** Lectures Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, at 8:30, on comparative politics and administration. Greek Roman, and Germanic institutions compared. Historical significance of Roman law in the middle eges. Short study in Prussian administration.

14. **Renaissance and Reformation.** Tuesday and Thursday, at 8:30. Lectures The revival of learning with especial reference to the Italian renaissance. A careful inquiry into the cause, course and results of the Reformation. This course may be taken as a continuation of number 1.

15. Political History of Modern Europe. Tuesday and Thursday at 9:30. Text-book.

16. Federal Government and the French Revolution. Lectures, Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, at 9:30, on Switzerland. The Italian republics and the States General of France.

17. Constitutional History of England. Tuesday and Thursday, at 9:30. This course may be taken as a continuation of number 5. Text-book and lectures.

18. Elements of Sociology. Lectures, Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, at 11. Evolution of social institutions. Laws and conditions that tend to organize society. Modern social institutions and social problems.

19. Charities and Correction. Tuesday and Thursday, at 11. Treatment of the poor from a historical standpoint. Modern scientific charity. The treatment of criminals. Prisons and reformatories. Practical study of Kansas institutions. This course is supplementary to number 18.

20. Land Tenures. Lectures, Tuesday and Thursday, at 12. This course treats of primitive property, the village community, feudal tenures, and modern land-holding in Great Britain and the United States. This course is mainly historical, and is an excellent preparation for the study of the law of real property.

21. American History. Continuation of course 8. First half-term: History of the Revolution and the Confederation, 1763 to 1769. Second half-term: Brief summary of the constitutional period, with Johnston's "American Politics" as a text-book. Three hours a week, at 2.

22. Constitutional Law. History of the adoption of the constitution, and a study of its provisions. Twice a week, at 2. Forms, with course 21, a full study, but may be taken separately.

23. American History. Continuation of course 10. Presidential administrations from Jackson to Lincoln. Daily, at 3.

24. Mediæval History. Two-fifths of the second term of the Freshman year. For all students whose admission papers show that they have had elementary physics, hygiene and chemistry. Daily, at 3. Text-book.

25. Principles of Public Finance. Lectures on public industries, budget legislation, taxation and public debts. Open to students who have studied political economy one term. Two hours a week, at 4.

26. The Status of Woman. Conferences. Tuesday and Thursday, at 4. Industrial condition, including a study of labor, wages, etc. Woman in the professions. Their political and legal abilities and disabilities. Property rights. Condition of woman in Europe and the Orient. Social questions.

27. Advanced Political Economy. Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, at 4. Consisting of (*a*) lectures on applied economics; (*b*) practical observation and investigation; and (*c*) methods of research, with papers by students on special topics. This course is a continuation of number 12.

General Seminary, on Friday, at 4. Students in History and Sociology are required to attend the Seminary unless excused by special arrangement. Full credit will be allowed for time spent in Seminary work. At the beginning of the term, students may elect other work in place of the seminary, if they choose.

SUGGESTED MAJOR COURSES FOR UNDERGRADUATES.

I. **Economics.** Courses 7, 12, 18, 19, 20, and 27.

II. **European History.** Courses, 2, 3, 5, 13, 15, and 16.

III. **American History.** Courses 8, 9, 10, 21, 22, and 23.

IV. **Social Institutions.** Courses, 1, 12, 14, 18, 19, and 4 (or 26).

V. **Political Institutions.** Courses 3, 7, 9, 15, 13, 16, 17, 20, and 22.

GRADUATE COURSES.

Persons desiring to take the degree of A. M. may do so by the completion of any one or all of the following courses. The work is carried on by the investigation of special topics under the personal direction of the instructor. An hour for conference will be arranged for each student. The courses extend throughout the year.

I. **American History.** Open to graduates and students who have studied American History two years.

II. **Economics.** Open to graduates and students who have taken the undergraduate work in political economy. Courses 12, 27, and 8.

III **Political and Social Institutions.** Open to graduates and students who have taken the undergraduate work in the history of institutions and sociology. Courses 12, 27, and 7.

The above courses are for students who desire proficiency in a special line. These courses will not in any way interfere with the general rules of the Faculty respecting graduate work.

(Catalogue, 1891-'92, pp. 120, 121.) By these rules, a graduate student may take any of the 27 courses mentioned above (except 15 and 24) as a preparation for the degree of A. M.

Preparation for Entrance to the University. The time spent in the high schools in the study of history is necessarily limited. For this reason it is essential that the greatest care be exercised in preparing students for entrance to the University. At present very little history is required in the Freshman and Sophomore years, and the students enter upon the study of the Junior and Senior years without thorough preparation for the work. It would seem that the aim should be for all those who contemplate entering the University to learn the story of nations pretty thoroughly. A general outline of the world's history with a special study of the United States History and government represents the field. But this outline should be more than a mere skeleton of facts and dates. It should be well rounded with the political, social, and economic life of the people. Students will find a general text-book, such as Myer's, Sheldon's, or Fisher's, indispensible: but the work of preparation ought not to stop here. Such works as Fyffe's Greece, Creighton's Rome, Seebohm's Era of Protestant Revolution, Cox's Greece, and others in the Primer, Epoch, and Stories of Nations series ought to be read. The object of this reading is to familiarize the student with the political and social life of the principle nations of the world. For this purpose everything should be as interesting as possible. Such an interest should be aroused that the student would not be puzzled over dates and threadbare facts, but would seize and hold those things that are useful on account of the interest his mind has in them. That history which is gained by a bare memory of events is soon lost. It grows too dim for use and consequently leads to confusion. With the story of the nations well learned the student comes to the University prepared for the higher scientific study of history and its kindred topics. He is then ready for investigation, comparison and analysis. He then takes up the real investigation of the philosophy of institutions and of national development. He is then ready for the science of Sociology, Institutional History, Political Economy, the Science of Government, Statistics or Political Economy. Students who enter the University without this preparation find it necessary to make up for it as best they can by the perusal of books, such as those mentioned above.

STUDENTS' LIBRARIES.

Every student in the University should lay the foundation of a good working library. Such libraries are not "made to order" at some given time, under specially favorable financial conditions—but are the result of considerable sacrifice, and are of slow growth. The wise expenditure of even ten dollars in each term will bring together books which if thoroughly mastered will be of great assistance in all later life. Room-mates, or members of the same fraternity, by combining their libraries and avoiding the purchase of duplicates, can soon be in possession of a most valuable collection of authors. Assistance in selecting and in purchasing will be given upon application.

The prices named below are the list prices of the publishers.

Students are required to purchase books marked with an asterisk.

American Book Company, Chicago.

Manual of the Constitution, Andrews .... $ 1.00
Analysis of Civil Government, Townsend 1.00
Civil Government, Peterman .... .60
History of England, Thalheimer 1.00
Mediæval and Modern History, Thalheimer 1.60
Outlines of History, Fisher 2.40
General History of the World, Barnes 1.60
Political Economy, Gregory 1.20
Lessons in Political Economy, Champlin .... .90

Ginn & Co., Boston and Chicago.

Ancient History, Myers & Allen .... $ 1.50
Mediæval and Modern History, Myers 1.50
Political Science and Comparative Law, Burgess, 5.00
Macy's Our Government .... .75
*General History, Myers 1.50
Leading facts in English History, Montgomery .. 1.12
Philosophy of Wealth, Clark 1.00
Political Science Quarterly, Yearly 3.00
Washington and His Country, Fiske 1.00

Harpers, New York.

*History of Germany, Lewis 1.50
*International Law, Davis 2.00
*Political History of Modern Times, Mueller 2.00
*Short English History, Green 1.20
Civil Policy of America, Draper 2.00
History of English People, Green, 4 vols 10.00
History of United States, Hildreth, 6 vols 12.00
The Constitution, Story .... .90

Holt & Co., New York.

*American Politics, Johnston .... $ 1.00
American Colonies, Doyle, 3 vols 9.00
American Currency, Sumner 2.50
History of Modern Europe, Fyffe, 3 vols 7.50
Political Economy, Walker 2.25

Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

Discovery of America, Fiske, 2 vols .... $ 4.00
American Commonwealths, 14 vols., each 1.25
American Statesmen, 24 vols., each 1.25
American Revolution, Fiske, 2 vols. 4.00
Critical Period of American History, Fiske 2.00
Epitome of History, Ploetz 3.00
Christopher Columbus, Winsor 4.00

Appleton, New York.

Dynamic Sociology, Ward, 2 vols .... $ 5.00
History of Civilization, Guizot 1.25
Political Economy, Mill, 2 vols 6.00

Cranston & Stowe, Chicago.

*Political Economy, Ely .... $ 1.00

Macmillan, New York.

Constitutional History, England, Stubbs, 3 vols. $ 7.80
Principles of Economics, Marshall, vol. I 3.00

Armstrong, New York.

*Democracy in Europe, May, 2 vols .... $ 2.50

G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London.

*American Citizen's Manual, Ford .... $ 1.25
Unwritten Constitution of the U. S., Tiedeman .. 1.00
History of Political Economy, Blanqui 3.00
Introduction to Eng. Econom. Hist. and Theory Ashley 1.50
Indust. and Com. Supremacy of Eng., Rogers 3.00
Economic Interpretations of History, Rogers 3.00
Constitutional History of the U. S., Sterne 1.25
*Tariff History of the United States, Taussig 1.25
The Story of Nations, 34 vols., each 1.50
Heroes of the Nations, 12 vols., each 1.50
American Orations, ed. by Johnston, 3 vols., each 1.25

Callaghan & Co., Chicago.

Constitutional History of U. S., Von Holst, 8 vol $25.00
Constitutional Law of U. S., Von Holst 2.00
Political Economy, Roscher, 2 vols 6.00

Crowell, New York.

*History of France, Duruy .... $ 2.00
Labor Movement in America, Ely 1.50
Life of Washington, pop. ed., Irving, 2 vols 2.50
Problems of To-day, Ely 1.50

Little, Brown & Co., Boston.

History of Greece, Grote, 10 vols $17.50
Parkman's Works, per vol 1.50
Rise of the Republic, Frothingham 3.50

Longmans, Green & Co., New York.

Epochs of Ancient History, each vol .... $ 1.00
Epochs of Modern History, each vol. 1.00
Political Economy, pop. ed., Mill 1.75
The Crusades, Cox 1.00

Scribners, New York.

*American Diplomacy, Schuyler .... $ 2.50
History of Rome, Mommsen, 4 vols 8.00
Lombard Street, Bagehot 1.25
Silent South, Cable 1.00

Silver Burdett & Co., Boston.

*Historical Atlas, Labberton .... $1.50 or $ 2.00
*Historical Geography of U. S., MacCoun 1.00
*Institutes of Economics, Andrews 1.50
Institues of General History, Andrews 2.00

Dodd, Mead & Co., New York.

History of United States, Schouler, 5 vols $11.50

D. C. Heath & Co., Boston.

*The State, Woodrow Wilson .... $ 2.00
Principles of Political Economy, Gide 2.00
Methods of Teaching History, Hall 1.50
General History, Sheldon 1.60
*Old South Leaflets, 22 Nos., each .... .05
History Topics, Allen 25
State and Fed. Governments of the U. S., Wilson 50
The American Citizen, Dole .... .90
Comparative View of Governments, Wenzel .... .20
Studies in American History, Sheldon—Barnes 1.12

SEMINARY NOTES.

State University—Lawrence, Kansas.

Vol. II. APRIL, 1893. No. 6.

SEMINARY OF HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCE.

All students connected with the department of History and Sociology are, by virtue of such connection, members of the Seminary. All students are expected to attend the Seminary unless excused by the instructors of the department. Students are credited with the time spent in Seminary work.

The meetings of the Seminary are held every Friday, in Room 15, University Building. Public meetings will be held from time to time, after due announcement.

The work of the Seminary consists of special papers and discussions, on topics connected with the Department mentioned; prepared as far as possible from consultation of original sources and from practical investigation of existing conditions, under the personal direction of the officers of the Seminary.

Special assistance in choice of themes, authorities, etc., is given members of the Seminary who have written work due in the department of History and Sociology, or in the department of English, or in any of the literary societies or other similar organizations in the University; on condition that the results of such work shall be presented to the Seminary if so required.

In connection with the work of the Seminary, a Newspaper bureau is maintained. In this the leading cities of the United States are represented by some twenty daily and weekly newspapers. The principal object of the Bureau is to enable students to form habits of systematic reading, to keep informed on the current topics of the day, to study the best types of modern journalism, to learn to discriminate between articles of temporary value only and those of more permanent worth, to make a comparative study of editorial work, to master for the time being the current thought on any particular subject, and to preserve by clippings properly filed and indexed, important materials for the study of current history and public life—to *make* history by the arrangement and classification of present historical matter.

Special investigation and study will be undertaken during each year, bearing on some one or more phases of the administration of public affairs in this state; the purpose being to combine service to the state with the regular work of professional and student life. In this special work the advice and co-operation of state and local officials and of prominent men of affairs is constantly sought, thus bringing to students the experience and judgment of the world about them.

Graduates of our own University, or other persons of known scholarly habits, who have more than a passing interest in such work as the Seminary undertakes, and who are willing to contribute some time and thought to its success, are invited to become corresponding members of the Seminary. The only condition attached to such membership is, that each corresponding member shall prepare during each University year one paper, of not *less* than two thousand five hundred words, on some subject within the scope of the Seminary; and present the same in person at such time as may be mutually agreed upon by the writer and the officers of the Seminary, or in writing if it be found impossible to attend a meeting of the Seminary.

The library of the University and the time of the officers of the Seminary are at the service of corresponding members, in connection with Seminary work—within reasonable limits.

More than twenty gentlemen, prominent in official and professional circles, have already connected themselves with the Seminary, and have rendered very acceptable service during past years.

The officers and members of the Seminary will gladly render all possible assistance to any public officials who may desire to collect special statistics or secure definite information on such lines of public work as are properly within the sphere of the Seminary.

Any citizen of Kansas interested in this work is invited to correspond with the Seminary, and to be present at its meetings when possible.

FRANK W. BLACKMAR,
Director.

FRANK H. HODDER,
Vice-Director.

EPHRAIM D. ADAMS,
Secretary.

THE BUDGET IN ENGLAND.

THE class in English constitutional history has been organized for study somewhat after the manner of a seminary, that is, each member has chosen some special feature in the development of the English constitution and makes reports upon the topic selected. The member reporting becomes the teacher of the class for the day upon which he makes his reports. These reports are to be followed by theses. As a sample of the work being done, and because of its merit as a condensed statement of an interesting topic, the following paper is published in the NOTES. The purpose of this paper is to give a synopsis of the main steps by which budgetary legislation came under the control, first, of Parliament, and second, of the House of Commons. The NOTES hopes to publish similar papers on other topics in English constitutional history, at a later date.

The history of the budget in England must necessarily begin with the year 1066, for the Norman conquest marks a great change in the social and political relations of ruler and people. The records of the system of taxation, previous to this time, are vague and indistinct, and it is impossible to assert with certainty that the early Norman kings accepted any of the fundamental customs of the conquered nation. But whether or not the old customs influenced the new methods of government, is of little importance, for it is in the time of William I, that we notice the opening of that long series of events which finally led to the realization of the principle of self-taxation, and to the establishment of constitutional government.

The early Norman kings had little or no necessity for resorting to oppressive taxation. The conquest of England threw into the hands of the crown a vast amount of land which could be divided among the nobles upon condition of feudal aids or services, and in this way the king had little difficulty in collecting sufficient revenue for the support of the crown. Such taxation as did exist did not fall directly from king to people, but from king to baron, and the baron must obtain these taxes by a further extension of the feudal system from baron to people, so that the natural opposition seemed to be between the king and the barons. As long as the feudal system was in full force, as long as the nobility were imbued with the spirit of factional rather than of national interest, just so long was the king looked upon by the people as the representative of safe and stable government. His rule might be arbitrary, but it was preferable to the uncertain rule of the feudal nobles.

But when the danger of petty feudal government had passed away, the extreme power of the crown became more evidently burdensome, and the barons and the people gradually learned to unite their interests in opposition to those of the king. Magna Charta is the result of this union of interests. In it the barons demand the recognition of their old right to a share in the government of the nation, and, together with the people assert the great principle of self-taxation, not, however, as a new principle, but as an ancient right.

Magna Charta is justly regarded as the bulwark of English liberty, but its acceptance by King John did not insure the observance, by future kings, of the right of the great council to assent to taxation, for a changed condition of affairs soon led to the disappearance of that unity of interest between barons and people which was necessary for the maintenance of rights against a despotically minded king. Hen-

ry III continually violated the charter, and it was not until the reign of Edward I that the principles of government which had been assented to by John, were fully recognized by the royal power.

Edward came to the throne with the firm determination to make England a great nation, and he saw that the first part of his work must be to solidify the interests of the people so that England would not be disturbed by intestine quarrels. He proposed, first of all, to carry into effect the great constitutional principles of Magna Charta, but he was not willing to give effective force to the articles which provided that the right of taxation should be dependent upon the consent of the great council. Ultimately he was compelled to acknowledge this right, and in the *Confirmatio Chartarum* the constitutional principle of taxation is again asserted and defined. More than this, by the *Statuto de Talligio*, the king renounces the right, which he had formerly possessd, of collecting dues from towns in his capacity of feudal landlord, and thus becomes more dependent upon the good will of his parliament for the supply of money.

The reign of Edward I marks the organization of the English form of government. Up to this time the struggle had been concerning the part to be played by the various estates in the government of the nation, but now the question was decided once for all, and later controversies always turned upon the interpretation to be placed upon the powers of the crown, of the nobility, or of the commons, during the reign of Edward I. At one time the crown may be all powerful, at another the parliament, but the basis of the correct form of government, and of the principle of self-taxation, which so surely serves as an index of the realization of constitutional government at any given period, is to be found in the reign of Edward I.

But the assertion that this reign contained the basis of all subsequent constitutional government, does not imply that it is also the limit of such government. By a wide interpretation of the provisions of Edward I, parliament could greatly extend its powers. Thus, under Richard II, an important restriction was placed upon the power of the crown over the budget, in that the principle was established that parliament may limit the extent of the grant, in other words, may determine that a grant shall be used for a particular purpose, and for no other. This restriction, vague and indefinite though it may be, is an instance of the ever growing power of the commons over matters of taxation. It is the first evidence of a belief on the part of parliament that it was of the utmost importance to determine, not only the amount, but also the purpose, of taxation.

The influence of the commons steadily continued to increase during the reign of Henry IV, whose hatred of the power of the nobles led him to favor the lower house of parliament, but with the advent of Henry VI, the reaction against the commons began. The almost total suppression of the influence of the commons was finally accomplished by the same series of events which overthrew the barons. The wars of the Roses swept away the last remnant of feudal power, and at the same time raised to the throne a king, in the person of Edward IV, whose power was too strong for any opposition on the part of the commons.

The rulers of England from Edward IV to Elizabeth took upon themselves a large part of the duty of government, and would permit but little interference on the part of parliament. Frequently, if they were in need of money, they secured it by means of forced loans, of benevolences, or of arbitrary taxation, although Henry VIII felt himself so secure in his position that he was able to use his parliament as a convenient medium for the registration of royal decrees. Henry's ability to manage his parliament arose mainly from the decay of the old nobility and from the creation by the King of a new nobility, who would of necessity simply be follow-

ers of the royal will. Besides this, the sudden advancement of industrial life and the religious impulses of the nation served to turn attention away from the arbitrary exercise of power by the king. But under Elizabeth, protestantism became the established religion of England, and men found time to turn their thoughts to other questions than those of belief. Elizabeth levied taxes arbitrarily, collected benevolencies, and granted monopolies for a money consideration, but when her parliaments met she found herself opposed by a bold spirit, which had not existed for a hundred years. Parliaments insisted on their right to take part in the government of the nation. They compelled the queen to give up the granting of monopolies, but they could not regain the measure of liberty enjoyed under Edward I. Prerogative was safe with Elizabeth, but it only needed a less capable monarch to provide the opportunity for the regaining of ancient liberties. Yet something more than this was now demanded by the commoners. They were no longer content to determine merely the amount and purpose of taxation, but in addition to claiming that right they were prepared to attempt to control the policy of the government in all matters whatsoever, and sought to make the right of self-taxation the means by which such further control should be secured. The fact that the central point of the controversy between James I and Charles I, on one side, and the commoners on the other, seemed to be the question of arbitrary taxation, does not mean that it comprised the whole of the question at issue. If parliament and the king had been in harmony as to the policy of the government the king would have found little difficulty in procuring regular supplies. The refusal of the king to permit parliament to have a share in the control of the policy of the nation led to the refusal of parliament to grant supplies, and forced the king to appeal to prerogative and the use of arbitrary taxation. This is the importance of the struggle over the principle of self-taxation which resulted in the war for the commonwealth. That war decided that the right of self-government belonged to the people, but it was not until 1688 that the contest was closed and the principle fully realized. The Bill of Rights finally established the constitutional principle of self-taxation. Chapter 2, after asserting that James II had levied subsidies without the consent of parliament, declares "that levying money for or to the use of the crown by pretense of prerogative without grant of parliament, or for longer time or in other manner than the same is or shall be granted is illegal." Parliament never again found it necessary to assert by statute the right of self-taxation. The long struggle beginning with Magna Charta* in 1215, and continuing until the Bill of Rights in 1688, was ended at last, and the principle upon which rests all the liberties of England to-day, the principle that the people have a right to determine through their representatives the amount and purpose of taxation, was firmly establisehd. Up to the time of Charles II the struggle had been between the crown and parliament, but now the nature of the contest was changed. The royal prerogative had been limited and parliament had become the real ruler of the nation, but the contest now arose as to the rights of the commons in parliament over matters of taxation. The Lords could not claim to represent the nation in parliament as thoroughly as did the commons, and it seemed but a new phase of an old principle that the commons should possess the sole right of initiative in matters of taxation. Under Charles II the commons made a formal assertion of such a

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*Feilden in his Constitutional History of England, page 195, gives the following statutes as being the most important in limiting arbitrary taxation:

Magna Charta, 1215; *Confirmatio Chartarum*, 1297; Ordinances of 1311; Right of Tallage abolished, 1340 and 1348; King forbidden to tax wool, 1362; 1371; Benevolences declared illegal, 1484; Monopolies surrendered, 1601, 1624, 1639; Petition of Right, 1628; Ship Money and distraint of Knighthood abolished, 1641; Feudal incidents surrendered, 1660; Bill of Rights, 1689.

right, although it had undoubtedly been an active principle of government for a long time. A resolution of the House of Commons in 1678 declares that "all aids and supplies and aids to His Majesty in parliament are the sole gifts of the commons; and all bills for the granting of any such aids and supplies ought to begin with the commons; and that it is the undoubted and sole right of the commons to direct, limit and appoint in such bills, the ends, purposes, considerations, conditions, limitations and qualifications of such grants which ought not to be changed or altered by the House of Lords."*

This resolution was at once a protest against the rejection, or more strictly in this case, the amendment, of money bills by the House of Lords, and an assertion of the principle that aids to the Crown are the sole gift of the Commons. The Lords did not deny the principle asserted by the Commons, and the right has long been recognized by the speech from the throne at the opening of Parliament, for that portion of the speech which refers to the general condition of the nation is addressed to "my Lords and gentlemen," while the portion referring to supplies is addressed to "gentlemen of the House of Commons."† But although the Lords readily assented to the principle that aids to the Crown are the sole gift of the Commons, they have never formally renounced their right of the amendment or rejection of money bills. The two houses did not come into serious conflict on this point until 1860, when the Lords rejected a bill sent up by the commons ‡ which provided for a repeal of the paper duties and an increase of the property tax. The attitude of the Commons is well summarized by Anson:§ "The Commons met this action on the part of the Lords by resolutions which set forth the privileges of the House in matters of taxation, and while they did not deny that the Lords might have the power of rejecting money bills, intimated that the Commons had it always in their power so to frame money bills as to make the right of rejection nugatory. The resolutions were three in number. The first recites that the right of granting aids and supplies to the Crown is in the Commons alone. The second, that although the Lords have exercised the power of rejecting bills of several descriptions relative to taxation, by negativing the whole, yet the exercise of that power by them has not been frequent and is justly regarded by this House with peculiar jealousy, as affecting the right of the Commons to grant supplies, and to provide the ways and means for the service of the year. The third, that to guard in the future against an undue exercise of that power by the Lords, and to secure to the Commons their rightful control over taxation and supply, this House has in its own hands the power to impose and remit taxes and to frame bills of supply, that the right of the Commons as to the matter, measure, or time may be maintained inviolate."

The Commons did not at once reintroduce the bill over which the contest arose, but in the following year the measure was again presented to the Lords, this time forming a part of the general appropriation bill, and the Lords did not dare to tamper with it. ¶ This explains what was meant by the Commons in the resolution, when it is said that it is "always in the power of the Commons so to frame money bills so as to make the right of rejection nugatory." It is simply the custom, familiar enough to-day, of tacking riders on to important bills. Such a proceeding was objected to as early as 1702, when the Lords resolved "that the annexing any clause or clauses to a bill of aid or supply, the matter of which is foreign to and different from the matter of the said bill of aid or supply is unparliamentary and tends to the destruction of the consti-

*Anson, Law and Custom of the Conststution, Vol. I, p. 231.
† Chicago Tribune, Feb. 12, 1890, p. 5.
‡ May, Parliamentary Practice, p. 649.
§ Anson, Law and Custom of the Constiution, Vol. I. p. 233.

¶ Hansard's Debates, 3rd Ser., Vol. 163, p. 69.

tution of this government."* Despite such protests by the Lords, the Commons have placed riders upon bills whenever they have feared that a bill which has seemed to them of great importance, would be objectionable to the Lords and would be rejected if presented alone. The Commons dislike to have the Lords take any active hand in the grant of supplies, yet under certain circumstances the Lords are permitted to amend money bills. In cases where clauses which have no direct bearing on the matter of taxation, are objectionable to the Lords, amendments are sometimes permitted, but so careful are the commons of their privilege that in agreeing to such amendments, a special entry† is made in the journal to the effect that the amendments were "for the purpose of rectifying clerical errors," or "were merely verbal," or were "in furtherance of the intention of the House of Commons."

Sometimes also it is expedient to allow the House of Lords, from their greater knowledge of the subject under consideration, to originate bills which contain clauses relative to taxation. On the third reading of such a bill these clauses are struck out and the bill is sent to the Commons without them. The Commons then take the clauses omitted, and print them in their proper place in red ink, with a note stating that "they are proposed to be inserted by committee" and they are supposed to be in blank until inserted by a formal motion. The House of Commons is, however, extremely jealous of its privileges, and a bill coming from the Lords which contains anything bearing on taxation is likely to be objected to at any time.‡ In fact the power of the Commons over the grant of supply is absolute whenever the Commons see fit to exercise their power and coerce the Lords. The Commons make the grant, the Lords merely assent to it. The relation between Crown, Lords and Commons in the matter of supply is clearly set forth by May. He says, "The Crown demands money, the Commons grant it, and the Lords assent to the grant, but the Commons do not vote money unless it be required by the Crown, nor impose or augment taxes unless they be necessary for meeting the supplies which they have voted or are about to vote, and for supplying general deficiencies in the revenue. The Crown has no concern in the nature or distribution of the taxes, but the foundation of all parliamentary taxation is its necessity for the public service as declared by the Crown through its constitutional advisers."§ The general principle that the Commons will not grant supplies unless they are proposed by the Crown was emphasized by a standing order of March 20, 1866,‖ "This House will receive no petition for any sum relating to the public service, or proceed upon any motion for a grant or charge upon the public revenue, whether payable out of the consolidated fund, or yet of moneys to be provided by Parliament, but what is recommended from the Crown."¶ Such a principle is both a great safeguard** against hasty and unwise appropriations, and it ensures a careful balancing of income and expenditure.

The importance of the control of taxation is nowhere more evident than in England, where the Commons possessing

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* May, Parliamentary Practice, p. 648.

† Ibid., p. 643 ff.

‡ For example, June 15, 1860, a bill introduced by the Lords came up for its second reading in the Commons. It provided that persons selling and hawking goods on Sunday should be fined and the fine paid over to the Receiver of the Metropolitan Police district and applied in aid of the expenses of the police. But an objection was made that a good share of the expenses of the Metropolitan and City Police was provided for out of the consolidated fund and hence the bill was one which would lessen the taxation of Her Majesty's subjects, and so was an invasion of the rights of the Commons. Hansard's Debates, 3rd Ser., Vol. 159, p. 539.

§ May, Parliamentary Practice, p. 651.

‖ Hansard's Debates, 3rd Ser., Vol. 223, p. 879.

¶ Formerly the military estimates were not submitted by the Crown but by a committee of the House of Commons, the reason probably being the fear of the Crown over the army. But in 1863 this custom was abolished and all estimates are now proposed by the Crown ministers.

** Yet by means of what are called "abstract resolutions" a member of the House can cause the introduction of a bill relating to taxation. A resolution is presented declaring that such a bill ought to be introduced and, if the resolution passes, the ministry will hardly refuse to introduce the bill thus brought to their notice. Such resolutions are certainly contrary to the spirit of the constitution and the standing order of March 20, 1866.

this power, have practically the sole governing body. In the end the control of the purse brings with it the control of all matters of legislation. The form of government in England, which permits the plans for legislation to be made by a responsible ministry, gives to the people an effective influence upon financial questions, and as a consequence, upon all questions of public interest. The control of the budget by the people, through their representatives, is the one force which more than any other secures the maintenance of constitutional liberty in England, and the history of the growth of that control is really identical with the history of the growth of constitutional liberty.

SEMINARY REPORTS.

LAND TENURES OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC.

AT the meeting of the Seminary on March 17th, the subject for discussion was, "Some of the Forms of Land Tenure among the Romans." Mr. Bishoff read a paper on Tenure Previous to the Gracchan Rogations. He spoke of the early Romans as distinctly an agricultural people, when the land owned in common was known as the *Ager Romanus*, and later, as the territory increased by conquest, the new land was called *Ager Publicus.*

Citizenship was always a requisite to the private ownership of land, and the Roman law always discriminated against the alien; he was allowed to occupy land only as a tenant. The patrician class might hold land in three ways: (1.) Quiritian ownership, by right of citizenship. (2.) Seignorial rights, a sort of feudal tenure, and (3.) by occupying portions of the public domain by right of possession. *Ager Publicus* was the property of the state and might be disposed of by public auction.

In 486 B.C., the *Lex Cassia* was passed, which provided for the survey of public land and its distribution among the plebians, and it so excited the people that its originator, Spurius Cassius, was condemned and put to death. In 454 B.C., the *Lex Licinia* was passed, which prohibited any one from occupying more than 500 *jugera.* The early land laws of Rome were directed against the landed aristocracy and in favor of the plebeans. The effect was to break up old parties and form new ones corresponding to the rich and poor classes.

Mr. Buchan read a paper discussing the provisions of the Gracchan Rogations. These provided that no one should hold more than five hundred *jugera* of public land, with the exception that a father could hold two hundred and fifty *jugera* for each son. It also guaranteed the permanent possession of this amount to the occupier and his heirs forever, and also provided for the payment for improvements made upon surrendered land, and ordered that the land thus surrendered be divided among the poorer citizens in lots of thirty *jugera* each, which must be used for agricultural purposes.

The law required the appointment of a commission consisting of three magistrates to receive and apportion the land and to determine what was public and what private land. This measure led to difficulties and the commission confiscated all land in question unless the occupier could prove that his land had never been part of the *Ager publicus.* Under this law the first public survey of the territory of Rome was made. It was not without a fierce struggle between the patricians and plebeans that this law was passed. The senate refused to assist the commission in any way and the commission in turn resorted to very arbitrary measures to enforce its

decrees. The excitement grew so intense that when the originator of the law, Tiberius Gracchus, came up for reelection, he was killed by a mob, but his brother Gaius carried on the work until it accomplished its purpose; however, it was soon virtually killed through the influence of Scipio.

Mr. Bennett read a paper on The Effects of the *Lex Thoria*, passed in 118 B. C. This law provided that the holders of disputed lands might legally sell it, thus repealing the restrictions of assignment made by the Gracchan laws. The effect of this law was that the smaller land holders soon sold out to the rich patrician class and moved to the capital to swell the ever increasing number of governmental dependents. A law was then passed by the patricians to prevent any future governmental distribution of land, and imposing a tax, *vectigalia*, upon land holders for the support of the dependent class, thus placing a premium on idleness. Private property in land, according to this law, was any part of the *Ager Publicus* occupied previous to the law of 133 B. C. not to exceed 500 *jugera;* all assignments by lot made to Roman citizens; all public land which had been used in executing the law of 133 B. C., in establishing colonies, etc. All land occupied by Roman citizens for the purpose of agriculture, not to exceed thirty *jugera*, was given in full ownership. Pasture land was relieved from taxation and remained the property of all those whose land bordered upon it. The main objects of this law were two: (1) The guarantee of full tenure in the land to the present occupier; (2) the releasing from *vectigalia* of the property of every one. The long struggle between patrician and plebean was finally closed. The pristine vigor of Roman institutions died when the farmer class was reduced to want and slavery.

J. L. Cramer, *Reporter*.

At the meeting of the Seminary on March 24th, the subject for discussion was "Divorce."

Status of Divorce.

by Miss Radford.

Marriage is a legal contract between a man and woman and the state. The question of divorce necessarily grows out of and is determined by the view taken of this marriage contract. If marriage is nothing more than a mere legal contract, then divorce is simply the annulling by law a contract made by law. But if marriage is more than a mere legal contract, if it is a second institution of society then divorce becomes a serious question. It should be the strictest aim of legislation to grant a divorce on such grounds alone as shall not offer a premium to marital inconstancy, as well as not to give the slightest encouragement to ill-assorted or hasty marriages.

The increase in the number of divorces began about the middle of the present century, at first only in Connecticut. In 1849 there were 94 cases, in 1850 129; 1854 216; 1864 420; during the next fifteen years the increase was so rapid that it averaged one divorce for every ten marriages. New Hampshire shows an increase of 50 per cent. of divorces during the last twenty years. In Massachusetts there is one divorce for every twenty-one marriages. In Chicago the relation is about one to twelve.

Statistics show that all those states with a large number of churches and schools have the largest divorce per cent. in proportion to their population and number of marriages, as for instance in Ohio, 1880, with a population of 3,198,062 for 503,734 marriages there were 1553 divorces. In Indiana, with a population of 1,978,301, for 373,899 marriages, there were 1200 divorces, while in Georgia, with a population of 1.542,180, for 291,472 marriages there were only 325 divorces. This makes a ratio of 77 divorces in Ohio to 97 in Indiana, to 60 in Georgia. The reason for this great difference in such instances is sometimes due to the looseness of the divorce laws, as in the case of Ohio, but in Indiana the laws are quite as

binding as in Georgia. Then why the increase of divorce should be so much greater in Indiana than in Georgia is not yet explained. Perhaps it may be partially explained by the different classes of people and different conditions of society in these two states.

That divorces have increased and marriages decreased during the last twenty years is certainly true, but there are no satisfactory statistics to show in what proportion or whether or not one or the other may be the natural results of a corresponding increase or decrease in the population of the United States.

Causes of Divorce.

BY MISS HARDY.

What are the causes of the increasing number of divorces? Let us review briefly the causes for which divorce has been granted among other nations. If a Hebrew husband for any cause became dissatisfied he had only to write a bill of divorcement and give it to his wife. Among the Greeks divorce was obtained with little difficulty by simply sending the wife from his home. Or the wife might separate herself from her husband. In the early history of Rome the causes for which divorce might be obtained were "violating the law of chastity and drinking wine."

There are in the United States forty-two causes for absolute divorce and thirty-two for limited. Absolute divorce may be obtained in every state of the union except South Carolina.

The Labor Commissioners report, by classified causes from 1867 to 1886, shows the following result. Desertion 126,676 or 38 per cent. of the entire number; adultery 67,686 or 20 per cent.; cruelty 51,595 or 16 per cent.; drunkenness 13,866 or 4 per cent.; neglect to provide 7,955 or less than 3 per cent.; other causes 60,938; entire number 328,716. The largest number, 38 per cent., was obtained for desertion.

The causes for the increasing number in the western states in the last few years may be attributed to the class of people by which these states are settled.

Although we may be able to form a general idea from reports regarding the causes of divorce, yet cases of this kind, touching closely the domestic life of all concerned, must ever be difficult of investigation.

Some Remedies for Divorce.

BY MISS TINSLEY.

It is a difficult thing for law to attempt to regulate the morals of a community. A body of men make a code and attach penalties, but the opinions of the majority of the people must be in its favor before it can be enforced.

First, therefore, to remedy divorce by law, public opinion must be so strong in favor of the law which governs it that there can be no evading of the law by individuals.

Second, it has been proposed that Congress adopt uniform laws in regard to marriage and divorce for all the states.

Third, a prohibition of the publication of the proceedings of divorce courts, would do much toward elevating the moral taste of certain classes of people who find pleasure in such reading.

Fifth, the remedy that embraces many others is education; not higher education in an intellectual sense; for this would be impossible for all, but heart education, a higher moral development, and love of country or patriotism. It is sometimes argued that education of women has increased rather than diminished the number of divorces. The answer, I think, is that woman has not enough education, instead of having too much.

In conclusion, then, the remedies for divorce are: Securing a strong and healthy public opinion that will frown on ungrounded causes. Suppression of the reports of divorce courts. Uniform laws throughout the United States. A reform in the laws relating to marriage. And education of heart, mind and body.

DAISY CLARK, *Reporter*.

EDUCATED LABOR.*

NO people need to exercise more wisdom in the guidance of their affairs than do the laboring classes. To accomplish what they have undertaken, without injury to their own cause, requires active intelligence and sound judgment. To raise the standard of life of the laborer and improve his material condition is a problem of great magnitude, and those who have undertaken its solution have learned much in the past and must still be learners in the future. Not only is it necessary that the leaders in the great labor movement should be educated, but the whole rank and file in the army of labor must be elevated by the process of education. Look over the history of the laboring classes during the last half-century and witness the improvement in their condition, and it will be seen that it is based on a better intelligence of affairs. Consider the movements of the organizations during the past decade, recount their successes and their failures, and it will be seen that success has followed intelligence and sound judgment, and failure has waited upon ignorance and violence.

Labor has a great cause to-day, that of the elevation and material prosperity of the toiling masses. This cause is to be promoted on the basis of justice and truth rather than on blind force. While labor organization's natural developments follow industrial revolution as essentially as civil organization follows political revolution, it must be remembered that no organizations or institutions can long prevail in a free country unless founded on the principles of truth and justice and conducted by a wise economy. This has been true of all political life: it is more essential in the economic life. Permanent improvement in the industrial life is obtainable only by the observance of economic laws and forces.

There are certain things that labor organizations may not do to forward the interests of the laboring classes. Their work is necessarily limited in its activity, and it is very necessary to know their limitations. Many things which would seem a present advantage prove to be an ultimate detriment. Their cause has sprung out of industrial revolution. But they cannot act as political revolutionists and overthrow and crush their opponents without destroying their own means of existence. Industrial revolution has rendered society complex, so that every part is in some way dependent upon every other part for support. In the ultimate there are no dependent classes. But selfish and ambitious men, taking advantage of the power of monopoly, consider their own immediate wants and not the final good of society. This forces others to unite for their own protection against oppression. Consequently we find two classes warring against each other, whose ultimate interests are common. This makes the labor problem exceedingly difficult to solve. We have capital and labor, which ought to be equal partners in a common production and just sharers in distributed products, frequently working to each others detriment. If capital injures labor, it must be the ultimate loser, while if labor injures capital, labor itself must suffer indirectly. Herein is the necessity of intelligence and fair dealing of both parties in the strife.

Take, for example, the question of wages. Without discussing the economic principles that control the rate of wages, it may be said in general that there is a point below which wages cannot pass without injuring the quality of labor to such a degree as to prove detrimental to

* Letter sent to the Topeka Labor Day Association, Sept., 1892.

capital. Wise employers see this, and try to keep up wages and elevate the condition of the laborer. Again, there is a maximum point beyond which wages may not pass without discouraging the investment of capital, and thus displace labor. While the wages of the laborer are paid out of the product of his daily toil, it takes capital to provide buildings, machinery, and raw material for the operation of labor. This is true of all modern enterprises of any magnitude. So that while capital is powerless without labor, labor is hopelessly crippled without capital. While it is earnestly hoped that the present warfare will lead to a peaceful adjustment of two opposing forces whose interests are so closely allied, it is necessary for those who attempt to force wages higher to realize their present limitations to permanent success. The same might be said of those who attempt to force wages down.

Take another example, that of the question of strikes. Strikes are a means of war, and like all war are to be deplored when peace will solve the problems of humanity. How much wisdom is needed to tell when a strike is justifiable and will prove successful, and when it should be avoided. How much intelligence and self-control is needed by the strikers that they may conduct themselves wisely through a trying ordeal. The declaration of war has made or unmade nations. It is the critical time in any organization when it goes to war, and it requires the wisdom of sages to tell whether it will prove an ultimate benefit or detriment.

Again, it is necessary to obtain a correct view of affairs. A thorough knowledge of the condition of industries is essential. While a few manufacturers and employers are amassing wealth, the average employer gets only a fair return for capital and management. Even then it is claimed that about ninety per cent. of business enterprises fail sooner or later. It is usually where employers have been able and willing to seize upon the powerful advantages of monopoly that they have amassed wealth at the expense of labor. In this matter laborers should use a wise discretion, and not consider all employers as their natural enemies. They may see that the average returns to capital are not so much greater than the average returns to labor, as at first, they might seem to be.

Again, take the eight-hour movement for another example. Granting that the eight-hour day is theoretically correct, a thorough acquaintance with all of the difficulties arising from diversified industries which seem to oppose its practical application will help towards its final triumph. A sudden change from a ten to an eight-hour day would seriously cripple certain industries and displace labor, while in other industries it seems like an impossibility to enforce successfully an eight-hour law. While calm, persistent and peaceful agitation will slowly work the desired change, economic society must have ample time to adjust itself to the new conditions. England has come from a twelve to a nine-hour day with a benefit to both employed and employer, but it was by a process of evolution, not by revolution.

These and many other examples in consideration show us that those who have labor problems to solve need careful study, education, and wisdom for guidance. The conditions of industrial society must be studied. The economic laws which underlie the production and distribution of wealth need careful investigation, that the laborers shall not be the ultimate losers in the process of adjustment. Indeed, the cause of labor has suffered more on account of ignorance than in any other way. Much has been learned in the hard school of experience, but much has been lacking both in leaders and in men. The true leaders of the movement know better than any one else how much stubbornness born of ignorance it is necessary to contend with. Occasionally a false leader, too, who has read some books of the wrong class, who has only a show of intelligence and a distorted

view of everything, who is lacking in sound judgment and logical thought, the essentials of true education, brings the cause of labor into disgrace. It is to be deplored that the intelligent labor of America has to contend with such great masses of ignorant labor from the Old World, who are accustomed to a lower standard of life, and willing to work for lower wages. To obviate the difficulty the unions take them in, and bring the intelligence of their organizations into disrepute. In saying this I have no wish to decry the coming of foreigners to America as rapidly as they can be assimilated into the political and economic society without its positive detriment. But the burden of keeping up the standard of life of the laborer ought not to be made greater.

But how is this education to be obtained? By any process which will give intelligence, logical thought, and sound judgment. It does not necessarily all come from books, although they are indispensable to modern education. For the children of the laboring classes there is ample provision in the public schools. With will and energy, a general, technical, or university education is possible to all. At least every boy and girl may bring into their calling intelligence and means of elevating themselves and their work. To those who are past the school age there are books, papers and magazines accessible in libraries; there are lecture courses, night schools, and other means of direction and inspiration. What the people need most is direction in reading from a non-partisan standpoint. Their time is limited, and they ought to have the best books at their command. But with all the means of improvement, the man who works ten hours at severe labor, attends to his home duties, has little time, strength or inclination to spend much time in study. Yet even then, with a habit once formed, an hour each day could be profitably, pleasantly, and restfully spent in reading a good book. That means three hundred and sixty-five hours per year, or thirty-six days of ten hours each. Wonders can be accomplished in this time.

It would be better if the laborer had more time for self-improvement. These questions are being continually asked: If the work-day is reduced to eight hours, will the laborer improve his spare time in self-improvement and in the improvement of the home? Will he improve his mind, and make the home more cheerful? Judging from the past, I think he will. The history of the elevation of the laboring classes warrants this assertion. The labor platforms and constitutions have been prompt in proclaiming the equal rights of women with men. Let us trust that when the eight-hour day is an accomplished fact, it will apply alike to our wives, mothers, and sisters; that the man who works but eight hours will try to lighten the burden of the wife and mother, to beautify and make pleasant the home.

But education to the laborer means something more than the wise direction of his cause against capital. It means an elevation of the standard of life. It means individual improvement, greater worth, and consequently greater wealth. It means increased proficiency wherever he goes. It is a lever power which enables him to accomplish more in a shorter time, and power to do it better. Education means more than this. It means a larger life, a better and a happier life. No one should measure his life by the bare round of daily toil. His life should be larger than his calling or occupation. The more he learns to know and to enjoy, the greater will be his delight of living, the greater his real wealth of life. Enter the homes of some of our laborers, and see what thrift, economy, intelligence, and a taste for the beautiful have done. Pictures, papers, magazines, and a few choice books; piano or organ, or at least a musical instrument of some kind; picture-books and toys for the children. Everything betokens a glorious, comfortable home-life, of which every American is proud. No wealth, but harmony, peace. and quiet enjoyment.

This is more than you can say of the home of many a millionaire. Now the secret of all this is in knowing how to live, how to manage, how to use the means attainable.

But life does not and should not end here. Beyond self-improvement and home life and duties, lies the social life. Education makes a larger man every way. His duties to common society, to the school, to the church, to political life, are a part of his every-day life. All of these questions appeal to the educated laborer, while the ignorant is passed by as only *one vote more*. Education is the corner-stone of the Republic, the sure foundation of all organizations. Cherish it, and it will serve you.

F. W. Blackmar.

DEVELOPMENT OF FINANCIAL COMMITTEES IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

THE method of appointment of commitees in the House of Representatives is first noticed in a resolution of April 7th, 1789, which provides that "the Speaker shall appoint committees, unless it be determined by the House that the committee shall consist of more than three members, in which case the appointment shall be by ballot in the House." This resolution formed a part of the standing rules and orders of the House. It was soon found that the balloting for members of committees was an intricate and tiresome proceeding, so that, on January 13th, 1790, it was ordered "that so much of the standing rules and orders of this House as directs the mode of appointing committees be rescinded; and that hereafter it be a standing rule of the House, that all committees shall be appointed by the Speaker unless otherwise specially directed by the House in which case they shall be appointed by ballot.* Thus within a year of its first meeting the House of Representatives had given the power of appointment of committees to its Speaker, although these committees were as yet only special committees, whose existence was dependent in every case upon a formal motion passed by the House. The first committee of Ways and Means† was appointed on motion of Mr. Gerry, who found some difficulty in convincing the House that there was any necessity for even a special committee to consider financial measures.‡ The appointment of a committee of Ways and Means as a special committee was continued until 1795, when it was made a standing committee§ to hold during the session, and its duty was defined to be "to take into consideration all such reports of the treasury department, and all such propositions relative to the revenue as may be referred to them by the House, * * * to inquire into the state of the public debt; of the revenue; and of the expenditures; and to report from time to time their opinion thereon." But as yet committees could not be appointed except on a motion passed by the House, and it was not until 1802 that an amendment|| to the rules of order of the House was adopted which provided that "five standing committees shall be appointed at the commencement of each session," thus providing for regular standing committees such as exist to-day. Among these committees was a committee of Ways and Means, with increased duties

*House Journal, 1789-92, p. 140.

‡Ibid., July 24th, 1789, p. 66.

‡Annals of Congress, Vol. I, p. 670.

‡House Journal, 1793-97, p. 385.

||Ibid., 1801-4, p. 40.f

and enlarged powers. The rule accepted the exact wording of the resolution of 1795, but specified in addition "it shall be the duty of this committee * * * to examine into the state of the several public departments, and particularly into the laws making appropriations of money, and to report whether the moneys have been disbursed conformably to such laws, and also to report from time to time such provisions and arrangements as may be necessary to add to the economy of the departments and accountability of their officers."

This extension of the duties of the committee of Ways and Means was the final step taken by those members of the House who disliked the attitude assumed by Hamilton, and his successor, in the control of financial affairs, and who wished to see the House of Representatives become the one strong power in the government of the country. In this way it was intimately connected with the controversy concerning the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to make regular reports of the financial condition of the country.

Art. VII, Sec. 9, of the constitution provides that "a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures shall be made from time to time,"* but the chaotic condition of financial affairs in the first years of the new government was such as to prevent Hamilton from making any regular report, whether he wished to do so or not. Moreover Hamilton was firm in the belief that the power of the executive should be strengthened, so that he was likely to resent any decided interference by the House of Representatives with the financial policy of the treasury department. As early as 1790, however, the Secretary of the Treasury had been ordered by various resolutions of the House to make reports for specific times, and finally in 1792, a resolution was passed calling for an annual report of the condition of the treasury. Hamilton professed his inability to make any such report, and attempted to put the question aside by a partial report February 4th, 1793. This led to the adoption of the resolution of June 5th, 1794, "that the Secretary of the Treasury lay before the House of Representatives, at each annual session within ten days of the commencement of the same, a distinct account of the revenues arising under the several duties and taxes, and of the expense attending the collection of each particular duty or tax, as far as such expense can be discriminated; and also of the number of officers employed in collecting public revenue, and the allowance made to them respectively."† This resolution called for a report on the revenue only, but the Secretary of the Treasury was either unwilling or unable to satisfy the House in this regard, and the opposition in the House was not yet strong enough to compel him to obey its mandate. But with the session of 1795 a definite policy was entered upon by the republicans. They wished to subordinate the power of the executive to that of the House of Representatives,‡ and one of the main points selected by them, for their purpose, was to give the House of Representatives absolute control over financial matters. In this part of the contest Gallatin took the lead,§ and it is in a large measure due to his efforts that the power of the Secretary of the Treasury was weakened, and the power of the house increased. His first measure was to secure the appointment of a committee whose duty it should be to oversee the operation of the treasury department; a committee which would be an efficient aid when the Secretary and the House were agreed as to policy, but which would be a troublesome enemy if

*Clause 7.

†House Journal, 1793-97, Vol. II, p. 206.

‡That the main plan underlying this struggle was to place more power in the hands of the House of Representatives, is seen in the controversy over Jay's treaty. Thus Madison said the question was "whether the general power of making treaties supersedes the powers of the House of Representatives, particularly specified in the constiution, so as to give the executive all deliberative will, and leave the House only an executive and a ministerial legislative agency." J. A. Stevens, Life of Gallitin, p. 114.

§Stevens, Life of Gallatin. pp. 109-134.

such agreement did not exist. The purpose of Gallatin was to establish the expenses of the government upon a permanent footing, and to bring the accounts of the Treasury department into such shape that they could be easily understood and wisely controlled by the House of Representatives. In following out this policy a contest arose in 1796 over the appropriations for the service of the year, the Federalists claiming that the House had no busines to discuss the merits of establishments for which money had been previously appropriated. Gallatin on the other hand argued that the House had power "to appropriate or not to appropriate for any object whatever, whether that object was authorized or not," * and although nothing was decided by this debate, the views of Gallatin were finally accepted. In the second session of 1796, Gallatin complained that the Secretary of the Treasury was of the opinion that he had the right to take money from one appropriation where there was a surplus and apply it to another where there was a deficit. On this account he introduced a rider to an appropriation bill resolving that "the several sums shall be solely applied to the objects for which they are respectively appropriated." † This bill passed and was regarded as greatly restricting the powers of the Secretary of the Treasury, but Gallatin was not yet satisfied and still the contest between the House and the Secretary, on the subject of regular reports, continued. Finally, after the question had dragged along for a number of years, a law called supplementary to an act entitled "An act to establish the Treasury department,"‡ was introduced in the Senate, was agreed to by the House, and was signed by the President on May 10th, 1800. It provided "it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to digest, prepare and lay before Congress at the beginning of each session, a report on the subject of finance, containing estimates of the public revenue and the public expenditure, and plans for improving or increasing the revenues, from time to time, for the purpose of giving information to Congress, in adopting modes of raising money requisite to meet the public expenditures." § By this law it became the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to furnish a report of the financial condition of the government, upon which the committee of Ways and Means would be able to base their plans for the budget of the year. The law undoubtedly increased the power of Congress over money matters, and this power was still further increased by the creation of a House committee of Ways and Means, with well defined duties and privileges. From this time on, the control of the Secretary of the Treasury over the financial measures of the year grew weaker and weaker, until finally the House, through the committee of Ways and Means, apparently became the sole judge of the expediency of all kinds of budgetary legislation. Occasionally there was a Secretary of the Treasury who, by superior force of character, so imbued the House with a belief in his ability to manage the finances, that his plans were accepted almost without question, but as a general rule the chairman of the Ways and Means committee had a far greater influence than the Secretary of the Treasury, in the preparation of financial measures.

The press of business in Congress soon made it necessary to extend the committee system, and other committees having a share in the control of the budget were appointed. In 1814|| it was resolved "that an additional standing committee be appointed, to be called a committee for public expenditures," whose duty it should be "to examine into the state of the several puplic departments, and par-

* Stevens, Life of Gallatin, p 112.
† Ibid., p 134.
‡ Peters, Vol. II, Chap. 58, p. 79.

§ A peculiar fact in connection with this law is that Gallatin, although heartily sympathizing with the purpose of the measure, voted and spoke against it because he considered that the Senate was in this case really originating a money bill, and so violating the privilege of the House.

|| House Journal, Vol. IX, 1813-15, pp. 311, 314.

ticularly into the laws making appropriations of money, and to report whether the moneys have been disbursed conformably with such laws; and also to report from time to time such provisions and arrangements as may be necessary to add to the economy of the departments, and the accountability of their officers." But the committee of Ways and Means still remained the most important and most influential committee of the House, and it was not until 1865 that its duties and powers were lessened in any way.

In that year Mr. Cox of Ohio introduced an amendment* to the House rules, which was intended to relieve the committee of Ways and Means of a portion of its duties by the creation of a new committee on Appropriations. In support of this amendment he said: "It is not proposed to strike out the committee of Ways and Means. This committee is still to be preserved and their future duty is to raise revenue for carrying on the government. This includes of course the tariff, internal revenue, loan bills, legal tender notes and all other matters connected with supporting the credit and raising money. . . . . The proposed committee on Appropriations have, under this amendment, the examination of the estimates of the department, and exclusively the consideration of all appropriations."† The two main reasons given by Mr. Cox for this change were, first, because the press of business was so great that the committee of Ways and Means could not possibly attend to all the questions brought before it. Second, because the appointment of a new committee would create a tendency toward a more economical management of the finances, since the new committee would make a more careful investigation of bills and in this way would be certain to reduce expenses. In answering the objection that such an arrangement of committees would result in a lack of harmony between the two sides of the budget, Mr. Garfield‡ said that the separation of the questions of finance and appropriation would have no bad result, for it would be a very easy matter for the committees to furnish each other estimates and confer with each other. The amendment encountered but little opposition and was passed on March 2nd, 1865. By it the duties of the committee of Ways and Means are declared to be "to take into consideration all reports of the Treasury department and such other propositions relative to raising the revenue, and providing ways and means for the support of the government, as shall be presented or shall come in question and be referred to them by the House, and to report their opinions thereon by bill or otherwise as to them shall seem expedient."§ That portion of the duties which had formerly belonged to the committee of Ways and Means, but which was now transferred to the committee on Appropriations, was determined by Rules 76 and 77,‖ as follows: Rule 76, "It shall be the duty of the committee on Appropriations, to take into consideration all executive communications and such other propositions in regard to carrying on the several departments of government as may be presented and referred to them by the House." Rule 77, "It shall also be the duty of the committee on Appropriations, within thirty days after their appointment at every session of Congress, commencing on the first Monday of December, to report the general appropriation bills, for legislative, executive and judicial expenses; for sundry civil expenses: for consular and diplomatic expenses; for the army; for the navy; for the expenses of the Indian department; for the payment of invalid and other pensions; for the support of the Military Academy; for fortifications; for the service of the Post Office department and for mail transportation by ocean steamers; and in failure thereof the reasons for such

* Congressional Globe, Pt. I, Vol. 60, p. 666, and Pt. II, Vol. 61, p. 1312.

† Ibid., Pt. II, Vol. 61, p. 1312.

‡ Ibid., p. 1316.

§ See Rules of Order of 37th Congress, House Journal, 1862-63, 3rd Session, Appendix, p. 639.

‖ Ibid.

failure. And said committee shall have leave to report such bills at any time."* Thus the appointment of a committee on Appropriations made a complete separation in the consideration of the income and expenditure sides of the budget. More than this, in 1883, a still further division of the question of expenditure was effected, by the appointment of a committee on Rivers and Harbors,† who "have the same privileges in reporting bills making appropriations for the improvement of rivers and harbors as is accorded to the committee on Appropriations in reporting general appropriation bills."

* The time limit on the report of the general appropriation bill was first placed in the rules Sept 14th, 1837, and the special privileges given to reports of committees of Ways and Means and on Appropriation were placed in the rules March 19th, 1860.

† Congressional Record, Vol. XIV, Pt. I, p. 702, and Vol. XV, Pt. I, pp. 214-216, 223.

Besides these three great committees there are eight other committees which may also be said to deal with questions of the budget, inasmuch as it is their duty to see that the money given by the general appropriation bill to the various departments is expended in accordance with the provisions of the bill. These are the committees on expenditures in the Treasury, State, War, Navy, Post Office and Interior departments, in the department of Justice, and on Public Buildings.* But these eight committees have little or nothing to do with outlining the policy of the government in budgetary legislation. That work is left in the House of Representatives to the committee of Ways and Means, the committee on Appropriations and the committee on Rivers and Harbors.

E. D. ADAMS.

* Smith, Digest of the Rules of the House, p. 167.

- SEMINARY - NOTES. -

PUBLISHED ON THE FIRST DAY OF OCTOBER, NOVEMBER, DECEMBER, FEBRUARY, MARCH, APRIL AND MAY, BY THE SEMINARY OF HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCE. State University, Lawrence, Kansas.

Frank W. Blackmar, *Frank H. Hodder*, *Ephraim D. Adams*, - - - - *Editors.*

Terms, Ten Cents a Number, - Fifty Cents a Year

THE purpose of this publication is to increase the interest in the study of historical science in the University and throughout the State, to afford means of regular communication with corresponding members of the Seminary and with the general public—especially with the Alumni of the University, and to preserve at least the outlines of carefully prepared papers and addresses. The number of pages in each issue will be increased as rapidly as the subscription list will warrant. The entire revenue of the publication will be applied to its maintenance.

Address all subscriptions and communications to

F. W. BLACKMAR,
Lawrence, Kansas.

MR. B. W. WOODWARD read an interesting paper before the Seminary on April 7, entitled "A Glimpse at New Spain." The paper dealt with some features of early Spanish settlements in Mexico, and will probably be published in a future issue of the NOTES.

THE forthcoming issue of the *Kansas University Quarterly* contains papers by two members of the Historical department. F. W. Blackmar furnishes an article on "Penology in Kansas," and F. H. Hodder has prepared a review of his "References on Municipal Government," published in the NOTES last year.

THE events of the past twenty years have been very significant to the student of theoretical or practical politics. While this period may not have been more remarkable than others in the history of the nation, it truly may be said to be a great formative period in American politics. Even now changes are being made which will be of great moment to the future policy and welfare of the country. The past struggle over constitutional questions which absorbed so much of the attention of statesmen and other citizens for a hundred years was practically finished over a quarter of a century ago. The great questions concerning the rights and the liberty of the people, or the relation of states to federal government, were about settled and a constitution was finally completed. We have been united into a homogenous people with precedent and law firmly established and there seems to be but one legitimate field for the statesman beyond that of keeping the machinery of the government going and in repair, mainly to devote his chief attention to the questions of finance, currency, the rights and duties of social classes and the general business relations of the community. The old hackneyed political questions that have been used as campaign war cries should be relegated to the background and give place to the simple industrial needs of a people.

During the long struggle on purely political issues, party lines were drawn with exactitude; intense partisanship was the rule if not the necessity. But the great political questions have been settled, the nation now has a clearly defined policy from which no political party dare greatly to depart, without endangering its own safety, and there remains nothing at present but a faithful management of the public machinery and the wise consideration of the immediate financial and commercial needs of the people. The simpler the machinery, the more direct the laws and the more faithful the officers are to the trust imposed upon them the better for the party in power and the community at large. The general and common interest is the great question at stake and this demands attention to men rather than to measures. Yet in the face of these conditions we find that the people are loth to give up their accustomed adherence to party platforms, although they will ac-

knowledge that there is not much difference in them and that one party seems to do about as well as another when in charge of the national government notwithstanding that campaign documents assert the contrary. The differences of the two great parties are now largely fictitious. The principal issues are made by politicians in the endeavor to make out a strong case for their own side. Both parties are betrayed into an acknowledgment in the practice of administration that there is no vital difference between them. This the people are beginning to see and it is becoming more difficult each year to carry the masses on a plan made by the fixers of the party regardless of the dominant sentiments of the people. There is an honest determination of the people to study political and economic measures and to find out for themselves what they want and to demand it rather than allow politicians and demagogues to tell them what they want and force them to take it. The people are becoming tired of bossism and ring rule. They are determined to be rid of these obnoxious taints upon free government. They do not always know just how to rid themselves of these qualities and in their attempts may flounder about and make things worse for a time, but if the lessons of the past teach anything it is that no party is safe in adopting platforms that suit the plans of politicians and depending upon the party organization to force them upon the people when the latter do not want them. If a party succeeds once under such conditions it will not a second time.

But the great curse and shame of modern politics is the multitude of hungry office seekers who consider all national offices as so many spoils to be devoured. It is deplorable to relate it but this class seems to be on the increase. The large number of individuals who live upon the government; who are ready and willing to accept a large office if they can get it, if not who will take what they can get and prepare for something greater next time; the ward heelers who pack conventions and primaries, the politicians who care nothing for the needs of the people, only so far as they can obtain something of advantage to themselves therefrom, seem to be multiplying. One can not look upon the wild scramble for office that has been taking place during the last month without a blush of shame that our boasted free government has been the means of creating such a band of parasites, who, in pretending that the government can not do without their services, acknowledge that they cannot get along without the government. Every political party in the country is overrun with this class, as every municipal, county, state and national election testifies. We have boasted as a nation that we have no class system in the United States, but here is a distinct class grown up in our midst, a class whose genus is politician, whose species are well marked but all are hybrid. Their unmistakable marks need not be given here; they are mostly office-gluttons with a conscience that does not operate respecting the needs of common society. Yet there is one hopeful sign respecting this class, there is hope of cutting off the food supply of its natural habitat. The late election laws are steps in the right direction. There are now thirty-seven states having these laws and doubtless they will become universal. These laws will become more perfect and will help the people in obtaining an honest expression of their will in matters of government. These laws will be followed by others which will enable the people to seek out representative men. This may be a long way ahead but it will come. There is nothing dishonorable in representing the people on a legitimate basis, there is nothing dishonorable in the desire of a man to represent the people, but the chronic office-seeker, who is ready for anything he can get has become a curse to the government. He has multiplied the machinery and the expenses of the

government until a small commonwealth has officers and boards and sub-officers and sub-boards and legislature and senate with extra sessions sufficient to run a nation while a burgomaster and his clerk could attend to all necessary legislation and administration with ease, were it not for destroying the glorious fiction of the right of the people to govern themselves. This fiction has cost the people millions of money and will cost them more if this land is not rid of the political fixers, demagogues and chronic species of office-seekers that infest the land and are in the front rank of every reform or are following the commissary department of every party.

THE world's congress of historians and historical students will convene at Chicago, July 10, 1893, and continue in session for one week. The meeting place will be in the Art Institute, on Lake Front and Michigan avenue. Intervals will be given during the session for members to visit the exposition. Special invitations have been sent out in a few instances to historical writers to present papers; but a general invitation is extended to persons of this country and foreign nations to present papers for the inspection of the committees before the meeting of the congress. Twenty-five minutes will be allowed for the reading of each paper and this will be followed by discussions. Doubtless this will be an exceedingly interesting session. The educational features of the exposition will prove the most valuable and interesting of all the exhibits to be entered.

THE work done in University Extension in America has been quite well published from time to time in magazines and periodicals. Many points of improvement have been suggested. There has been a mingling of the workers of the old and the new world to a certain extent. But the congress to be held at Chicago in July will be of great service in settling vexed questions and in creating enthusiasm for extension work throughout the world.

It is expected that the national conference of Charities and Correction to convene in Chicago, June 8 to 11, and the international conference immediately following will prove of great interest to those interested in charity and prison reforms. A great deal of interest has been manifested of late years in these great subjects, and the circle of scholars and specialists who devote their time to these lines of study is constantly enlarging. These congresses at Chicago ought to give the reform movement a great impetus.

COURSES OF STUDY

IN

HISTORY AND SOCIOLOGY.

FOR 1892-93.

F. W. BLACKMAR, PH. D.
F. H. HODDER, PH. M.
E. D. ADAMS, PH. D.

Instruction in this department is given by means of lectures, conferences, recitations, discussions, and personal direction in study and research. As the library is an indispensable aid in the pursuit of the following courses of study, students are expected to become acquainted with the best methods of collecting and classifying materials, and of writing and presenting papers on special topics. All lectures are supplemented by required reading and class exercises.

The work of the department now embraces five principal lines of study, namely: European History, American History and Civil Government, Political Institutions, Sociology or Social Institutions, and Political Economy.

The following studies are offered for 1892-'93:

FIRST TERM.

1. **The History of Civilization.** Lectures daily, at 8:30. Ancient Society, and the intellectual development of Europe to the twelfth century. Special attention is given to the influence of Greek philosophy and the Christian church on European civilization, the relation of learning to liberal government, and to the rise of modern nationality.

2. **French and German History.** Daily, at 9:30. Descriptive history. Text-book.

3. **Historical Method and Criticism.** Tuesday and Thursday, at 9:30. Examination and classification of sources and authorities. Analysis of the works of the best historians. Library work, with collection and use of material, notes, and bibliography. Special attention to current historical and economic literature.

4. **The History of Education and the Development of Methods of Instruction.** Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, at 9:30. This course may be taken with No. 3. A course for teachers.

5. **English History.** Daily, at 11. Descriptive history. Text-book.

6. **Journalism.** Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, at 12. Lectures, laboratory and library work. English: Twenty-five lectures by Professors Dunlap and Hopkins; 15 lectures on the history and ethics of journalisn, by Professor Adams. Newspaper bureau. The principal object of the bureau is to enable students to form habits of systematic reading, to keep informed on the topics of the day, and to preserve clippings properly filed and indexed. This course will be found highly beneficial to students who desire a special study in magazines and newspapers as a general culture.

7. **Statistics.** Tuesday and Thursday at 12. Supplementary to all studies in economics and sociology. The method of using statistics is taught by actual investigation of political and social problems, lectures, and class-room practice. The history and theory of statistics receive due attention.

8. **American History.** From the earliest discovery to 1763. Lectures, topical reading, and recitations. Three hours a week at 2.

9. **Local and Municipal Government.** Lectures and topical reading. Two hours a a week at 2.

Courses 8 and 9 are intended to be taken together as a full study, but may be taken separately.

10. **American History.** Presidential administrations from Washington to Jackson. Daily, at 3. Open to Seniors in full standing, and to other students upon approval of the instructor.

11. **International Law and Diplomacy.** Lectures and recitations. Two hours a week, at 4.

12. **Political Economy.** Daily, at 4. The fundamental principles are discussed, elaborated and illustrated by examples from present economic society. A brief history of Poiitical Economy closes the course.

SECOND TERM.

13. **Institutional History.** Lectures Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, at 8:30, on comparative politics and administration. Greek Roman, and Germanic institutions compared. Historical significance of Roman law in the middle eges. Short study in Prussian administration.

14. **Renaissance and Reformation.** Tuesday and Thursday, at 8:30. Lectures The revival of learning with especial reference to the Italian renaissauce. A careful inquiry into the cause, course and results of the Reformation. This course may be taken as a continuation of number 1.

15. Political History of Modern Europe. Tuesday and Thursday at 9:30. Text-book.

16. Federal Government and the French Revolution. Lectures, Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, at 9:30, on Switzerland. The Italian republics and the States General of France.

17. Constitutional History of England. Tuesday and Thursday, at 9:30. This course may be taken as a continuation of number 5. Text-book and lectures.

18. Elements of Sociology. Lectures, Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, at 11. Evolution of social institutions. Laws and conditions that tend to organize society. Modern social institutions and social problems.

19. Charities and Correction. Tuesday and Thursday, at 11. Treatment of the poor from a historical standpoint. Modern scientific charity. The treatment of criminals. Prisons and reformatories. Practical study of Kansas institutions. This course is supplementary to number 18.

20. Land Tenures. Lectures, Tuesday and Thursday, at 12. This course treats of primitive property, the village community, feudal tenures, and modern land-holding in Great Britain and the United States. This course is mainly historical, and is an excellent preparation for the study of the law of real property.

21. American History. Continuation of course 8. First half-term: History of the Revolution and the Confederation, 1763 to 1769. Second half-term: Brief summary of the constitutional period, with Johnston's "American Politics" as a text-book. Three hours a week, at 2.

22. Constitutional Law. History of the adoption of the constitution, and a study of its provisions. Twice a week, at 2. Forms, with course 21, a full study, but may be taken separately.

23. American History. Continuation of course 10. Presidential administrations from Jackson to Lincoln. Daily, at 3.

24. Mediæval History. Two-fifths of the second term of the Freshman year. For all students whose admission papers show that they have had elementary physics, hygiene and chemistry. Daily, at 3. Text-book.

25. Principles of Public Finance. Lectures on public industries, budget legislation, taxation and public debts. Open to students who have studied political economy one term. Two hours a week, at 4.

26 The Status of Woman. Conferences. Tuesday and Thursday, at 4 Industrial condition, including a study of labor, wages, etc. Woman in the professions. Their political and legal abilities and disabilities. Property rights. Condition of woman in Europe and the Orient. Social questions.

27. Advanced Political Economy. Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, at 4. Consisting of (*a*) lectures on applied economics; (*b*) practical observation and investigation; and (*c*) methods of research, with papers by students on special topics. This course is a continuation of number 12.

General Seminary, on Friday, at 4. Students in History and Sociology are required to attend the Seminary unless excused by special arrangement. Full credit will be allowed for time spent in Seminary work. At the beginning of the term, students may elect other work in place of the seminary, if they choose.

SUGGESTED MAJOR COURSES FOR UNDERGRADUATES.

I. Economics. Courses 7, 12, 18, 19, 20, and 27.

II. European History. Courses, 2, 3, 5, 13, 15, and 16.

III. American History. Courses 8, 9, 10, 21, 22, and 23.

IV. Social Institutions. Courses, 1, 12, 14, 18, 19, and 4 (or 26).

V. Political Institutions. Courses 3, 7, 9, 15, 13, 16, 17, 20, and 22.

GRADUATE COURSES.

Persons desiring to take the degree of A. M. may do so by the completion of any one or all of the following courses. The work is carried on by the investigation of special topics under the personal direction of the instructor. An hour for conference will be arranged for each student. The courses extend throughout the year.

I. American History. Open to graduates and students who have studied American History two years.

II. Economics. Open to graduates and students who have taken the undergraduate work in political economy. Courses 12, 27, and 8.

III Political and Social Institutions. Open to graduates and students who have taken the undergraduate work in the history of institutions and sociology. Courses 12, 27, and 7

The above courses are for students who desire proficiency in a special line. These courses will not in any way interfere with the general rules of the Faculty respecting graduate work.

(Catalogue, 1891-'92, pp. 120, 121.) By these rules, a graduate student may take any of the 27 courses mentioned above (except 15 and 24) as a preparation for the degree of A M.

Preparation for Entrance to the University. The time spent in the high schools in the study of history is necessarily limited. For this reason it is essential that the greatest care be exercised in preparing students for entrance to the University. At present very little history is required in the Freshman and Sophomore years, and the students enter upon the study of the Junior and Senior years without thorough preparation for the work. It would seem that the aim should be for all those who contemplate entering the University to learn the story of nations pretty thoroughly. A general outline of the world's history with a special study of the United States History and government represents the field. But this outline should be more than a mere skeleton of facts and dates. It should be well rounded with the political, social, and economic life of the people. Students will find a general text-book, such as Myer's, Sheldon's, or Fisher's, indispensible; but the work of preparation ought not to stop here. Such works as Fyffe's Greece, Creighton's Rome, Seebohm's Era of Protestant Revolution, Cox's Greece, and others in the Primer, Epoch, and Stories of Nations series ought to be read. The object of this reading is to familiarize the student with the political and social life of the principle nations of the world. For this purpose everything should be as interesting as possible. Such an interest should be aroused that the student would not be puzzled over dates and threadbare facts, but would seize and hold those things that are useful on account of the interest his mind has in them. That history which is gained by a bare memory of events is soon lost. It grows too dim for use and consequently leads to confusion. With the story of the nations well learned the student comes to the University prepared for the higher scientific study of history and its kindred topics. He is then ready for investigation, comparison and analysis. He then takes up the real investigation of the philosophy of institutions and of national development. He is then ready for the science of Sociology, Institutional History, Political Economy, the Science of Government, Statistics or Political Economy. Students who enter the University without this preparation find it necessary to make up for it as best they can by the perusal of books, such as those mentioned above.

STUDENTS' LIBRARIES.

Every student n the niversity should lay the foundation of a good working library. Such libraries are not "made to order" at some given time, under specially favorable financial conditions—but are the result of considerable sacrifice, and are of slow growth. The wise expenditure of even ten dollars in each term will bring together books which if thoroughly mastered will be of great assistance in all later life. Room-mates, or members of the same fraternity, by combining their libraries and avoiding the purchase of duplicates, can soon be in possession of a most valuable collection of authors. Assistance in selecting and in purchasing will be given upon application.

The prices named below are the list prices of the publishers.

Students are required to purchase books marked with an asterisk.

American Book Company, Chicago.

Manual of the Constitution, Andrews.... $ 1.00
Analysis of Civil Government, Townsend.... 1.00
Civil Government, Peterman.... .60
History of England, Thalheimer.... 1.00
Mediæval and Modern History, Thalheimer.... 1.60
Outlines of History, Fisher.... 2.40
General History of the World, Barnes.... 1.60
Political Economy, Gregory.... 1.20
Lessons in Political Economy, Champlin.... .90

Ginn & Co., Boston and Chicago.

Ancient History, Myers & Allen.... $ 1.50
Mediæval and Modern History, Myers.... 1.50
Political Science and Comparative Law, Burgess, 5.00
Macy's Our Government.... .75
*General History, Myers.... 1.50
Leading facts in English History, Montgomery... 1.12
Philosophy of Wealth, Clark.... 1.00
Political Science Quarterly, Yearly.... 3.00
Washington and His Country, Fiske.... 1.00

Harpers, New York.

*History of Germany, Lewis.... 1.50
*International Law, Davis.... 2.00
*Political History of Modern Times, Mueller.... 2.00
*Short English History, Green.... 1.20
Civil Policy of America. Draper.... 2.00
History of English People, Green, 4 vols.... 10.00
History of United States, Hildreth, 6 vols.... 12.00
The Constitution, Story.... .90

Holt & Co., New York.

*American Politics, Johnston.... $ 1.00
American Colonies, Doyle, 3 vols.... 9.00
American Currency, Sumner.... 2.50
History of Modern Europe, Fyffe, 3 vols.... 7.50
Political Economy, Walker.... 2.25

Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

Discovery of America, Fiske, 2 vols.... $ 4.00
American Commonwealths, 14 vols., each.... 1.25
American Statesmen, 24 vols., each.... 1.25
American Revolution, Fiske, 2 vols.... 4.00
Critical Period of American History, Fiske.... 2.00
Epitome of History, Ploetz.... 3.00
Christopher Columbus, Winsor.... 4.00

Appleton, New York.

Dynamic Sociology, Ward, 2 vols.... $ 5.00
History of Civilization, Guizot.... 1.25
Political Economy, Mill, 2 vols.... 6.00

Cranston & Stowe, Chicago.

*Political Economy, Ely.... $ 1.00

Macmillan, New York.

Constitutional History, England, Stubbs, 3 vols. $ 7.80
Principles of Economics, Marshall, vol. I.... 3.00

Armstrong, New York.

*Democracy in Europe, May, 2 vols.... $ 2.50

G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London.

*American Citizen's Manual, Ford.... $ 1.25
Unwritten Constitution of the U. S., Tiedeman... 1.00
History of Political Economy, Blanqui.... 3.00
Introduction to Eng. Econom. Hist. and Theory Ashley.... 1.50
Indust. and Com. Supremacy of Eng., Rogers.... 3.00
Economic Interpretations of History, Rogers.... 3.00
Constitutional History of the U. S., Sterne.... 1.25
*Tariff History of the United States, Taussig.... 1.25
The Story of Nations, 34 vols., each.... 1.50
Heroes of the Nations, 12 vols., each.... 1.50
American Orations, ed. by Johnston, 3 vols., each 1.25

Callaghan & Co., Chicago.

Constitutional History of U. S., Von Holst, 8 vol $25.00
Constitutional Law of U. S., Von Holst.... 2.00
Political Economy, Roscher, 2 vols.... 6.00

Crowell, New York.

*History of France, Duruy.... $ 2.00
Labor Movement in America, Ely.... 1.50
Life of Washington, pop. ed., Irving, 2 vols.... 2.50
Problems of To-day, Ely.... 1.50

Little, Brown & Co., Boston.

History of Greece, Grote, 10 vols.... $17.50
Parkman's Works, per vol.... 1.50
Rise of the Republic, Frothingham.... 3.50

Longmans, Green & Co., New York.

Epochs of Ancient History, each vol.... $ 1.00
Epochs of Modern History, each vol.... 1.00
Political Economy, pop. ed., Mill.... 1.75
The Crusades, Cox.... 1.00

Scribners, New York.

*American Diplomacy, Schuyler.... $ 2.50
History of Rome, Mommsen, 4 vols.... 8.00
Lombard Street, Bagehot.... 1.25
Silent South, Cable.... 1.00

Silver Burdett & Co., Boston.

*Historical Atlas, Labberton.... $1.50 or $ 2.00
*Historical Geography of U. S., MacCoun.... 1.00
*Institutes of Economics, Andrews.... 1.50
Institues of General History, Andrews.... 2.00

Dodd, Mead & Co., New York.

History of United States, Schouler, 5 vols.... $11.50

D. C. Heath & Co., Boston.

*The State, Woodrow Wilson.... $ 2.00
Principles of Political Economy, Gide.... 2.00
Methods of Teaching History, Hall.... 1.50
General History, Sheldon.... 1.60
*Old South Leaflets, 22 Nos., each.... .05
History Topics, Allen.... 25
State and Fed. Governments of the U. S., Wilson 50
The American Citizen, Dole.... .90
Comparative View of Governments, Wenzel.... .20
Studies in American History, Sheldon—Barnes... 1.12

SEMINARY NOTES.

STATE UNIVERSITY—LAWRENCE, KANSAS.

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SEMINARY OF HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCE.

All students connected with the department of History and Sociology are, by virtue of such connection, members of the Seminary. All students are expected to attend the Seminary unless excused by the instructors of the department. Students are credited with the time spent in Seminary work.

The meetings of the Seminary are held every Friday, in Room 15, University Building. Public meetings will be held from time to time, after due announcement.

The work of the Seminary consists of special papers and discussions, on topics connected with the Department mentioned; prepared as far as possible from consultation of original sources and from practical investigation of existing conditions, under the personal direction of the officers of the Seminary

Special assistance in choice of themes, authorities, etc., is given members of the Seminary who have written work due in the department of History and Sociology, or in the department of English, or in any of the literary societies or other similar organizations in the University: on condition that the results of such work shall be presented to the Seminary if so required.

In connection with the work of the Seminary, a Newspaper bureau is maintained. In this the leading cities of the United States are represented by some twenty daily and weekly newspapers. The principal object of the Bureau is to enable students to form habits of systematic reading, to keep informed on the current topics of the day, to study the best types of modern journalism, to learn to discriminate between articles of temporary value only and those of more permanent worth, to make a comparative study of editorial work, to master for the time being the current thought on any particular subject, and to preserve by clippings properly filed and indexed, important materials for the study of current history and public life—to *make* history by the arrangement and classification of present historical matter.

Special investigation and study will be undertaken during each year, bearing on some one or more phases of the administration of public affairs in this state; the purpose being to combine service to the state with the regul r work of professional and student life. In this special work the advice and co-operation of state and local officials and of prominent men of affairs is constantly sought, thus bringing to students the experience and judgment of the world about them.

Graduates of our own University, or other persons of known scholarly habits, who have more than a passing interest in such work as the Seminary undertakes, and who are willing to contribute some time and thought to its success, are invited to become corresponding members of the Seminary. The only condition attached to such membership is, that each corresponding member shall prepare during each University year one paper, of not *less* than two thousand five hundred words, on some subject within the scope of the Seminary; and present the same in person at such time as may be mutually agreed upon by the writer and the officers of the Seminary, or in writing if it be found impossible to attend a meeting of the Seminary.

The library of the University and the time of the officers of the Seminary are at the service of corresponding members, in connection with Seminary work—within reasonable limits.

More than twenty gentlemen, prominent in official and professional circles, have already connected themselves with the Seminary, and have rendered very acceptable service during past years.

The officers and members of the Seminary will gladly render all possible assistance to any public officials who may desire to collect special statistics or secure definite information on such lines of public work as are properly within the sphere of the Seminary.

Any citizen of Kansas interested in this work is invited to correspond with the Seminary, and to be present at its meetings when possible.

FRANK W. BLACKMAR,
DIRECTOR.

FRANK H. HODDER,
VICE-DIRECTOR.

EPHRAIM D. ADAMS,
SECRETARY.

LIFE AMONG THE CHEROKEES.

IN the northeastern part of the Indian Territory, is a section of country known as the Cherokee Nation. It contains seven thousand eight hundred and sixty-one square miles, an area nearly as large as Massachusetts. On the north it is bounded by the state of Kansas, and on the east by the states of Missouri and Arkansas. The Canadian and Arkansas rivers form its southern, and the Creek Nation and the ninety-sixth Meridian West, its western boundaries. It is a beautiful country, fertile, well watered and possessing a fine climate. The eastern half has rich coal deposits. Much fine timber is found along the streams. But it is of the institutions of the people inhabiting this country that we wish to treat.

The Cherokees are the most advanced of the five civilized tribes. Their government is similar to the state governments. It has a legislature composed of two branches, called the council and senate. The council is composed of thirty-two members, elected for a term of four years, half being elected every two years, and is presided over by a speaker.* The senate is composed of thirteen members, elected in the same way and for the same length of time. It is presided over by the assistant chief. A bill must pass both senate and council and be signed by the chief before it becomes a law. The chief, assistant chief, secretary of state, treasurer, and superintendent of public instruction, are elected directly by the people for terms of four years. Elections are held in the first week in August.

The inhabitants of the territory are a motley group. There are some small tribes in the northeastern part, namely, the Quapaws, Peorias, Ottawas, Wyandottes, and Senecas, which retain their tribal relationship though living on land partly owned by the Cherokees. The Delawares and Shawnees have been adopted into the tribe but not with full rights of Cherokees. They have a suit now in the courts of the United States, respecting their rights under the treaty by which they entered the Cherokee tribe. There is a class of negroes who were the slaves of the Cherokees or are the descendants of such slaves. They are citizens of the Cherokee Nation but have not equal rights with Cherokees. The Cherokees proper include a great number of whites who have been adopted into the tribe, and who enjoy all the rights of citizens. There is also a class of Indians who claim to be Cherokees but the records fail to show that they are entitled to citizenship, and the courts refuse to recognize their pretended right. They number about seven thousand. Another class of people living in the Nation is made up of citizens of the United States residing there for purposes of trade, agriculture, cattle raising and other pursuits. They are not citizens of the territory.

There is an average of one hundred and seventy acres of land in the Nation for every man, woman and child. They have a patent deed from the government for their land, but they do not hold it as individual property, nor can they hold it as such. It is owned by the tribe as a whole. Each citizen is allowed to farm as much as he pleases, provided that he keeps one-fourth of a mile from every other citizen. He may join farms with other citizens, however, if both parties are agreed. He can put on his chosen spot of ground, or farm, all the improvements he wishes and the farm will be his as long as he desires to use it, and it will descend to his heirs

* Anna Laurens Dawes, Harper's Magazine, Vol. 76, page 598.

at his death. Or he can sell his right of occupancy if he can find a buyer. If at any time, however, he abandons his place, any citizen who chooses may occupy it, and hold it as long as he pleases.

The amount of stock a citizen may own is not limited by law and this stock he may pasture anywhere on unfenced land, each farmer having to fence and care for his own crops. One would naturally think that the territory would soon be filled to overflowing with stock, since there are but one hundred and seventy acres *per capita*, but such is not the case. From four to twenty is the extent of most Indians' herds, while the few enterprising ones will own from several hundred to several thousand. Thus the unfenced land is used mostly by the few, either for pasture in the summer or for hay to be used during the six or eight weeks in winter when the stock needs other feed than pasture. Where the land is not pastured the prairie grass grows from one to two feet high. In August or September it is cut, raked together and stacked. The stacks are fenced to prevent the cattle from tearing them down before winter. When winter comes the fences are removed and the cattle are allowed to go to the stacks at will.

Most of the Indians and negroes exhibit no more enterprise in farming than in stock raising. Ten acres is an average farm, while one acre will suffice for many. In agriculture as well as stock raising, the enterprising ones have great opportunities. Some of them farm five or six hundred acres, besides having hundreds of acres leased to white men from the states. They have no legal right to lease land to non-citizens, but they evade the law by hiring the non-citizens to "break out," fence, and build on a place, giving as pay, the right to occupy it for a period varying from five to twenty-one years, according to the improvements to be made and the amicable relations existing between the parties at the time of making the contract. Sometimes the lease is given to friends for life. In this way thousands of acres have been leased by non-citizens in the last five years. Farmers in the Nation have the advantage of not having to pay taxes. At the expiration of the lease the farm becomes the property of the Indian from whom it was leased, and can be rented by him. The law prohibits non-citizens, who farm in the Nation, from having more than seven head of cattle. To evade this law, when a man leases from a citizen, the citizen promises to protect his cattle, by claiming them as his own. In this way some non-citizens hold four or five hundred head of cattle.

There are two systems of courts in the territory, the citizens' courts and the United States courts. The former have jurisdiction when both parties are citizens. Their officers are the sheriffs and deputy sheriffs. The United States courts have jurisdiction when both parties are non-citizens or when the controversy is between a non-citizen and a citizen. The object of this rule is to exempt citizens of the United States from the tribal government. The officers of the United States courts are marshals and deputy marshals. These marshals can arrest only when the United States courts have jurisdiction, that is, when an offence is committed by a non-citizen against a non-citizen, or by a non-citizen against a citizen, or by a citizen against a non-citizen. If a marshal sees a citizen commit an offence against another citizen, he has no right to arrest. On the other hand, a sheriff cannot arrest a non-citizen. Each marshal is allowed six deputies and each deputy is allowed two *posse* men and one of these may be a deputy sheriff. In that case, and that only, can an Indian arrest a non-citizen. The civil and criminal code of Arkansas has been adopted as the law of the territory for non-citizens, as far as applicable. Congress passes such other laws as are necessary. Courts have been established at Ft. Smith, Ft. Scott, Wichita and Muscogee for non-citizens. The Ft. Smith and Muscogee courts have adjudication of

most cases. The citizens' courts consist of a supreme court of three judges, at Talequah, and appellate courts throughout the Nation.

There is a class of intruders in the Territory, about seven thousand in number, who claim citizenship but are unable to prove their rights. Neither the U. S. courts nor the citizens' courts have jurisdiction over them. They are under the direct control of Congress. The President has recommended the establishment of a court to have jurisdiction over them. The Cherokees are making efforts to have them removed.

Citizenship is the only qualification for voting. Any lad among the Cherokees may vote or be voted for. The polling places are few in number and widely separated. When a voter enters a polling place a sheriff or deputy, with a Winchester, enters after him. No one else is allowed in the room at the time. After depositing his vote he passes out, followed by the officer. This custom of voting at the muzzle of a gun grew up during the war and the few years following, for the Cherokees were divided in sentiment at that time too.

Nearly all the affairs of the Nation are settled by the legislature. Support of schools, questions of finance, license to railways and telegraph companies, admission of religious teachers to the privileges of the nation and the like are all decided in council. The nation supports common and high schools, provides charitable institutions, and fosters churches.

The common schools are small and located for the most part along the streams, for there it is these Indians and negroes live. The English language is the principal one taught, though when desired the Cherokee language is taught also. There are eighty-six letters in the Cherokee alphabet. Their laws are printed in Cherokee and their official paper, the *Cherokee Advocate*, is printed half in Cherokee and half in English. There are two higher institutions of learning, one for boys, the other for girls, both situated three miles from Talequah and three miles apart. A small tuition fee is charged here, though if a pupil be unable to pay he is taught and even clothed at the nation's expense. Unusually bright scholars are educated at eastern schools at the expense of the tribe. In the female seminary at Talequah are taught Latin, literature, mathematics, the sciences, mental and moral philosophy, rhetoric, and the branches that lead up to these. In addition to the subjects already named, the boys are taught Greek, trigonometry, and surveying. About two hundred attend each of these institutions. Only Cherokees are admitted.

Ninety-five thousand dollars pass into the hands of the Cherokees each year as interest on the money that the United States owes them. Up to the last few years they have received about the same amount from the cattle men who leased the strip. These sources of revenue bear the expenses of the government. The Cherokees pay no taxes. On the other hand what is left after the expenses of the government have been paid is distributed among the full citizens. This may account in part for inactivity of the Indian even under favorable conditions. He knows he will always have land for a home and that too whenever he wants it, provided, of course, that no one else is ahead of him. His few head of cattle and pony or two can live along the streams all winter without being provided for, his fuel costs only the cutting, he has no taxes, and the government occasionally distributes its surplus so that by that means he is able to pay his store bill, while he farms an acre or two of corn and lives a life of contented inactivity. The tendency is for the young men to improve their opportunities and twenty years will see a great change. However, the sentiment is drifting toward allotting the land and abandoning the tribal organization, but it takes a long time to make such a change. They dearly love to be called a

nation, and look with suspicion on every movement to abolish old institutions, whether made within the tribe or by Congress.

The prohibitory law was well enforced in the territory up to 1890, when the courts decided that malt liquors could be sold there, as the word malt, through an oversight, had been left out of the law. Since the sale of malt liquors has been permitted other liquors have been sold as well, for a law that allows the selling of one kind of liquor and not another is difficult to enforce. The fine for violation of the fish and game laws is fifty dollars and costs. The fine goes to the officer making the arrest. Those laws are frequently violated, especially by friends of the officers. The law against hauling fire wood out of the territory is also often violated, the officers sometimes telling the offender to get his wood out when he is not around. Strangely enough the law against Sabbath breaking is better enforced than any other.

The marshals and sheriffs ride through the territory on horseback, armed with revolvers and rifles. They are men of nerve, ready to face danger, and quick shots. The class of criminals with which they deal makes it necessary to have such officers since their lives often depend on their ability to shoot first.

White men who wish to profit by the advantages of the territory frequently succeed in getting adopted into the tribe. To be adopted into the tribe, the man must get twelve citizens to make oath that he is of suitable character, and he must marry a squaw. He is often called a squaw-man. He is entitled to all the rights and privileges of Cherokees and is no longer under the jurisdiction of the United States courts. The Indians look with disfavor on the adoption of citizens, for it introduces into the tribe an element unaccustomed to their traditions and usages, and they fear that this foreign element will, more than any other cause, tend to break down their present customs and institutions. The squaws, however, frankly admit that they would rather see their daughters marry white men than Indians, for the former are more enterprising and provide better homes. If a white man marries a squaw and leaves her he loses his citizenship. If she leaves him, which rarely happens, he retains his citizenship.

The roads of the territory lie in any direction and are liable to be fenced across at any time. When they are cut up or in any way hard to travel over, some one starts a new route and the others follow, thus making a new road and abandoning the old. Their country is being rapidly settled by non-citizens who are leasing from the Cherokees. The last few years have seen much of their land brought under cultivation. If not stopped in a few years, and it will be difficult to stop, all the land worth farming will be under cultivation. That will crowd the citizens and will make them the more favorable to allotment. Great economic changes in in their mode of life are likely to take place before long. They realize that fact and do not like the thought of it. Not that they wish to be unprogressive but that they dislike to see the customs of their forefathers dying out. The sale of the strip is evidence of this change. Once their hunting grounds, they acknowledge by its sale that they are forced by circumstances to depend more and more on agriculture. The strip to them would be useless. The bringing under cultivation of their best lands, by non-citizens, is likely to raise the standard of living among them. It will also show them the resources of their country and induce a desire for a more enterprising mode of life, which will be a long step from wardship towards independence.

A. A. Bessey.

THE EDUCATION OF THE BLIND IN KANSAS.

A FEW weeks ago, I was detailed by the class in sociology to visit The Kansas Institution for the Education of the Blind and to report, as far as I was able to ascertain, what our state is doing to educate and enlighten these unfortunate ones.

This institution was founded in 1866 by an act of the state legislature. The city of Wyandotte donated for the purpose a ten-acre tract of land, just at the edge of the old city limits. This land is now within the limits of Kansas City and is valued at $60,000.00. Here the state constructed at a cost of $80,000.00 a two story brick building, which is now used as the main building, containing the school-rooms and dormitories. Since 1866 there has been expended upon the institution at different times, for permanent improvements, $62,000.00, which, together with the personal property, gives the institution a total valuation of $214,000.00.

On the first floor of the main building may be found the office, parlors, library, containing some three hundred volumes adapted to the uses of the blind, the recitation rooms, including the music rooms, and the teachers' bed-rooms. The second floor is occupied with the chapel and dormitories; the latter are all large and well ventilated rooms; they are somewhat scantily furnished but seem to be comfortable and clean. There is also a basement to the main building, in which are the dining room, kitchen, laundry, and store rooms. The kitchen and dining room are models of neatness. The cooking is done by steam and the food, which is necessarily of a good quality, owing to the fact that much of the blindness is caused by disease of the nature of scrofula, is exceedingly well prepared. In the rear of the main building are two smaller buildings; one is used as a shop for broom making, and the other contains the engines and boilers.

The one feature about the buildings and grounds that seems to be lacking, is proper sanitation. The drainage is not connected with the city sewer system, but is permitted to empty into a small pond in the rear of the buildings, where all the filth imaginable is allowed to collect to breed disease and sickness. The superintendent has, however, taken hold of the matter and is now trying to secure a means of connecting the drainage with the city sewerage and he hopes through the aid of the city to accomplish this in the near future.

There is now at the Institution an enrollment of 97, with an average attendance of 83 pupils. These range all the way from nine to twenty-one years of age. The state pays all the expenses of these pupils during the nine months they are at the Institution, with the exception of clothing and railroad fare to and from Kansas City. There is a law, however, that compels the county in which a pupil lives, to pay these remaining expenses, in case the parents or guardians are unable to do so. Thus Kansas gives to all her blind between the ages of nine and twenty-one years, an opportunity to secure an education. Aside from this, the Institution is purely educational, having no other features of a home for the blind.

The educational phase of the Institution is divided into three departments, literary, musical, and industrial. In the literary and music departments the system which has proved so successful in other institutions of a similar character, known as the New York point system, is used. In this

system, instead of the raised letters used almost exclusively some years ago, the alphabet is represented by raised dots after the following form or plan:—A ·· B :·· C ··. D ·: E · F ··· G ..: H.:: I : J ·:· K ··: L :. M :· N .. O .· P ·.. Q :.. R .: S ·. T . U ... V·.· W ..· X:.: Y .·. Z ·:: Number sign ::: Numerals, 1 :: 2 ·· 3 .: 4 :. 5 ·: 6 ·: 6 :. 7 .· 8 ·. 9 : 0 · Word signs, the .·· and ·.·. of .·: that ·.: ing .:· ch :·. on .··. sh .·.. th :: wh :.· period ·.. or a blank space equal to five points in length; comma · semi-colon . colon :. interrogation ·: dash :: exclamation .: parenthesis .·· quotation :.. The punctuation marks are preceded and followed by a blank space equal to two points.

The literary department comprises a course of eleven years, very similar to the course offered in our public schools. This is divided into four grades—primary, second and third grade and the high school grade.

In the primary grade the pupils are taught to read and write by means of these dots or points. They have our common school readers printed in the point form, and they soon acquire an acuteness of touch which enables them to read more readily than the average seeing pupils of the same age. This may be due to the fact that the blind work more diligently than seeing children, having less to attract their attention from their books. To write by means of these dots, they have a device called a slate, which is, in form, something similar to a wooden picture frame, eight inches wide by twelve to fourteen in length, having a solid back; the frame part being on hinges is made to raise up to allow a piece of heavy paper to be placed under it; the frame is then closed and fastened. Upon this frame a brass bar, about two inches broad, perforated with two or three rows of holes one-fourth of an inch square, is made to slide up and down the frame. The points are then made with an awl-like instrument, the bar of brass serving to keep the lines straight, while the square holes enable the pupil to place the dots in the correct positions.

In the second grade the scholars are taught grammar, geography and arithmetic in addition; the latter being the most difficult of all the common branches for the blind to learn, as it must be entirely mental, there being no means by which they can use figures as seeing pupils do.

In the third grade, arithmetic and geography are finished and history, United States and general, and rhetoric are taken up. They are also taught to write as seeing pupils, and by the time they leave the Institution many are able to write a very readable hand.

The work done in the next grade corresponds very closely to that of our high schools. Here they are taught algebra, geometry, physical geography, philosophy, rhetoric and composition. It is quite wonderful to see with what degree of accuracy the blind students solve mentally the most difficult problems in algebra, handling with comparative ease long equations containing two and three unknown quantities.

In all the literary work an unusual amount of systematic and thorough training is evident. The blind seem to be very competent in all studies in which the memory is taxed to a large extent.

The music department is the most interesting feature of the Institution. There are fifty-three pupils out of the eighty-three at the Institution in this department and in every instance show remarkable talent in this direction. They are taught to play the piano, violin, cornet, viola and similar instruments. They print their own music, from the dictation of the instructor, by means of the point alphabet and commit it to memory as they practice it, line at a time. They have, in the way of musical organizations, two choirs, a double and a male quartet, and an orchestra of six pieces. Music is about their only means of entertainment and they seem to appreciate it very much; it also proves in many instances to be a very useful science,

enabling some to gain a livelihood, while to others it affords a means of enjoyment to themselves and friends.

In an industrial way not a great deal has been done. The boys are taught broom-making, hammock and horse-net weaving. A hard working, industrious boy can, however, earn a very fair living in this way. For instance, a boy can make about two dozen brooms a day, the material for which cost him from $1.20 to $1.55 a dozen, and he is then able to sell the brooms at from $2.00 to $3.00 a dozen. It takes a boy a day to weave a hammock which he sells at from $1.50 to $2.00, while the material cost about 55 cents. Again, a boy can, with hard work, weave a pair of horse-nets in a day. He will have to pay 75 cents to $1.00 for his material, while his product will sell from $2.00 to $3.00 a pair. In this department the girls are taught but very little except plain sewing and the care of their rooms. There are some other ways by which both the boys and girls could be taught to support themselves. In many of the Eastern institutions, I am told, type writers have been introduced and it is found that the blind pupils soon learn to use them very rapidly and accurately.

I cannot help but manifest some little surprise at the fact of there being no provision or attempt made by the state to cure blindness in those who are attending the Institution. It seems fitting, since the science of medicine has reached the high stage of perfection it now holds and since experiments have established beyond a question the fact that a beneficial treatment of blindness is possible in nearly every case, that there should be a law providing for the treatment of those who have a right to be at the Institution; not to turn the school into a hospital at all, but for the purpose of restoring the sight or at least benefiting those who are in school. I am pleased to state, however, that through the earnest efforts of the Superintendent, an oculist comes to the Institution once a fortnight and does what he can for the pupils without charge. This is a step in the right direction and it should be furthered by the aid of the state.

Amusement, which in some form seems necessary to humanity, should also be provided as another means of lightening the gloom which must cast itself over these unfortunate beings. There are many ways by which this might be accomplished. Cards and games of various descriptions might be devised if the state would lend its assistance. The superintendent recommends that a carpenter shop be provided for this purpose, as the boys all show an inclination to spend idle moments in this way.

In conclusion, I will mention that while we are doing a noble work in the education of our blind youth, there are in the state of Kansas at the present day, no less than 250 adult blind, for which we have made no provision in any way. A very small per cent. of these are cared for by friends, while the remainder are forced to shift for themselves. Some secure a living by begging, some play the violin in places of sin, and others are forced to mete out a miserable existence in the county poor-house. I will simply ask the people of Kansas, "Ought this to be so?"

FRED E. BUCHAN.

EDUCATION OF THE DEAF AND DUMB IN KANSAS.

OF all the efforts of society to reconstruct the broken-down portion of humanity, those expended in behalf of the deaf and dumb have been attended with the greatest and most satisfactory results. The reason for this is two-fold: the peculiarly happy and industrious temperament of the deaf mute, and the exceptionally careful thought and thoroughly scientific training which this branch of education has received. A mere glance at our Kansas institution thoroughly demonstrates these points, and most gratefyingly shows that we are in the front ranks of this great charitable and educational movement.

The Kansas institution for the education of the deaf and dumb is an institution supported entirely by the state for the education and training gratuitously all deaf children who are unable to attend the public schools. It is not, as is often thought, a sanitarium for curing deafness. Indeed no effort whatever is made toward effecting cures; that, it is supposed, has been tried before. But it is strictly an industrial school, designed to fit deaf mutes for citizenship and usefulness.

Since its inception, some thirty years ago, the school has witnessed a steady successful growth and now gives instruction to nearly three hundred pupils. In December, on the day the school was visited, there were enrolled, however, 262 pupils. That this is the total number of deaf children of school age within our state, unfortunately, is not true. The census returns last year show a deaf population for Kansas of about nine hundred persons (one in every 1500 population), while the deaf children of school age is not far from five hundred fifty. From this it is evident there are now within our state some two hundred eighty-eight of these children, who are without instruction. The great error that is being made is at once apparent. How infinitely better it would be if these two hundred eighty-eight children could all be sent to school and thus develop as intelligent producers rather than become future burdens to society.

A noticeable fact in running through the registration book of the school is that there are more boys enrolled than girls. Of the two hundred sixty-two pupils attending, one hundred sixty of them were boys, leaving only one hundred two girls. This fact cannot be attributed entirely to the greater desire of parents to educate their sons than their daughters. It but illustrates the ratio of deafness of the sexes. The statistics of the deaf and dumb in the United States show about this same ratio. There is always more deafness among men than women.

The school is very comfortably located in the city of Olathe and its grounds occupy about two city blocks. Formerly there were but two large buildings, but within the past few years these two have been united by a large addition, forming one large educational building. An industrial building has also recently been built, and everything in the way of good sanitation has been provided.

The dormitory system is adhered to with little or no inconvenience. The dormitories for the boys and girls are situated in either end of the great main building. The larger pupils are allotted rooms in groups of two and four, while the smaller children occupy two large upper rooms. In one of these, the small boys' dormitory, from fifty to sixty little fellows sleep, and never are they disturbed by each others snoring, although there is an occasional pillow-fight.

In the educational department the branches of the common school are taught by trained specialists. The method used

is the same that has succeeded so admirably both in England and in France as well as in the United States—the sign language, the natural means of communication of all deaf mutes. The intellectual education of the school carries the pupil through a course of study similar to that of a well advanced high school.

In addition to the regular course of instruction, articular speech and "lip reading" is taught as an accomplishment to such pupils as seem capable of receiving it, either on account of their perseverance and quickness or of their previous ability to use their vocal organs. Some of the pupils attain a marked degree of proficiency and are able to converse intelligibly by this means alone. One little girl that was noted answered most promptly questions spoken to her although she did not hear a word that was said. There was, however, in her articulation a marked lack of emphasis and a peculiar nasal monotone. The articulation classes averaged only about eight pupils, as that is about the maximum number that can profitably be instructed by one teacher. The other classes averaged sixteen to twenty pupils.

The most interesting and certainly the most practical part of the school is the industrial. Here technical training is provided and the pupil fitted for a useful trade. Thus far the trades introduced are printing, cabinet making, carpentry, shoemaking, harness-making and baking. The girls are taught household work, mending, and sewing of all kinds. The object in all this industrial training is apparent: not only are habits of industry inculcated in the mind of the pupil but he is given technical knowledge that fits him for a life of usefulness.

Last year the current expenses of this institution amounted to nearly $45,000, making the average cost of maintaining each pupil $167.71 for the year. During the history of this school, instruction has been given to six hundred sixty-eight persons, and from official records that have been collected two-thirds of these students are now respectable, intelligent citizens, self supporting and most capably bearing the burdens of society. They can now be found engaged in nearly every branch of industrial life. They are carpenters, printers and laborers in the various departments of modern industry. They were fitted for their various occupations by the systematic and careful training they received at this school; without it they would have become only burdens to their friends and a blot upon society.

E. F. Robinson.

SILKVILLE COMMUNE.

THE lack of practical knowledge, of fortune, of length of life or of capable assistance has proven the downfall of many attempts to put in practice fanciful theories for the reformation of the social system. Social reformers like poets can see the end at which they aim but seldom clearly see a road along which to lead their followers into the happy state which is designed for them.

Earnest Valeton De Boissiere does not seem to have been of this class. His efforts to found a commune at Silkville, on the Burlington Branch of the A., T. & S. F. Railroad, eighteen miles southwest of Ottawa, show that he was seeking the means by which it would be possible to found a colony which should live and work in an ideal state, influencing the state of Kansas if not the world. The main reason he failed to accomplish this object seems to have been that he had not a sufficiently large following to carry on the work which he had planned, and that his estates in France made it necessary for him to divide his

time between his native and his adopted countries.

M. Boissiere was born of noble parentage near Bordeaux, France, in 1811. His education was such as is usual among the noble youth of that country and he became especially proficient in History, Science, and the Military Arts. Upon succeeding to the family estates he relieved them from a load of debt and increased the income from them by "planning and carrying out a regular campaign," as he expressed it.

Early in the 50's he came to America, founding and endowing a large Negro school in New Orleans, Louisiana. He became an American citizen in 1856 but returned to France before the rebellion. The war of course, broke up his Negro school and when he returned to the United States it was with an idea of planting a colony which should experiment, at least, with his ideas of social reform. He visited Charles Sears at his home in New Jersey and by him was convinced that diversified industry was the best means of making such a communistic settlement both successful and attractive. They thought a large tract of arable land, well watered, and in a pleasant climate was necessary as a foundation. M. Boissiere traveled all over the Mississippi valley and in 1869 purchased a tract of three thousand one hundred fifty-six acres of raw land in the southwest corner of Franklin county, Kansas.

Over one hundred and thirty thousand dollars was spent in improving this property. Forty acres were set in mulberry trees, twenty-five in orchards, four acres in grapes and much more in walnut and other ornamental groves. Fifteen miles of solid stone and twenty-five miles of wire fence were built and also such buildings as would be required to carry on the manufacture of silk, cheese, wine and other products, care for large herds of stock and provide a home for the attendants of the place. These improvements were added to from time to time as the changes in management and increase of stock demanded until last year, when M. Boissiere returned to France, 500 acres were under cultivation and 640 acres in hay land, the remainder being used for pasture for about a thousand cattle, horses and hogs. On the 12th of last May M. Boissiere deeded the entire estate, including twelve thousand dollars in cash and notes, all the machinery, household utensils, and library, to the Odd Fellows of the state to found and endow an Orphan's Home for the order. He took with him, on leaving for France, nothing but his clothing and two hundred and fifty dollars to pay the expenses of the trip.

The community, as was said before, was never fairly established but in 1870 two families by the names of Gonon and Clare, came to Silkville with M. Boissiere, four followed soon after, and several Americans joined the community, but there were never more than eight families at the home at one time. Silk was manufactured from 1874 until 1888, when the industry was abandoned because not financially profitable. The worms were thrifty and the quality of the silk good but the the necessity of importing labor made it impossible to compete with the foreign article. After it was abandoned, the French families gradually scattered until now none remain on the place. They have all become prosperous in other, more American industries and are happy in the land of their adoption. Several of the American members are dead and the others have left the farm, so that few, if any of the colony remain at the Silkville farm.

The special interest of the student in sociology must center then rather in what was planned than in what was executed. The following circular, found in the library, was sent out in 1873 and gives the ideas which were thought to be the most attractive to the public.

THE PRAIRIE HOME
ASSOCIATION AND CORPORATION,
BASED ON
ATTRACTIVE INDUSTRY.

The domain, of more than 3,000 acres, purchased about four years ago, and then called the "Kansas Co-operative Farm," but since named "Silkville," from the fact that the weaving of Silk-velvet Ribbons is one of its branches of industry, and Silk Culture is contemplated, for which 10,000 mulberry trees are now thriftily growing, having had 250 acres subjected to cultivation and several preliminary buildings erected upon it, it is now thought expedient to inform those who wish to take part in the Associative Enterprise for which the purchase was made, that the subscribers, as its projectors, will be prepared to receive persons the ensuing spring, with a view to their becoming associated for that purpose.

A leading feature of the enterprise is to establish the "Combined Household" of Fourier, that is, a single large residence for all the associates. Its principal aim is to Organize Labor, the source of all wealth, first, on the basis of *remuneration, proportioned to production,* and, second, in such manner as to make it both *efficient* and *attractive.* Guarantees of education and subsistence to all, and of help to those who need it, are indispensable conditions, to be provided as soon as the organization shall be sufficiently advanced to render them practicable.

A spacious edifice, sufficient for the accommodation of 80 to 100 persons, will be erected the ensuing season, its walls and principal partitions, which are to be of stone, being already contracted for, to be completed by the first of October. But the buildings already erected will furnish accommodations less eligible, but perfectly comfortable, except in severe cold weather, for at least an equal number.

It is not, however, expected that the operations of the ensuing year will be anything more than preparative; they will be limited probably to collecting a few persons to form a nucleus of the institution to be gradually developed in the future. But, from the first, facilities will be furnished for industry on the principle of *remuneration proportioned to production,* by means of which, or otherwise, each candidate will be required to provide for his own support, and for that of such other persons as are admitted at his request as members of his family of other dependents.

The means of support at present available for those who come to reside on the domain will be, as they may be stated in a general way, *opportunities* to engage, on liberal terms, in as many varieties as possible of productive industry; but, more particularly, first, an ample area of fertile land to cultivate, and, secondly, facilities for such mechanical work as can be executed with hand tools, especially the making of clothes, boots and shoes, and other articles of universal consumption, not excluding, however, any article whatever for which a market, either internal or external, can be found. But, as far as income depends upon earnings, the most reliable resource will be agricultural and horticultural industry, as most of the mechanical work likely to be required for some time should perhaps be reserved for weather not suitable to out-door employments. Emyloyment for wages at customary rates will be furnished to some extent to those who desire it for a part of their time, but cannot be reliably promised. Steam power will be provided as soon as warranted by a sufficient number of associates, and by the prospect of being applied to profitable production.

Having provided the associates and candidates with these facilities for industry, and made them responsible each for his own support, and, at first, for that of his dependents, the projectors propose to have them distribute themselves into organizations for industrial operations, and select or invent their own kinds and mode of cultivation and other practical processes, under regulations prescribed by themselves. They will be indulged with the largest liberty, consistent with the protection of rights and the preservation of order, in choosing their own employments

and their own industrial and social companions; in appointing, concurrently with those with whom they are immediately associated, their own hours of labor, recreation and repose, and, generally, in directing their activity in such manner and to such purposes as their taste or interest may induce them to prefer. We hope thus to demonstrate that interference with individual choice is necessary only to restrain people from transgressing their own proper sphere and encroaching upon that of others, and that restraints, even for that purpose, will seldom be required, and not at all except during the rudimentary stage of industrial organization.

No efforts, therefore, will be made to select persons of similar views or beliefs, or to mold them afterward to any uniform pattern. That unanimity which is not expected in regard to practical operations, is much less expected in regard to those subjects transcending the sphere of human experience about which opinions are now so irreconcilably conflicting. All that will be required is that each shall accord to others as much freedom of thought and action as he enjoys himself, and shall respect the rights and interests of others as he desires his own to be respected by them.

The apprehension that our experiment might be greatly embarrassed by admitting the totally destitute to participate in it, compels us to say that such cannot at present be received. The means applicable to our purpose, considerable as they are, might become inadequate, if subjected to the burden of maintaining objects of charity; while but few could be thus relieved, even if all the means at command were devoted to that single object. Our system, if we do not misapprehend it, will, in its maturity, provide abundantly for all.

But though we insist that the first participators in our enterprise shall not be pecuniarily destitute, the amount insisted upon is not large. So much, however, as is required must be amply secured by the following cash advances:

First: Rent of rooms and board paid two months in advance for each person admitted to reside on the domain, including each member of the applicant's family; and at the end of the first month, payment of these items for another month, so that they shall again be paid two months in advance, and so from month to month indefinitely.

Rent of rooms will be reasonable and board will be finally settled for at its cost, as near as may be; but in computing it for advance payment, it will be rated rather above than below its expected cost, to provide against contingencies. If too much is advanced, the excess, when ascertained will either be repaid or otherwise accounted for.

Facilities for cheap boarding, and for tables graduated to suit different tastes and circumstances, will be limited at first, and until associates become numerous enough to form messes and board themselves.

Second: Each person as admitted will be required to deposit, as may be directed, the sum of $100 for himself, and an equal sum for every other person admitted with him at his request, on which interest will be allowed at the rate of 6 per cent. per annum. This deposit is expected to be kept unimpaired until the projectors think it may safely be dispensed with, but will be repaid, or so much thereof as is subject to no charges or offsets, whenever the person on whose account it was made withdraws from the enterprise and ceases to reside on the domain; as will also any unexpended residue of the amount advanced for rooms and board.

This deposit, besides furnishing a guarantee against destitution of the party making it, is recommended by another consideration not less important,—it secures him, in case he wishes to retire from the enterprise, because he can find no satisfactory position in it, or for any other reason, against retiring empty-handed or remaining longer than he wishes, for want of means to go elsewhere.

In addition to these cash advances, each person admitted as an associate or candidate will be required to provide furniture for his room, and all other articles needed for his personal use, including generally the hand-tools with which he works. But some of these articles may, in certain cases, be rented or sold on credit to persons of good industrial capacity who have complied with the other conditions.

We should esteem, as especially useful, a class of residents who, having an income independent of their earnings, adequate to their frugal support at least, can devote themselves freely as they please to attractive occupations which are not remunerative, it being such occupations probably that will furnish the first good examples of a true industrial organization. Next to be preferred are those having an independent income which, though not adequate to their entire support, is sufficient to relieve them from any considerable anxiety concerning it; for they can, to a greater or less extent, yield the impulses of attraction with comparitive indifference to the pecuniary results of their industry.

It is hoped and expected that the style of living, at least in the early stages of the experiment, will be frugal and inexpensive. Neatness and good taste, and even modest elegance, will be approved and encouraged; but the projectors disapprove of superfluous personal decorations, and all expense incurred for mere show without utility, and in this sentiment they hope to be sustained by the associates.

As a general rule, applicants who comply with the pecuniary conditions will be admitted on trial as candidates, to the extent of our accommodations, without formal inquisition of other particulars; but each applicant should state his age and occupation, and the ages and industrial capacities of others, if any, whom he desires to have admitted with him, and whether any of them are permanently infirm. References are also requested and photographs if possible.

The cardinal object of our enterprise being, as has been said, to organize labor on the basis of rewarding it according to the value of its product, and in such manner as to divest it of the repugnance inseparable from it as now prosecuted, the policy to which recourse will first be had to effect this object will be, to throw upon the associates the chief responsibility of selecting functions and devising processes, as well as of marshaling themselves into efficient industrial organizations. Freedom to select their preferred occupations and modes of proceeding is proposed with the expectation that a diversity of preferences will be developed in both, the respective partisans of which will vie with each other to demonstrate the superior excellencies of their chosen specialties. Among the numerous merits which recommend this policy, not the least important is, that it will, as is believed, give full play to all varieties of taste and capacity, and secure a more perfect correspondence of functions with aptitudes than exists in the present system of labor. But we are not so committed to any policy as to persist in it, if, after being fairly tested, it fails of its purpose. In that event new expedients will be resorted to, and others again, if necessary, for we should not abandon our enterprise, though our first efforts should prove unsuccessful. The failure of any particular policy, therefore, does not involve a final failure, of which indeed the danger, if any, is remote, inasmuch as care will be taken not to exhaust the means applicable to our main purpose in a first trial, or in a second, or even any number of trials. But we have great confidence that not many trials will be necessary to construct a system of industry and of social life far in advance of any form of either now prevailing in the world.

The lowest degree of success, we will not say with which we shall be satisfied, but to which we can be reconciled, is, that the experiment shall be *self-sustaining*. By this we mean that the associates, aided by the facilities furnished them,

shall produce enough not only to supply their own consumption, including education for children and subsistence for all, and to repair the waste, wear and decay of tools, machines and other property used; but enough also to reasonably compensate those who furnish the capital for the use of it. Less production than this implies a waning experiment, which must, sooner or later, terminate adversely. But even though this low degree of success should be delayed, the domain is indestructible, and being dedicated forever to associative purposes, must remain unimpaired for repeated trials.

An ample sufficiency of land will be conveyed to trustees in such manner as to secure the perpetual use of it to the associates and their successors. The land to be thus appropriated has on it a large peach orchard now in full bearing, which yielded last season a large crop of excellent peaches; 400 selected apple trees which have four years' thrifty growth from the nursery, and a considerable number of other fruit trees; and a vineyard of about 1,200 young grape vines. A library of 1,200 volumes in English, besides a large number in French and other languages, is now here, intended for the use of future associates and residents.

No fund is set apart for the gratuitous entertainment of visitors. Those not guests of some one here who will be chargeable for them, will be expected to pay a reasonable price for such plain and cheap accommodations as can be afforded them.

For a more extended explanation of the principles and aim of our enterprise, and of some of the details of the mode of proceeding, persons interested are referred to a treatise on Co-oporation and Attractive Industry, published under the auspices of the departed and lamented Horace Greeley, for which send 50 cents to "The Tribune, New York," or to either of the subscribers.

[NOTE.—It should be understood that the foregoing exposition of principles and policy, though the best that our present knowledge enables us to make, is provisional only, and liable to be modified from time to time as experience makes us wiser.]

E. V. BOISSIERE.
E. P. GRANT.

Williamsburg P. O.,
Franklin Co., Kansas.

For some reason this circular did not have the desired effect and the doctrine of Fourier proved but little more popular, as a guide for practical experiments in America than in France. The projectors made the "repeated trials" but only succeeded in demonstrating that stock farming is more profitable in Kansas than silk culture or co-operative manufactures.

The library gradually grew till it now contains over 2,500 volumes, whose appearance indicates that the projectors spent much of their time in study. Their studies were not confined to social science, although Fourier, Cabet, and Laboulaye seem to have been favorite authors and the publications of Icaria and Ouneida were watched with interest. But the standard writers of French and English literature received their share of attention, as did also the Bible, the Koran and works of history, science and philosophy. Many manuscript writings on a variety of topics and in the handwriting of M. Boissiere show how broad was his knowledge and how thorough his method of study while at the Farm.

Of Huguenot parentage, it is natural for M. Boissiere to have a deep seated hatred for Catholicism, but yet he does not hold to the Protestant doctrine, being a pure materialist. He has never been married but has the highest regard for woman and her position in his ideal society is indeed enviable. Hailing every effort at reform as a step in the right direction, M. Boissiere was always found at the polls, when in America, on election day, using every effort for the reform ticket. He was an enthusiastic Greenbacker and now has great sympathy with

the Farmers' Alliance. He voted with the People's party when last in Kansas.

To devote his American fortune to the improvement of the social life of a number of his fellow men, has ever been one of the objects of the life of M. Boissiere. As he grew older and found himself without his old associates in communistic study and experiment, he turned his attention to the more practical problem of industrial education. When about to start for France, probably never to return, he chose an organization one of whose first principles is benevolence, and gave to it the Silkville farm and all its belongings, as an industrial home for orphan children. It is his desire that the property shall provide a home for a number of children and give each such an education as will make him an independent and useful citizen.

W. M. Raymond.

SEMINARY REPORTS.

Law and Lawyers.

Professor Willis Gleed delivered a lecture before the Historical Seminary, Friday, April 14, on "Law and Lawyers." He began his lecture with a quotation from one of Plato's dialogues in order to be sure, as he said, of saying at least one good thing. Plato said, "A philosopher may have his talk out in peace, wandering at will from one subject to another, but the lawyer is always in a hurry. He is a servant and is disputing with a fellow servant before his master; the trial is never about an indifferent matter, but is often a race for his life. The consequence is that he has become shrewd and learned how to flatter his master, but his soul is small and unrighteous. His slavish condition has deprived him of growth and uprightness. From the first he has practiced deception and retaliation. He thinks he is a martyr of wisdom." Prof. Gleed's lecture was in substance as follows: When I was a student we often solved to our own satisfaction such insolvable problems as "The True Aim of Government," "What is the Convenience," etc., but that has all passed and this afternoon I will tell you something about law and lawyers. I shall say something about them and the profession they follow and the duties of the people toward that profession. The first duty of the people towards the lawyer's profession is to understand it; understanding it, they will honor and protect it. Wrong public opinion of the lawyer's profession and indiscriminate denunciations of it is immensely hurtful. No other calling is so intimately engaged in the matters which now occupy the largest place in the minds and lives of other men. The lawyer is in the center of the mass. He is always at the frictional point. His labors are with the most central and selfish portion of the social anatomy, consequently he is the most closely watched of all mankind. The bar has not been the controlling force in any moral change or revolution. Lawyers are always a highly refined, influential and powerful class of men. Where force reigns the soldier is most powerful; where law reigns the lawyer is most powerful. Decline of litigation means decline of national health. The study of law has a very marked intellectual and moral influence. No other pursuit drives men to such thoroughness and exactness, accuracy and carefulness. No one detects a lack of it quicker than he. clergymen, I believe, state as much untruth as lawyers do; not willfully of course, but carelessly and because no one questions the truth of what he says. The lawyer cannot pursue truth for truth's sake any more than the clergyman can, the aim of both being to produce conviction of a given proportion, not to ascertain or reveal pure truth. I think the lawyers as a class are the broadest, fairest and most reasonable of men. Their reputation is worse than the reality. A lawyer seldom supports a bad case. The attorney never knows all about his case until it is tried. Every case should have a hearing, often a case is good morally, but according to law it is bad. The law is but a rough and faulty thing, only approximating justice. It must often be arbitrary. Practice of law cultivates sympathy, generosity, courage and charity to an unusual degree. When a boy displays any special conscientiousness and religious spirit all his friends wish to put him into the pulpit. On the other hand, if a boy displays a disposition for trickery or traits of special intellectual keenness you wish him to study law. Now why not try to crowd a little more conscience into the law and a little more intellectual brightness into the pulpit?

Our people should know the laws. Perfect laws are for perfect people. Law cannot get above us. Law is a growing thing. In the beginning of civilization the law recognized but one or two crimes. Law is always creating some new crimes and misdemeanors. Law cannot always be according to morality but must often arbitrarily ignore moral distinctions and do the greatest good to the greatest number. A law which will enforce itself will be made without any regard to morals. People should not depend on law to teach them what is right. Law is a compromise between perfection of morals and imperfections of humanity.

A. F. SHERMAN, *Reporter*.

A GLANCE AT NEW SPAIN.

MR. Woodward in the introduction to his paper, April 7th, gave a brief discussion of the philosophy of history and its value. He said, "no philosophy of history results in almost no history."

The relation of England, France and Spain to the early history of America, furnishes an especially good opportunity for the study of the philosophy of history, and also illustrates the theory of the survival of the fittest. First, the Gaul, peculiarly fitted for the work, explores three-fourths of America, obtains a large amount of land, and then drops out. Next the Visigoth, the Spaniard, lazy and shiftless, occupies the soil, mingles his blood with the native races, becomes degraded and loses all pretense to higher civilization. Lastly the Anglo-Saxon, possessing in a large measure the best qualities of the other two, with his endurance, steadfastness of purpose and the strict preservation of his nationality, which prevents him from mingling with native tribes and becoming degraded, is the actor on the scene who stays the longest and is the greatest factor in civilization.

However, the Spanish civilization still endures and is our next door neighbor. The history of the early Spanish civilization can best be studied in the original manuscripts and official documents. One of the first steps of Cortez after the Conquest was to take immediate action toward the civilizing of the country. He rebuilt the capital, organized the country, introduced wheat and rice, high grades of horses, cattle and sheep, also water wheels and other machinery, and all the arts of Old Spain. He also endeavored to marry his soldiers to the natives and make colonists of them,—even brought his own wife from Cuba. Restrictions were placed on gambling and other extravagances.

The Spaniard found Mexico much the same as his own Spain. He could bask in the sunshine and live at ease; but he had to live as a strong master. Cortez's soldiers had, a large part of them, equipped themselves and still owed for their equipments; the expected gold not being found, they were in a bad state, so were given lands to reward them. These lands they would not work themselves, so pressed the natives into the service. This was the beginning of the peon system. There were no slaves in name, but a man might give himself into the service of another during his life, or gamble himself away, etc. There were two parties in the Spanish government; the one in America favored the holding of the natives as slaves, the other in Spain opposed it and passed laws against it, but they were not enforced. The settlers were offered lands to release their slaves but they would not do it, for land was useless without somebody to work it. Later, African slaves were introduced, which somewhat ameliorated the condition of the natives. The governor who succeeded Cortez took further measures to better the condition of the natives, granting them privileges to run shops and engage in trades.

Now a new trouble arose. The newly rich Spaniards entered into lavish expenditures and soon found themselves in debt, with all its attendant evils upon them. Mexico was also sending ship loads of gold to Spain, draining the country of almost all its wealth except what the

priests got. The Church, at the close of the 16th century, had absorbed almost all of the best lands of the country; still their influence was good, for they were about all that stood between the grandees and the natives. But the Pope sent over the Inquisition and within thirty years about 2,000 perished. All this time the Indians were gradually losing their lands till they had almost none left. The negroes had become so intermingled with the natives that there was hardly any pure stock left. Bad laws were passed, taxes were enormous, sale of offices common, every right of the weak abused, until by the end of the 17th century Mexico was in a dreadful condition.

JAMES OWEN, *Reporter*.

THE Seminary met in regular session, April 21, 1893, Professor Hodder presiding. The first paper on "Institutions of the Cherokee Nation," by Mr. A. A. Bessey, is printed in full in this issue of the NOTES, and therefore will not be reported here.

Mr. A. S. Foulks followed Mr. Bessey with a paper entitled "The Opening of the Cherokee Strip." The opening of the Cherokee outlet is a result of the agitation begun by Payne and Couch, an agitation likely to continue until all vacant Indian lands are thrown open to settlement. The outlet is situated in the northwestern part of Indian Territory, and contains 8,166,682 acres of land, a considerable part of which is already occupied. The land is claimed by both the Tonkawa and Cherokee Indians and both tribes are to be paid for it. The Tonkawas are sixty-seven in number and each individual is to get a farm and $500. The Cherokees are also to be paid for their claim, and all Cherokees that made improvements on land in the strip prior to 1891, are to receive allotments of not more than eighty acres. The Cherokee nation is to have jurisdiction over civil and criminal cases against Cherokee citizens. The strip is to be opened by the president at any time within six months. Prices of land will vary with the location: all land east of meridian 97¼ degrees west longitude is to be sold at $2.50 per acre, between 97½ degrees and 98 degrees $1.50, and land west of 98 degrees $1. The secretary of the interior is to have the country divided into counties, and the sixteenth and thirty-second sections of each township are reserved as school lands. It is reported that the manner of opening the strip will be different from that employed in Oklahoma. There will be no headlong rush for claims.

"National Methods of Indian Administration" were described by Miss C. E. Becker. Indian affairs are under the control of the commissioner of Indian affairs, although the secretary of the interior, who appoints the commissioner, is the nominal head. There is a general belief that the Indian appropriation of $5,000,000 per annum is larger than necessary, but this is not the case. That the provision for the Indian is none too ample is shown by the fact that, as late as 1891, Indians perished from starvation. Only forty thousand, out of the two hundred and fifty thousand Indians in this country, are supported by the government. Hunger was the cause of the late Indian outbreak, and of that made by the Sioux in 1876. The Indians were starving, and tried to leave the reservation and get something to eat, but were driven back by the troops. The judicial department is too lax, especially in its treatment of violations of the liquor law. Courts conducted by Indians are now being introduced, and give great satisfaction. They try infractions of rules drawn up by the commissioner of Indian affairs and serve without pay. There are now in Nebraska seven thousand Indians who have been admitted to citizenship. The enfranchisement of all the Indians, as fast as they become civilized enough, is the probable solution of the Indian problem.

F. H. MOORE, *Reporter*.

- SEMINARY - NOTES. -

PUBLISHED ON THE FIRST DAY OF OCTOBER, NOVEMBER, DECEMBER, FEBRUARY, MARCH, APRIL AND MAY, BY THE SEMINARY OF HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCE. State University, Lawrence, Kansas.

Frank W. Blackmar,
Frank H. Hodder, - - - *Editors.*
Ephraim D. Adams,

Terms, Ten Cents a Number, - Fifty Cents a Year

THE purpose of this publication is to increase the interest in the study of historical science in the University and throughout the State, to afford means of regular communication with corresponding members of the Seminary and with the general public—especially with the Alumni of the University, and to preserve at least the outlines of carefully prepared papers and addresses. The number of pages in each issue will be increased as rapidly as the subscription list will warrant. The entire revenue of the publication will be applied to its maintenance.

Address all subscriptions and communications to

F. W. BLACKMAR,
Lawrence, Kansas.

WITH the exception of the editorial pages this number of SEMINARY NOTES is the practical work of the students in History and Sociology. Every article is the result of especial observation and investigation. It is the future plan of the instructors of the historical departments to greatly enlarge the practical work of students. Kansas does not present such great opportunities for this kind of work as do our large cities, but there are many interesting features of past history and present institutions that are worthy the attention of students. There ought to be an appropriation by the regents for historical research respecting Kansas institutions. Other departments have provisions made for laboratory work and why should not the historical departments. Work of this nature represents an important part of a university student's education.

THE excellent paper, entitled "A Glance at New Spain," read by Mr. Woodward before the Seminary and elsewhere referred to in this number, is reserved for future publication in the NOTES.

ONE of the most interesting Seminaries of the year was held Friday, May 5, when Governor Robinson addressed the students on "Early Times in California." This graphic account of the struggles of the early settlers made a profound impression upon the students and gave valuable lessons on the making of history. A full report of the meeting will be given in our next issue.

IT was intended to follow up the article in the last issue of the NOTES on "Budgetary Procedure in England," by similar articles, in this month's issue, upon other important topics in English constitutional history. The gentlemen who are preparing these papers, have found that they require more time to make their work thorough, so that the papers must be postponed until the first issue of next year. At least one of the papers will be published at that time.

THE historical student who can so time his visit to the World's Fair as to be in Chicago on the week beginning July 10, will have an opportunity of attending the greatest meeting of historical writers likely to be held for some time to come. During that week the Historical Congress will hold its sessions. The object of this Congress, as stated by a circular recently issued, is "to bring together during the term of the Columbian Exposition, representatives of Historical Societies, and other persons who have made contributions to historical research and literature, or, who are especially interested in historical study." The American Historical Association is to take an active part in these meetings, and this in itself insures the success of the undertaking. Papers are to be presented by various well known historical writers, and indeed it is likely that almost every historian of repute will be present. Every student who is in Chicago at the time should try to secure the right to attend at least one of these meetings.

COURSES OF STUDY

IN

HISTORY AND SOCIOLOGY.

FOR 1892-93.

F. W. BLACKMAR, PH. D.
F. H. HODDER, PH. M.
E. D. ADAMS, PH. D.

Instruction in this department is given by means of lectures, conferences, recitations, discussions, and personal direction in study and research. As the library is an indispensable aid in the pursuit of the following courses of study, students are expected to become acquainted with the best methods of collecting and classifying materials, and of writing and presenting papers on special topics. All lectures are supplemented by required reading and class exercises.

The work of the department now embraces five principal lines of study, namely: European History, American History and Civil Government, Political Institutions, Sociology or Social Institutions, and Political Economy.

The following studies are offered for 1892-'93:

FIRST TERM.

1. **The History of ivilization.** Lectures daily, at 8:30. Ancient Society, and the intellectual development of Europe to the twelfth century. Special attention is given to the influence of Greek philosophy and the Christian church on European civilization, the relation of learning to liberal government, and to the rise of modern nationality.

2. **French and German History.** Daily, at 9:30. Descriptive history. Text-book.

3. **Historical Method and Criticism.** Tuesday and Thursday, at 9:30. Examination and classification of sources and authorities. Analysis of the works of the best historians. Library work, with collection and use of material, notes, and bibliography. Special attention to current historical and economic literature.

4. **The History of Education and the Development of Methods of Instruction.** Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, at 9:30. This course may be taken with No. 3. A course for teachers.

5. **English History.** Daily, at 11. Descriptive history. Text-book.

6. **Journalism.** Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, at 12. Lectures, laboratory and library work. English: Twenty-five lectures by Professors Dunlap and Hopkins; 15 lectures on the history and ethics of journalisn, by Professor Adams. Newspaper bureau. The principal object of the bureau is to enable students to form habits of systematic reading, to keep informed on the topics of the day, and to preserve clippings properly filed and indexed. This course will be found highly beneficial to students who desire a special study in magazines and newspapers as a general culture.

7. **Statistics.** Tuesday and Thursday at 12. Supplementary to all studies in economics and sociology. The method of using statistics is taught by actual investigation of political and social problems, lectures, and class-room practice. The history and theory of statistics receive due attention.

8. **American History.** From the earliest discovery to 1763. Lectures, topical reading, and recitations. Three hours a week at 2.

9. **Local and Municipal Government.** Lectures and topical reading. Two hours a week at 2.

Courses 8 and 9 are intended to be taken together as a full study, but may be taken separately.

10. **American History.** Presidential administrations from Washington to Jackson. Daily, at 3. Open to Seniors in full standing, and to other students upon approval of the instructor.

11. **International Law and Diplomacy.** Lectures and recitations. Two hours a week, at 4.

12. **Political Economy.** Daily, at 4. The fundamental principles are discussed, elaborated and illustrated by examples from present economic society. A brief history of Poiitical Economy closes the course.

SECOND TERM.

13. **Institutional History.** Lectures Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, at 8:30, on comparative politics and administration. Greek Roman, and Germanic institutions compared. Historical significance of Roman law in the middle eges. Short study in Prussian administration.

14. **Renaissance and Reformation.** Tuesday and Thursday, at 8:30. Lectures The revival of learning with especial reference to the Italian renaissance. A careful inquiry into the cause, course and results of the Reformation. This course may be taken as a continuation of number 1.

15. Political History of Modern Europe. Tuesday and Thursday at 9:30. Text-book.

16. Federal Government and the French Revolution. Lectures. Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, at 9:30, on Switzerland. The Italian republics and the States General of France.

17 onstitutional History of England. Tuesday and Thursday, at 9:30. This course may be taken as a continuation of number 5. Text-book and lectures.

18. Elements of Sociology. Lectures. Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, at 11. Evolution of social institutions. Laws and conditions that tend to organize society. Modern social institutions and social problems.

19. harities and orrect ion. Tuesday and Thursday, at 11. Treatment of the poor from a historical standpoint. Modern scientific charity. The treatment of criminals. Prisons and reformatories. Practical study of Kansas institutions. This course is supplementary to number 18.

20. Land Tenures. Lectures, Tuesday and Thursday, at 12. This course treats of primitive property, the village community, feudal tenures, and modern land-holding in Great Britain and the United States. This course is mainly historical, and is an excellent preparation for the study of the law of real property.

21. American History. Continuation of course 8. First half-term: History of the Revolution and the Confederation, 1763 to 1769. Second half-term: Brief summary of the constitutional period, with Johnston's "American Politics" as a text-book. Three hours a week, at 2.

22. onstitutional Law. History of the adoption of the constitution, and a study of its provisions. Twice a week, at 2. Forms, with course 21, a full study, but may be taken separately.

23. American History. Continuation of course 10. Presidential administrations from Jackson to Lincoln. Daily, at 3.

24. Mediæval History. Two-fifths of the second term of the Freshman year. For all students whose admission papers show that they have had elementary physics, hygiene and chemistry. Daily, at 3. Text-book.

25. Principles of Public Finance. Lectures on public industries, budget legislation, taxation and public debts. Open to students who have studied political economy one term. Two hours a week, at 4.

26 The Status of Woman. Conferences. Tuesday and Thursday, at 4 Industrial condition, including a study of labor, wages, etc. Woman in the professions. Their political and legal abilities and disabilities. Property rights. Condition of woman in Europe and the Orient. Social questions.

27. Advanced Political Economy. Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, at 4. Consisting of (*a*) lectures on applied economics; (*b*) practical observation and investigation; and (*c*) methods of research, with papers by students on special topics. This course is a continuation of number 12.

General Seminary, on Friday, at 4. Students in History and Sociology are required to attend the Seminary unless excused by special arrangement. Full credit will be allowed for time spent in Seminary work. At the beginning of the term, students may elect other work in place of the seminary, if they choose.

SUGGESTED MAJOR COURSES FOR UNDER-GRADUATES.

I. Economics. Courses 7, 12, 18, 19, 20, and 27.

II. European History. Courses, 2, 3, 5, 13, 15, and 16.

III. American History. Courses 8, 9, 10, 21, 22, and 23.

IV. Social Institutions. Courses, 1, 12, 14, 18, 19, and 4 (or 26).

V. Political Institutions. Courses 3, 7, 9, 15, 13, 16, 17, 20, and 22.

GRADUATE COURSES.

Persons desiring to take the degree of A. M. may do so by the completion of any one or all of the following courses. The work is carried on by the investigation of special topics under the personal direction of the instructor. An hour for conference will be arranged for each student. The courses extend throughout the year.

I. American History. Open to graduates and students who have studied American History two years.

II. Economics. Open to graduates and students who have taken the undergraduate work in political economy. Courses 12, 27, and 8.

III Political and Social Institutions. Open to graduates and students who have taken the undergraduate work in the history of institutions and sociology. Courses 12, 27, and 7.

The above courses are for students who desire proficiency in a special line. These courses will not in any way interfere with the general rules of the Faculty respecting graduate work.

(Catalogue, 1891-'92, pp. 120, 121.) By these rules, a graduate student may take any of the 27 courses mentioned above (except 15 and 21) as a preparation for the degree of A. M.

Preparation for Entrance to the University. The time spent in the high schools in the study of history is necessarily limited. For this reason it is essential that the greatest care be exercised in preparing students for entrance to the University. At present very little history is required in the Freshman and Sophomore years, and the students enter upon the study of the Junior and Senior years without thorough preparation for the work. It would seem that the aim should be for all those who contemplate entering the University to learn the story of nations pretty thoroughly. A general outline of the world's history with a special study of the United States History and government represents the field. But this outline should be more than a mere skeleton of facts and dates. It should be well rounded with the political, social, and economic life of the people. Students will find a general text-book, such as Myer's, Sheldon's, or Fisher's, indispensible; but the work of preparation ought not to stop here. Such works as Fyffe's Greece, Creighton's Rome, Seebohm's Era of Protestant Revolution, Cox's Greece, and others in the Primer, Epoch, and Stories of Nations series ought to be read. The object of this reading is to familiarize the student with the political and social life of the principle nations of the world. For this purpose everything should be as interesting as possible. Such an interest should be aroused that the student would not be puzzled over dates and threadbare facts, but would seize and hold those things that are useful on account of the interest his mind has in them. That history which is gained by a bare memory of events is soon lost. It grows too dim for use and consequently leads to confusion. With the story of the nations well learned the student comes to the University prepared for the higher scientific study of history and its kindred topics. He is then ready for investigation, comparison and analysis. He then takes up the real investigation of the philosophy of institutions and of national development. He is then ready for the science of Sociology, Institutional History, Political Economy, the Science of Government, Statistics or Political Economy. Students who enter the University without this preparation find it necessary to make up for it as best they can by the perusal of books, such as those mentioned above.

STUDENTS' LIBRARIES.

Every student n the niversity should lay the foundation of a good working library. Such libraries are not "made to order" at some given time, under specially favorable financial conditions—but are the result of considerable sacrifice, and are of slow growth. The wise expenditure of even ten dollars in each term will bring together books which if thoroughly mastered will be of great assistance in all later life. Room-mates, or members of the same fraternity, by combining their libraries and avoiding the purchase of duplicates, can soon be in possession of a most valuable collection of authors. Assistance in selecting and in purchasing will be given upon application.

The prices named below are the list prices of the publishers.

Students are required to purchase books marked with an asterisk.

American Book Company, Chicago.

Manual of the Constitution, Andrews....$ 1.00
Analysis of Civil Government, Townsend.... 1.00
Civil Government, Peterman.... .60
History of England, Thalheimer.... 1.00
Mediæval and Modern History, Thalheimer.... 1.60
Outlines of History, Fisher.... 2.40
General History of the World, Barnes.... 1.60
Political Economy, Gregory.... 1.20
Lessons in Political Economy, Champlin.... .90

Ginn & Co., Boston and Chicago.

Ancient History, Myers & Allen....$ 1.50
Mediæval and Modern History, Myers.... 1.50
Political Science and Comparative Law, Burgess, 5.00
Macy's Our Government.... .75
*General History, Myers.... 1.50
Leading facts in English History, Montgomery... 1.12
Philosophy of Wealth, Clark.... 1.00
Political Science Quarterly, Yearly.... 3.00
Washington and His Country, Fiske.... 1.00

Harpers, New York.

*History of Germany, Lewis.... 1.50
*International Law, Davis.... 2.00
*Political History of Modern Times, Mueller.... 2.00
*Short English History, Green.... 1.20
Civil Policy of America, Draper.... 2.00
History of English People, Green, 4 vols.... 10.00
History of United States, Hildreth, 6 vols.... 12.00
The Constitution, Story.... .90

Holt & Co., New York.

*American Politics, Johnston....$ 1.00
American Colonies, Doyle, 3 vols.... 9.00
American Currency, Sumner.... 2.50
History of Modern Europe, Fyffe, 3 vols.... 7.50
Political Economy, Walker.... 2.25

Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

Discovery of America, Fiske, 2 vols....$ 4.00
American Commonwealths, 14 vols., each.... 1.25
American Statesmen, 24 vols., each.... 1.25
American Revolution, Fiske, 2 vols.... 4.00
Critical Period of American History, Fiske.... 2.00
Epitome of History, Ploetz.... 3.00
Christopher Columbus, Winsor.... 4.00

Appleton, New York.

Dynamic Sociology, Ward, 2 vols....$ 5.00
History of Civilization, Guizot.... 1.25
Political Economy, Mill, 2 vols.... 6.00

Cranston & Stowe, Chicago.

*Political Economy, Ely....$ 1.00

Macmillan, New York.

Constitutional History, England, Stubbs, 3 vols $ 7.80
Principles of Economics, Marshall, vol. I.... 3.00

Armstrong, New York.

*Democracy in Europe, May, 2 vols....$ 2.50

G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London.

*American Citizen's Manual, Ford....$ 1.25
Unwritten Constitution of the U. S., Tiedeman... 1.00
History of Political Economy, Blanqui.... 3.00
Introduction to Eng. Econom. Hist. and Theory Ashley.... 1.50
Indust. and Com. Supremacy of Eng., Rogers.... 3.00
Economic Interpretations of History, Rogers.... 3.00
Constitutional History of the U. S., Sterne.... 1.25
*Tariff History of the United States, Taussig.... 1.25
The Story of Nations, 34 vols., each.... 1.50
Heroes of the Nations, 12 vols., each.... 1.50
American Orations, ed. by Johnston, 3 vols., each 1.25

Callaghan & Co., Chicago.

Constitutional History of U. S., Von Holst, 8 vol $25.00
Constitutional Law of U. S., Von Holst.... 2.00
Political Economy, Roscher, 2 vols.... 6.00

Crowell, New York.

*History of France, Duruy....$ 2.00
Labor Movement in America, Ely.... 1.50
Life of Washington, pop. ed., Irving, 2 vols.... 2.50
Problems of To-day, Ely.... 1.50

Little, Brown & Co., Boston.

History of Greece, Grote, 10 vols....$17.50
Parkman's Works, per vol.... 1.50
Rise of the Republic, Frothingham.... 3.50

Longmans, Green & Co., New York.

Epochs of Ancient History, each vol....$ 1.00
Epochs of Modern History, each vol.... 1.00
Political Economy, pop. ed., Mill.... 1.75
The Crusades, Cox.... 1.00

Scribners, New York.

*American Diplomacy, Schuyler....$ 2.50
History of Rome, Mommsen, 4 vols.... 8.00
Lombard Street, Bagehot.... 1.25
Silent South, Cable.... 1.00

Silver Burdett & Co., Boston.

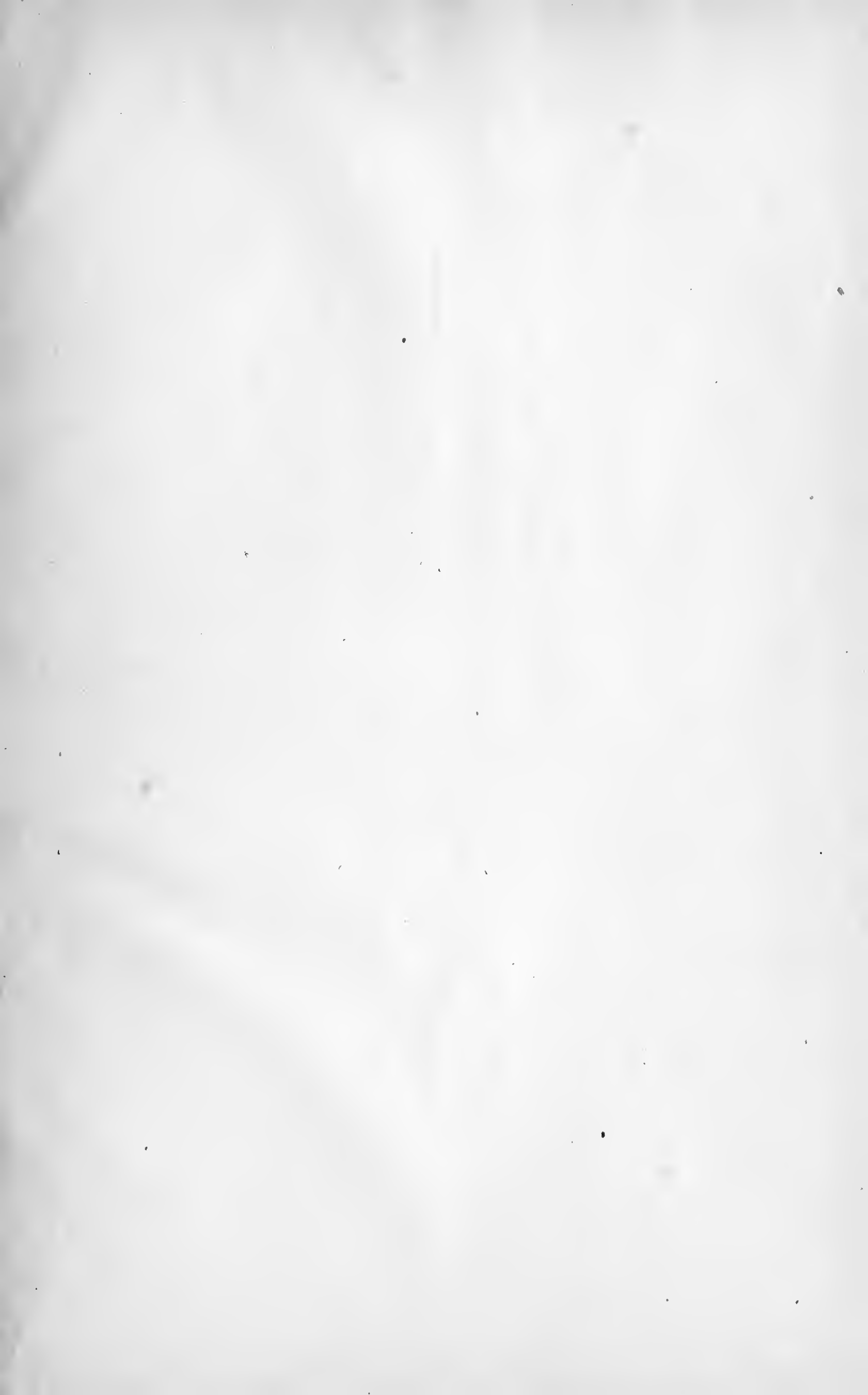
*Historical Atlas, Labberton....$1.50 or $ 2.00
*Historical Geography of U. S., MacCoun.... 1.00
*Institutes of Economics, Andrews.... 1.50
Institues of General History, Andrews.... 2.00

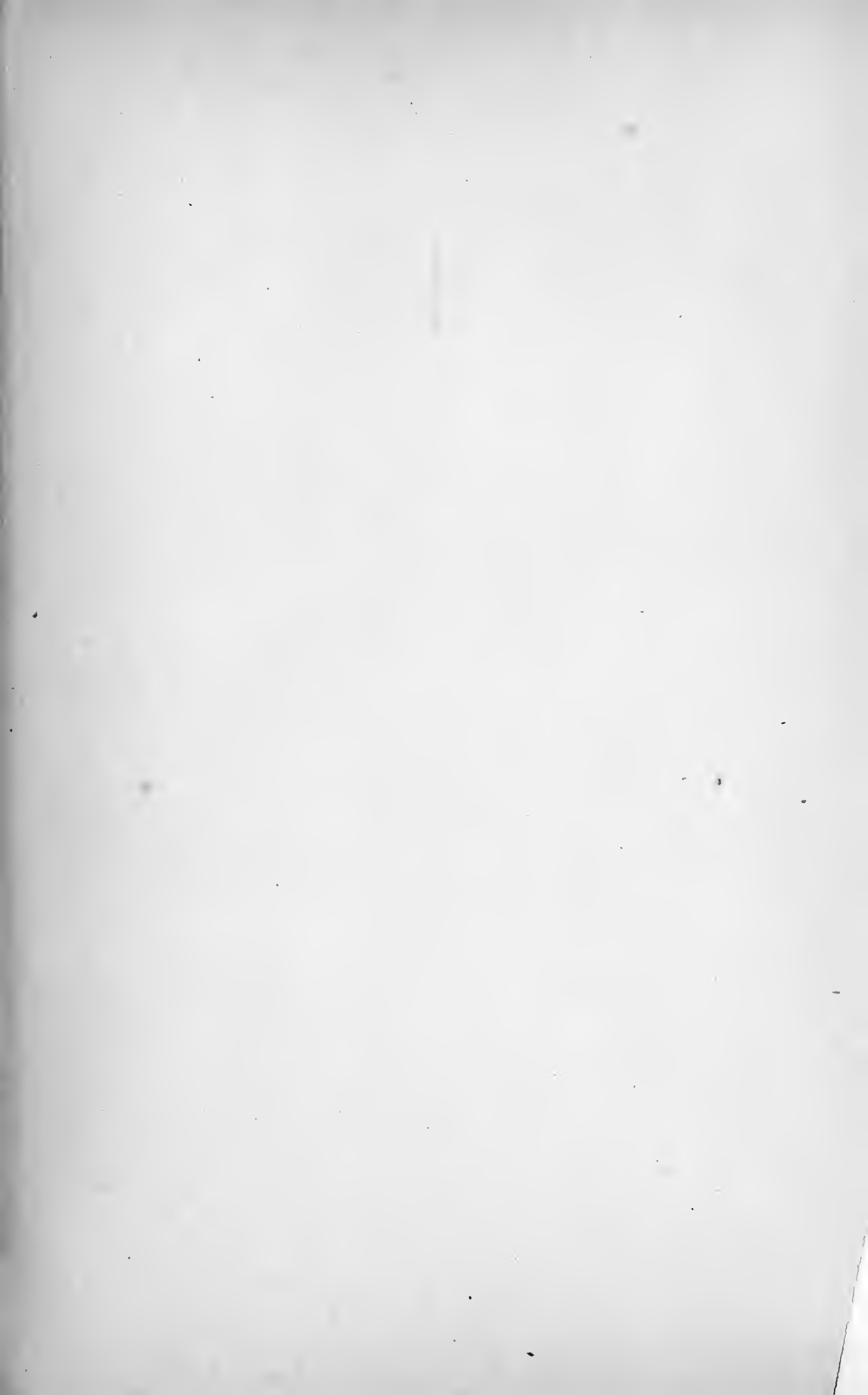
Dodd, Mead & Co., New York.

History of United States, Schouler, 5 vols....$11.50

D. C. Heath & Co., Boston.

*The State, Woodrow Wilson....$ 2.00
Principles of Political Economy, Gide.... 2.00
Methods of Teaching History, Hall.... 1.50
General History, Sheldon.... 1.60
*Old South Leaflets, 22 Nos., each.... .05
History Topics, Allen.... 25
State and Fed. Governments of the U. S., Wilson 50
The American Citizen, Dole.... .90
Comparative View of Governments, Wenzel.... .20
Studies in American History, Sheldon—Barnes... 1.12





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